Immigrants as 'New' Precariats in the Korean Immigration Policy Regime

Navigating Identity, Rights, and Governance

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Chapter 6

Immigration Policy and Governance as a 'Precaritization' Process

6 Immigration Policy and Governance as a 'Precaritization' Process

Immigration Policy and Precarity of Immigrants

Immigration policies are multifaceted, encompassing various dimensions that significantly impact immigrants' precarity. First, immigration control policies regulate the selection and admission procedures for immigrants, thereby shaping the volume and patterns of immigration flows. Second, immigrant policies address critical aspects such as employment opportunities, housing conditions, welfare provisions, and access to education for immigrants. These policies directly influence the living conditions and social integration trajectories of immigrant populations. Third, social integration policies are designed to facilitate the inclusion and participation of immigrants within the host society, aiming to foster social cohesion and mutual understanding.

The complexities inherent in immigration policies contribute to the precaritization of immigrant groups in several ways. First, immigration policies themselves constitute a significant domain of intervention. They determine not only who is admitted into the country but also the conditions under which immigrants can reside and participate in society. The dynamics of immigration policies influence the scale and dynamics of immigration flows, shaping the demographic composition and diversity of immigrant populations. Furthermore, immigration policies may selectively include or exclude specific immigrant groups based on economic needs, cultural considerations, or political priorities. This differential treatment can exacerbate precarity among certain immigrant communities while offering advantages to others, thereby intensifying disparities in social and economic outcomes.

Moreover, the scope and content of immigrant integration efforts vary across different policy frameworks. Some policies may emphasize economic integration through labor market participation, while others prioritize cultural assimilation and social cohesion. These variations impact the depth, breadth, and effectiveness of integration measures, influencing how well immigrants can access rights, resources, and opportunities within the host society. Thus, immigration policies are instrumental in shaping the conditions of immigrant precarity. They operate as powerful tools that mold the vulnerabilities experienced by immigrant groups, reflecting societal values, economic needs, and historical contexts in countries undergoing demographic shifts and globalization pressures.

Second, immigration policies are a focal point of government-led public policy in most countries. This is particularly pronounced in nations like Korea, which are characterized by a longstanding tradition of state centrism, where governments are deeply engaged in addressing the evolving challenges of racial diversity (Seol, 2012; Won, 2008; Won & Park, 2009). The government's pivotal role in shaping immigration policies is evident not only in Korea but also in countries such as Canada, Australia, and Germany, which have been managing immigration issues long before Korea (Banting et al., 2006; Ellermann, 2021; Inglis, 1996; Kymlicka & Banting, 2006). Consequently, decisions regarding the extent of international migration to be accepted, methods of integrating or excluding immigrant groups, and the prioritization of different aspects of migration—such as labor, marriage, or humanitarian needs—become critical determinants of immigrant precarity. These policy choices profoundly shape the conditions and vulnerabilities experienced by immigrant populations.

Third, the significance of immigration policies in shaping immigrant precarity is underscored by their differential impact on various immigrant groups (Jørgensen, 2016; Won, 2019). These policies intentionally create vulnerabilities among immigrant populations. For instance, German immigration policy distinguishes between temporary and permanent economic immigration, leading to distinct vulnerabilities within these groups. Similarly, in Korea, while a guest worker framework exists for immigrant laborers, policies also accommodate high-skilled immigrants with a progressive approach, including the possibility of dual citizenship. These policy distinctions contribute to varying degrees of precarity within the labor immigrant community. Moreover, Korea's involvement in marriage migration differs significantly from other countries. Despite categorizing both male and female marriage migrants under the same umbrella, Korean policies demonstrate proactive inclusion toward female marriage migrants while neglecting comprehensive policies for their male counterparts (Won, 2008, 2019). This discrepancy reflects policy decisions influenced by Korea's persistent demographic challenges and entrenched societal norms, particularly those revolving around strong patrilineal kinship structures.

Immigration policies play a crucial role in precipitating various forms of precarity experienced by international migrants, effectively shaping them into a new form of precariat. This chapter aims to illuminate how immigration policies generate immigrant precarity and the mechanisms through which this occurs. By comparing international examples, it seeks to discern both similarities and differences in the processes of precaritization driven by immigration policies. To achieve this, the chapter proposes a theoretical framework termed the Immigration Policy Regime, which outlines the key characteristics and impacts of immigration policies. It then delineates the nature of the Korean immigration policy regime within this framework. A comprehensive analysis follows, examining how the Korean immigration policy regime interacts with and influences precarity among immigrant groups. This comparative analysis includes countries renowned for their generous immigration policies and extensive immigrant integration efforts, such as the United States, Canada, and Australia, as well as countries with cultural contexts

comparable to Korea that have implemented more restrictive immigration policies, such as Japan. These comparisons aim to elucidate the diverse outcomes of immigration policies on immigrant precarity across different national contexts.

Immigration Policy Regime: A Framework

Concept of Policy Regime

Policies directed at immigrants vary significantly across different times and places, underscoring the importance of 'policy regimes' in understanding their multifaceted nature. The definitions of a regime have been diverse, ranging from describing it as a 'set of conditions' to characterizing it as the 'form of government'. Krasner (1982, p. 185) defines a regime as encompassing 'sets of principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given issue area'. Similarly, Wilson (2000, p. 256) views a regime as 'government arrangements constructed by states to coordinate their expectations and organize aspects of international behavior in various issue areas'. Expanding on these interpretations, in the realm of social policy, a regime is seen as the 'aggregate of values, norms, and rules that govern a specific country or society' (Sainsbury, 1999, p. 77). When applied to policies, the concept of a 'policy regime' emerges, defined as 'the governing arrangements for addressing policy problems' (May & Jochim, 2013, p. 428). This notion allows for an understanding of how ideas, interests, and institutional arrangements interact within the policy process.

By applying the conceptual framework of a regime to specific policy domains, various sub-policy regimes have been delineated, including welfare policy regimes, child policy regimes, and gender policy regimes. Within the realm of immigration issues, specialized sub-policy regimes have emerged, such as immigration policy regimes (Faist, 1995) and incorporation regimes (Soysal, 1994). An immigration policy regime encompasses the rules and norms governing immigrants' opportunities to attain citizenship, obtain residence and work permits, and participate in economic, cultural, and political activities (Sainsbury, 2006). This framework not only helps in identifying differences between the native population and immigrants but also reveals disparities in social rights within immigrant communities. It allows for the recognition of hierarchical distinctions within immigrant groups and discerns discriminatory practices in the allocation of rights such as citizenship, as well as disparities in status within the labor market.

Typology of Immigration Policy Regime

The concept of an immigration policy regime, defined as the framework governing ideologies, values, immigration practices, and the rights and obligations of immigrants within specific national contexts, is inherently diverse across nations. Attempting to understand immigration policies in each nation individually has limitations, prompting the development of typologies based on commonalities observed across national immigration policies (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Typologies of Immigration Regime

Authors (years)	Focus of analysis	Regime typologies
Hammar (1985)	Immigration control and integration policies	- Guest worker or rotation system: Germany, Switzerland - Permanent immigration: Britain, Sweden -Postcolonial immigration: Britain, France, the Netherlands
Freeman (1995)	Role of immigration in labor market External pressures on immigration	- English-speaking settler societies: the United States, Australia, Canada - Post–World War II immigration countries: France, Britain, Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Sweden, Belgium - Former emigration countries: Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece
Cornelius and Tsuda (2004)	Immigration, support for immigration, multiculturalism	- Classic countries of immigration: the United States, Canada, Australia - Reluctant countries of immigration: France, Germany, the Netherlands, Britain - Recent countries of immigration: Italy, Spain, Japan, Korea
Joppke (2005)	Immigration selection and its relationship to ethnicity	- Settler states: the United States, Australia - Postcolonial constellations: Northwest and southwest Europe - Diaspora constellations: Israel, Germany
Williams (2005)		- Exclusionary citizenship model: Germany, Switzerland, Belgium - Republican: Germany, Switzerland, Belgium - Multicultural model: Australia, Canada, Sweden, the United States
Banting et al. (2006)	Strength of multiculturalism policies	- Strong Multiculturalism: Australia, Canada - Moderate Multiculturalism: Belgium, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, the United States, the United Kingdom - Weak Multiculturalism: Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland
Sainsbury (2006)	Immigrant welfare entitlements	- Inclusive immigration regime: the United States - Exclusionary immigration regime: Germany - Inclusive immigration regime: Sweden
Menz (2009)	Political economy of labor immigration selection	- Established countries of immigration: France, Germany, the United Kingdom - New countries of immigration: Ireland, Italy, Poland
Janoski (2010)	Naturalization rates	- Settler societies: Australia, Canada, the United States - Nordic countries with colonizers: France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom - Highly restrictionist non-colonizing countries: Japan, Germany, Switzerland
Devitt (2011)	Labor immigration admissions and labor market design	- Nordic regimes: Sweden, Denmark, Finland - Conservative-Continental model: Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Belgium - Southern-Statist model: Italy, Greece, Spain, Portugal, France - Liberal model: the United Kingdom, Ireland

Source: Various authors cited.

Existing studies have developed diverse typologies for categorizing immigration policy regimes based on various criteria. For instance, Hammar (1985) classified nations into Settler States (such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand), Guest Workers or Rotation System countries (like Germany, the United Kingdom, and France), and those transitioning from sending to receiving states (Spain, Italy, and Greece), focusing on how these nations regulate immigration flows and integrate immigrants. Freeman (2011), examining inter-group relations, immigration's role in labor markets, and external pressures, categorized nations into English-Speaking Settler Societies (e.g., the United States, Australia, and Canada), post–World War II immigration countries (France, Britain, Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Belgium), and Former Emigration or New Immigration Countries (Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Greece). Cornelius and Tsuda (2004), considering support for immigration and multiculturalism levels, divided nations into Classic Countries of Immigration (the United States, Canada, and Australia), Reluctant Countries of Immigration (France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Britain), and Recent Countries of Immigration (Italy, Spain, Japan, and Korea).

Studies have developed specific criteria for classification that reflect distinct national contexts. Castles and Miller and Williams (2005) categorized nations into the Exclusionary Citizenship Model (Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium), the Republican Model (France, Germany), and the Multicultural Model (Australia, Canada, Sweden, and the United States), based on immigrants' accessibility to social rights. Joppke (2005), focusing on immigrant selection criteria and racial relations, distinguished Settler States (the United States, Australia), Postcolonial Constellations (Northwest and Southwest Europe), and Diaspora Constellations (Israel, Germany). Banting et al. (2006), considering the extent of multicultural policies adopted, differentiated nations into Strong Multiculturalism (Australia, Canada), Moderate Multiculturalism (Belgium, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, the United States, and the United Kingdom), and Weak Multiculturalism (Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Japan, Norway, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland). Additionally, Devitt (2011), focusing on labor migration and labor market design, classified nations into the Nordic Regime (Sweden, Denmark, and Finland), the Conservative Continental Model (Italy, Greece, Spain, Portugal, and France), and the Liberal Model (the United Kingdom, Ireland).

Despite the usefulness of existing typologies for immigration policy regimes, significant gaps remain to be addressed. Primarily, these discussions have predominantly centered on Western societies. This focus is justified by the extensive history of immigration in Western countries and their role as major receiving nations. However, there is an increasing recognition of the need to move beyond the North-South dichotomy. Immigration patterns now encompass movements from Eastern to Western countries, Eastern to Eastern countries, and South-to-South movements (Boucher & Gest, 2015; Schierup & Jørgensen, 2016). Countries such as Korea and Japan, which have transitioned from sending to receiving nations in recent decades (Cornelius & Tsuda, 2004), warrant particular attention. Furthermore, immigration issues in China, the BRICS countries (Garnaut et al., 2013; cited in Schierup &

Jørgensen, 2016), and Turkey (Şenses, 2016) have received relatively less scholarly attention but are becoming increasingly significant. Therefore, studying immigration policy regimes in emerging receiving countries like Korea addresses these gaps and expands the scope of existing research.

Second, categorizing immigration policy regimes under overarching labels such as 'Settler States' or 'Guest Worker System' requires careful consideration for several reasons. As evident from the typologies discussed earlier, nations can be classified differently by different scholars. This variability arises because immigration policies are multifaceted, leading to diverse categorizations based on the specific aspects of immigration policy emphasized. Moreover, policies associated with a particular category may not uniformly apply to all immigrant groups. Instead, the content and characteristics of immigration policies often vary depending on the specific immigrant groups involved, necessitating a more nuanced and context-specific analysis.

When distinguishing between immigrants and host country nationals, relying on a binary distinction may oversimplify the diversity within immigrant groups. Immigration policies vary depending on immigrants' entry categories (Sainsbury, 2006). This means that even within a country's overall immigration policy regime, which may be broadly categorized as either exclusive or inclusive, there exist nuanced differences in inclusiveness across different immigrant categories such as labor migrants, economic migrants, political immigrants, marriage immigrants, ethnic citizens, and undocumented immigrants.

As highlighted in previous studies, within the Korean immigration policy regime, for instance, marriage immigrants often experience greater inclusivity compared to labor migrants (Won, 2019). Similarly, in Europe, ethnic citizens may enjoy rights similar to those of host country nationals, whereas political immigrants such as asylum seekers encounter limited inclusivity. These variations underscore the importance of recognizing the multidimensionality within immigrant groups. Simply classifying all immigrants under a single homogeneous regime can obscure important internal differences and complexities. Therefore, to achieve a comprehensive understanding of a specific country's immigration policy regime, it is crucial to consider both the overall characteristics and the varying levels of inclusivity within immigration policies. This approach helps elucidate how different immigrant categories are treated within the same regime, thereby providing insights into the implications of such differential treatment (Boucher & Gest, 2015).

The Landscape of Immigration Policy in Korea

A New Emerging Immigration Policy Regime

According to the typology of immigration policy regimes (Cornelius & Tsuda, 2004), Korea, along with Japan, is categorized as a newly emerged country of immigration. This classification primarily highlights Korea's recent shift toward becoming an immigration destination, rather than providing a comprehensive portrayal of the specific characteristics and inclusivity (or exclusivity) of Korean immigration

policies. This chapter delves into the substantive dimensions of Korea's emerging immigration policy, aiming to identify its key features. Special emphasis is placed on understanding how these policies influence the precarious conditions faced by immigrants. To address this, several questions are explored: What attributes define the immigration policy regime in Korea? How do these attributes contribute to the precarity experienced by immigrants? To what extent do these challenges manifest uniformly or differently across various immigrant groups in Korea?

The globalization of immigration has presented Korea with significant multicultural challenges, disrupting its previously mono-cultural and mono-ethnic societal norms. This challenge is evident not only in the scale and rapid influx of immigrants but also in the significant implications it brings. Since the onset of significant immigration around 2000, Korea has transitioned from being primarily a sender to becoming a receiver of immigrants. This rapid transformation poses profound challenges to Korean society, particularly with the increasing numbers of marriage immigrants and their children, challenging traditional notions of ethnic homogeneity long emphasized in Korean society.

The drastic transformation of Korea into a multicultural society has brought about unprecedented societal issues and necessitated the development of new immigration policies. Unlike countries with longstanding immigration histories, Korea had not previously dealt with immigration as a policy issue related to race or ethnicity. Consequently, there was a pressing need for new approaches across various policy domains, including entry and nationality, labor, welfare, education, and family policies.

In response to these challenges, the Korean government has established two key frameworks for immigration-related policies: the 'Master Plan for Immigration Policy' and the 'Master Plan for Multicultural Family Policy'.

The former, initiated in 2008, serves as a comprehensive national strategy guiding immigration policy formulation and implementation over 5-year periods. It outlines the primary objectives, policy directions, implementation strategies, required funding, and other essential aspects necessary for structuring immigration policies in Korea. The implementation of the Master Plan involves the formulation and promotion of annual plans by each ministry and local government, with evaluations conducted through deliberations by the Immigration Policy Committee (Ministry of Justice, 2023). Since 2010, the 'Master Plan for Multicultural Family Policy', developed collaboratively by relevant ministries, has emerged as a fundamental directive for policies concerning multicultural families, similar to the 'Master Plan for Immigration Policy'. This plan undergoes periodic revisions every five years and encompasses overarching policy objectives, sector-specific goals and challenges, strategies for enhancement, and resource allocation.

A condensed overview of the 'Master Plan for Foreigner Policy', outlining the fundamental contours of the Korean immigration policy regime, is delineated in Table 6.2. As depicted in Table 6.2, the Korean government has undertaken significant efforts to enhance the qualitative aspects of its immigration policy across various dimensions, demonstrating a clear trend toward diversification and the expansion of policy objectives and contents over time. The foundational policy direction of

Table 6.2 The Mater Plans for Immigration Policy (2008–2022)

First master plan for immigration policy (2008–2012)		Second master plan for immigration policy (2013–2017)		Third master plan for immigration policy (2018–2022)	
Main policy objectives	*Key tasks*	*Main policy objectives*	*Key tasks*	*Main policy objectives*	*Key tasks*
1. Enhancing Competitiveness through Proactive Immigration Policy	- Securing growth momentum by attracting excellent talent - Introducing a workforce to promote balanced national economic development - Creating a convenient living environment for foreigners	1. Economic revitalization and talent attraction	- Boosting domestic consumption and attracting foreign tourists - Securing overseas human resources required by the country and businesses - Attracting international students for future growth - Encouraging foreign investment for regional development	1. Public-supported orderly openness in immigration	- Attracting and supporting top talent - Recruiting and integrating immigrants for economic growth - Economic activation through tourist and investor attraction - Enhancing immigration procedures and improving residency/nationality regulations
2. High-Quality Integration into Society	- Enhancing understanding of multiculturalism - Ensuring stable settlement for marriage immigrants - Creating a healthy environment for immigrant children - Creating an environment to facilitate the participation of compatriots	2. Social integration based on Korea's shared values	- Enhancing nationality and residency systems to promote independence and integration - Systematic social integration programs - Preventing issues related to international marriages and supporting the settlement of marriage migrants - Creating a healthy growth environment for children from immigrant backgrounds - Building infrastructure for the social integration of immigrants	2. Societal integration through immigrant autonomy and participation	- Support for settlement at different stages of immigration and promotion of social integration - Welfare support for integrating immigrants into society - Expansion of immigrant participation in local communities

(Continued)

Table 6.2 (Continued)

3. Implementation of Orderly Immigration Administration	3. Prevention of discrimination and respect for cultural diversity	3. Creating a safe society through collaboration between citizens and immigrants
- Establishing order in the stay of foreigners - Border management and foreigner information management from a national security perspective - Executing nationality-related tasks to ensure a healthy population	- Respect for immigrant rights and anti-discrimination - Increasing social tolerance toward diverse cultures - Fostering a global communication environment between citizens and immigrants	- Establishment of a safe and efficient border management system - Improving the management system for resident foreigners
4. Advocacy for the Rights of Foreign Nationals	**4. A safe society for both citizens and foreigners**	**4. A just society that respects human rights and diversity**
- Prevention of discrimination against foreigners and protection of their rights - Ensuring the rights of foreigners throughout the protection process - Establishing an advanced system for refugee recognition and support	- Establishing a safe and trusted border management system - Effective management of foreigners violating regulations - Diversifying strategies to control illegal stay - Enhancing comprehensive information management for foreigners	- Strengthening the human rights protection system for immigrants - Promoting the human rights of vulnerable immigrants such as women and children - Promoting cultural diversity and fostering inclusivity - Creating an environment for coexistence and development with compatriots - Advanced refugee policies that resonate with the international community
	5. Cooperative development with the international community	**5. Future-oriented governance based on cooperation**
	- Strengthening international cooperation with immigrants' countries of origin and international organizations. - Implementing refugee policies commensurate with national standards - Expanding exchanges and cooperation with the overseas Korean community	- Enhancement of international cooperation on immigration - Strengthening cooperation among central ministries, local governments, and civil society - Establishment of foundations for immigration policies and research

the Korean immigration policy regime can be summarized as follows (Ministry of Justice, 2008, 2013, 2018).

Initially, the primary objective was to systematically control and centralize immigration policy while establishing long-term plans and prospects based on principles of multiculturalism and global competitiveness. This entailed advocating an 'open-door' policy to bolster global competitiveness by attracting highly skilled workforces and providing incentives to overseas Koreans through facilitated entry and employment opportunities. Subsequently, the focus shifted toward fostering a multicultural society where other cultures and races are welcomed and can coexist harmoniously. This aimed to prepare for a highly diversified society and safeguard the human rights of foreign residents. Additionally, emphasis was placed on maintaining order and adherence to laws concerning immigration, including measures against illegal employment and tightened border control.

The Second Master Plan for Immigration Policy for 2013–2017, titled 'Vibrant Korea Growing with Immigrants', echoed themes similar to those of the first plan, emphasizing border control, immigration, nationality, and social integration. Building upon the foundation of multiculturalism, this plan reinforced previous policies while focusing on improving infrastructure for foreigners, attracting high-skilled workers and students, and facilitating their adaptation to Korean society through enhanced public services. It also underscored the importance of defending human rights and providing skill development in sending countries, alongside implementing stricter border security and sanctions against illegal employment. While the Second Plan largely maintained the dichotomy between non-professional and professional workers, it acknowledged the varying skill levels among resident foreigners and highlighted the need for skill development programs for unskilled workers to transition to higher skill categories. The plan aimed to bridge the gap between unskilled and skilled workers by offering language, social, and vocational training to high-potential unskilled foreign workers.

The Third Master Plan for Immigration Policy continues to pursue similar objectives as its predecessors. It focuses on strengthening support for attracting talents, securing growth engines through foreign workers, stimulating the economy via tourism and investors, establishing an immigrant inflow system, and reorganizing residence and nationality systems in preparation for an increase in the immigrant population. The plan acknowledges the growing role of the foreign workforce and the increasing share of immigrants in the Korean population while maintaining continuity in policies related to temporary labor migration. A significant objective of the Third Master Plan is to reduce the proportion of low-skilled workers and attract higher-wage, higher-skilled migrants. Unlike previous plans, it does not explicitly set numerical targets for migration; instead, policy development is guided by the issues identified in earlier plans. Key policy decisions, such as quotas for specific visa programs and the duration of stay for workers, are determined through consultations rather than being fixed in the Master Plan. This approach allows for greater flexibility and responsiveness to emerging needs and challenges. The decision-making processes may vary across OECD countries, reflecting their respective policy objectives (Ministry of Justice, 2018).

Despite the comprehensive nature of immigration policies in Korea, several limitations persist within these frameworks. First, the Master Plan presents broad and often discretionary directives, making it challenging to identify policies that may perpetuate discriminatory practices based on Korea's ethnocentric tendencies and selective inclusion and exclusion of immigrant groups. Korea's approach to entry and exit management traditionally follows a segmented model, categorizing and managing foreign residents based on the functional purposes of their entry and the duration of their stay. Scholars have identified this approach as a 'differential exclusion model' (Castle & Miller, 2003). Within this model, the scope of social consensus or discourse regarding immigrant social integration is predominantly limited to specific categories such as lawful long-term residents, naturalized citizens, immigrant children (second generation), and overseas compatriots.

Second, the fundamental orientation of Korean immigration policy revolves around attracting talented and professional individuals. Despite variations in expression across different iterations of the Master Plan, securing growth momentum through the recruitment of outstanding and professional talents remains a central objective.

However, despite sustained efforts to attract exceptional foreign talent, the proportion of professional workers relative to foreign nationals holding employment permits remains notably low. Over 90% of all immigrant laborers entering through the Employment Permit System (EPS) are non-professionals, underscoring the predominant focus on unskilled labor in immigration patterns. Despite the prevalence of unskilled labor migration, policy frameworks tend to categorize these individuals as guest workers, thereby inhibiting their prospects for settlement. While long-term stays (up to 9 years and 8 months) for non-professional foreign workers admitted through the EPS have been possible since 2003, these workers remain the most vulnerable immigrant group. They are generally not permitted to reunite with their families, further exacerbating their precarious status.

Third, in contrast to the labor migration of precarious groups primarily comprising non-professional workers, the Korean government predominantly emphasizes social integration policies tailored to marriage immigrants, especially women, and their children. Social integration has been consistently articulated as a policy objective across various iterations of the 'Master Plan for Immigration Policy', accompanied by the formulation of diverse policy measures. Notably, the direction of integration outlined in the third plan, framed as 'a society integrated through immigrants' autonomy and participation', suggests an active role for autonomy and participation rather than passive engagement. However, despite the overarching policy goal of promoting social integration across all immigrant groups, the actual implementation tends to focus disproportionately on marriage immigrants and their children. As clearly shown in Chapters 2, 3, and 4 of this book, this dynamic exacerbates differential patterns of inclusion and exclusion based on immigrant categories, thereby amplifying the relative precarity of non-marriage migrant groups compared to marriage migrant women and their children.

This reality is elucidated through the Master Plan for Multicultural Family Policy (see Table 6.3), which places marriage migrant women and their children at the forefront (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2010, 2013, 2018).

Table 6.3 The Mater Plans for Multicultural Family Policy (2010–2022)

First master plan for multicultural family policy (2010–2012)		Second master plan for multicultural family policy (2013–2017)		Third master plan for multicultural family policy (2018–2022)	
Main policy objectives	*Key tasks*	*Main policy objectives*	*Key tasks*	*Main policy objectives*	*Key tasks*
1. Revision of the multicultural family policy framework	- Strengthening the general oversight and coordination functions of multicultural family support - Streamlining the delivery system of multicultural family support services - Expansion of the foundation for multicultural family support policy	1. Realization of multicultural families with diverse cultures	- Enhancement of understanding of partner's culture - Expansion of cultural exchange and creation of supportive environment	1. Long-term settlement support for multicultural families	- Strengthening of human rights protection for marriage migrant women - Establishment of prevention and response systems for domestic violence - Support for prevention of international marriage-related harms - Support for stable family life
2. Enhancement of management of international marriage brokering and pre-immigration verification system	- Strengthening regulation of international marriage brokerage - Expansion of pre-information provision for prospective marriage immigrants - Reinforcement of pre-immigration verification system to facilitate the entry of independent immigrants	2. Support for growth and development of children in multicultural families	- Support for healthy development of children in multicultural families - Enhancement of Korean language proficiency - Support for early adaptation to school life - Strengthening of basic academic skills and career counseling - Improvement of accessibility to public education and services	2. Various social participation opportunities for marriage immigrants	- Enhancement of self-reliance capacities - Support for employment and entrepreneurship - Expansion of opportunities for social participation

(*Continued*)

Table 6.3 (Continued)

3. Support for settlement and self-reliance of marriage immigrants	- Strengthening of Korean language education and communication support for marriage immigrants - Activation of vocational education and employment support for marriage immigrants - Rationalization of naturalization for stable social integration - Expansion of support for marriage immigrants' adaptation to life and social welfare - Promotion of human rights protection for marriage immigrants facing divorce and violence - Strengthening of spousal education and networks among multicultural families	3. Establishment of stable family life foundation	- Ensuring authenticity of marriage before immigration - Support for early adaptation to Korean life - Strengthening support for marginalized groups - Protection of victims	3. Support for stable growth and capacity building of children in multicultural families	- Creation of an environment for stable growth - Enhancement of academic and global competencies - Support for career preparation and social integration - Tailored support for children entering midway
4. Healthy growth environments for children of multicultural families	- Tailored education support for nurturing global talent - Expansion of language development support for children of multicultural families and toddlers - Enhancement of parenting capacities of multicultural family parents - Infrastructure for supporting school maladjustment in children	4. Social and economic integration of marriage immigrants	- Expansion of job opportunities for marriage immigrants - Support for vocational training and skills development - Capacity building for marriage immigrants - Expansion of social participation	4. Enhancement of multicultural acceptance based on mutual respect	- Regular monitoring of policy environment - Activation of multicultural education - Creation of media environment for enhancing multicultural acceptance - Activation of community environment and participation in exchange programs

(*Continued*)

Table 6.3 (Continued)

| 5. Promotion of social understanding of multiculturalism | - Activation of social education for enhancing multicultural understanding
- Strengthening of school education for promoting multicultural understanding
- Education for local government officials and other stakeholders in multicultural affairs
- Reinforcement of promotional activities for multicultural understanding | 5. Enhancement of social acceptance toward multicultural families | - Legal and institutional responses to racial and cultural discrimination
- Cultivation of a social culture that recognizes various races and cultures
- Implementation of targeted multicultural education
- Improvement of multicultural understanding in schools | 5. Strengthening of framework for collaborative multicultural family policies | - Enhancement of cooperation among policy implementation systems
- Substantiation of support systems for multicultural families |

As delineated in Table 6.3, across successive iterations of the Master Plans for Multicultural Family Policy—namely the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd—the Korean government has established a robust policy framework aimed at promoting the stable settlement and rapid adaptation of multicultural families. Central to this framework is the goal of enhancing economic self-sufficiency by integrating marriage immigrants into the societal fabric. Initially, the focus of the Basic Plan was on regulatory improvements within international marriage brokerage to mitigate potential challenges during the marital process. Subsequent iterations, such as the 2nd Basic Plan, broadened policy responses to address evolving needs, including enhancing employment opportunities and providing vocational training to facilitate the socio-economic integration of marriage immigrants.

The evolution toward the 3rd Master Plan signifies a refinement in policy objectives, placing emphasis on creating favorable conditions for marriage immigrants to pursue entrepreneurial endeavors alongside traditional employment pathways. Moreover, tailored policy measures have been devised to correspond with the life stages of marriage immigrants and their children. Initially, efforts centered on facilitating language acquisition and adjustment to daily life for newly arrived marriage immigrants. Subsequently, policy discussions shifted toward improving educational opportunities for children of multicultural families as they progressed through their developmental stages. This shift was accompanied by targeted interventions to assist marriage immigrants in adjusting their roles in accordance with their children's evolving needs. Additionally, a comprehensive policy approach has been adopted to address human rights concerns among marriage immigrants and mitigate challenges associated with their integration.

This passage underlines the multifaceted and adaptive nature of multicultural family support policies, illustrating their effectiveness in addressing the evolving needs and adaptation processes of multicultural families. These policies are specifically designed to integrate marriage migrant women and their children into the Korean social fabric, recognizing and valuing their substantial contributions. By highlighting these contributions, Korean society acknowledges and mitigates the vulnerabilities faced by other migrant groups. In this context, the adaptability and comprehensiveness of multicultural family support policies are critical in responding to the dynamic processes of adaptation and the evolving requirements of policy. These policies deliberately emphasize the inclusion of marriage migrant women and their children within the Korean social structure, making evident their significant societal contributions. The societal recognition of the contributions made by marriage migrant women and their children is crucial in reducing the precarity experienced by other migrant groups.

Comparative Structures

Frameworks of Analysis: Applying MIPEX

This chapter aims to delve into the intricacies of the Korean immigration policy regime by focusing on specific policy instruments and alternatives. To achieve this,

an analysis of the distinctive features of the Korean immigration policy regime is undertaken through international comparisons with other nations, using the Migration Integration Policy Index (henceforth, MIPEX) as a framework.

The rationale for employing international comparative analysis lies in its potential to provide a deeper understanding of the Korean immigration policy regime by juxtaposing it with those of other countries. In contexts like Korea, where there is limited social and policy experience related to racial diversity, the policy experiences of more advanced multicultural societies serve as invaluable points of reference. Given that policies involve choices among various alternatives, the experiences of other countries can serve as benchmarks during the decision-making process. Furthermore, policy emulation, often termed policy transfer, occurs when countries mimic the policy instruments of more advanced multicultural nations (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000). Korea's immigration policy thus reflects a process of referencing and adopting policy instruments from other countries based on its specific needs. In this context, employing an international comparative approach becomes essential for comprehending the characteristics of the Korean immigration policy regime.

Despite its utility, international comparative analysis faces interconnected constraints. First, there is the challenge of selecting appropriate comparison countries. Second, there is the need to ensure the collection of representative and valid comparison data. The choice of comparison countries is contingent upon research objectives and needs, often guided by geographical proximity or shared research interests. Additionally, ensuring the representativeness and availability of comparison data is crucial, especially in cases where the regional scope spans multiple continents, such as Europe, the United States, and Asia.

To mitigate the constraints of comparative analysis and facilitate a thorough examination of immigration policies, this chapter utilizes the MIPEX. MIPEX serves as a valuable tool for assessing immigration policies with minimized constraints. It is a prominent index developed as part of the 'Integration Policies: Who Benefits? The Development and Use of Indicators in Integration Debates' project, jointly organized by the Barcelona Centre for International Affairs (CIDOB) and the Migration Policy Group (MPG). MIPEX provides standardized immigration policy data based on national policies related to immigrants. For this analysis, data from 2019 surveying a total of 56 countries will be utilized. The specific areas, sub-variables, and detailed contents of MIPEX employed in the analysis are delineated in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 illustrates the MIPEX, which delineates immigration policies across seven distinct domains, utilizing various indicators to gauge the structure and orientation of immigration policies in each country.

The first domain, labor market mobility, evaluates immigrant access to host country labor markets, provision of training opportunities for skill enhancement, and integration efforts for vulnerable groups such as women and youth. Family reunification, the second domain, assesses conditions for immigrants to reside with family members, sponsorship policies, and residency rights for partners and children. Education policies, the third domain, analyze the education

Table 6.4 Structure of MIPEX

Policy	Indicators	
Labor Market Mobility	1.1	Immediate access to labor market
	1.2	Access to public sector
	1.3	Access to self-employment
	1.4	Public employment services
	1.5	Education, vocational training, and study grants
	1.6	Recognition of academic qualifications
	1.7	Economic integration measures of TCNs
	1.8	Economic integration measures of youth and women
	1.9	Access to social security
Family Reunion	2.1	Residence period
	2.2	Eligibility for dependent parents/grandparents and dependent adult children
	2.3	Pre-entry integration requirement
	2.4	post-entry integration requirement
	2.5	Economic resources
	2.6	Accommodation
	2.7	Duration of validity of permit
	2.8	Grounds for rejection, withdrawal, refusal
	2.9	Personal circumstances considered
	2.10	Right to autonomous residence permit for partners and children
Education	3.1	Access to compulsory and non-compulsory education
	3.2	Access to higher education
	3.3	Educational guidance at all levels
	3.4	Provision of support to learn language of instruction
	3.5	Measures to address educational situation of migrant groups
	3.6	Teacher training to reflect migrants' learning needs
	3.7	School curriculum to reflect diversity
	3.8	Measures to bring migrants into the teacher workforce
	3.9	Teacher training to reflect diversity
Political Participation	4.1	Right to vote and stand in national and local elections
	4.2	Membership in political parties
	4.3	Strength of national consultative body
	4.4	Active information policy
	4.5	Public funding/support for national immigrant bodies
Permanent Residence	5.1	Residence period
	5.2	Long-Term Residence (LTR) Language requirement
	5.3	Economic resources
	5.4	Duration of validity of permit
	5.5	Renewable permit
	5.6	Periods of absence allowed
	5.7	Access to social security and assistance
Access to Nationality	6.1	Residence period
	6.2	Citizenship for immigrant children (birthright and socialization)
	6.3	Naturalization language requirement
	6.4	Naturalization integration requirement
	6.5	Economic resources
	6.6	Criminal record
	6.7	Dual nationality for first generation
Anti-discrimination	7.1	Law covers direct/indirect discrimination, harassment, instruction
	7.2	Employment and vocational training
	7.3	Education
	7.4	Social protection
	7.5	Access to and supply of public good and services, including housing
	7.6	Enforcement mechanisms
	7.7	Mandate of specialized equality body-grounds
	7.8	Mandate of specialized equality body-powers
	7.9	Law covers positive action measures

system's responsiveness to immigrant children's needs and efforts to promote diversity within educational infrastructure. The fourth domain, political participation, examines immigrants' rights and opportunities for political engagement, including voting rights, political party involvement, and funding for immigrant organizations. Residence rights, the fifth domain, investigate eligibility criteria and procedures for obtaining residency, along with requirements for residency acquisition. The sixth domain, citizenship, encompasses naturalization criteria, dual citizenship provisions, and standards for citizenship acquisition. Finally, the anti-discrimination domain evaluates measures to protect immigrants from discrimination, accessibility of public services, and legal remedies against discriminatory practices.

Leveraging MIPEX allows for a nuanced understanding of how Korean immigration policies compare to those of other nations, providing insights into best practices and areas for improvement. This method not only enhances the credibility and depth of the analysis but also contributes to a broader discourse on the efficacy of integration policies worldwide. MIPEX serves as a comprehensive resource for international comparisons of immigration policy regimes, offering representative and validated data.

However, due to practical constraints, a thorough comparison of the Korean immigration policy regime with all 56 countries included in MIPEX poses challenges. Therefore, the selection of comparison countries becomes crucial. To address this, cluster analysis based on MIPEX overall scores is employed to identify suitable comparison countries.

Cluster analysis, a methodological approach used to classify heterogeneous entities into homogeneous groups, encompasses hierarchical and non-hierarchical techniques (Kwon, 2003; MacQueen, 1967, p. 251). Hierarchical clustering groups objects based on similarity, while non-hierarchical methods initially cluster objects and iteratively refine groupings. Ward's method, a hierarchical clustering approach utilized in this study, minimizes the sum of squared errors within clusters to determine the optimal number of clusters (Großwendt et al., 2019). Subsequently, K-means clustering, a non-hierarchical technique, is applied to finalize cluster assignments based on predetermined cluster centers.

The determination of cluster number involves evaluating coefficients derived from inter-cluster distances. In this analysis, hierarchical clustering using MIPEX domain scores resulted in four distinct clusters, determined based on differences in coefficient values between adjacent stages. To ensure robustness and validity, K-means clustering is performed using initial cluster centers. As a result, 56 countries are assigned to 4 clusters, as depicted in Table 6.5. This methodological combination of Ward's method and K-means clustering ensures a rigorous classification of countries based on their MIPEX scores. By integrating these techniques, the analysis achieves a balance between initial comprehensive grouping and refined assignment, leading to robust and meaningful clusters. The resulting clusters provide a framework for comparing Korea's immigration policies with those of other countries in a structured and insightful manner, enabling the identification of best practices and areas for policy enhancement.

Table 6.5 Cluster Analysis: Country Classification by the K-means Clustering

Cluster	Country
Cluster 1 (7)	China, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Russia, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates
Cluster 2 (18)	Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, Croatia, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Mexico, Moldova, North Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Ukraine
Cluster 3 (20)	Albania, Austria, Cyprus, Czech, Denmark, Estonia, France, **Germany**, Greece, Iceland, Israel, **Japan**, <u>**Korea**</u>, Lithuania, Malta, Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom
Cluster 4 (11)	**Australia**, Belgium, **Canada**, Finland, Ireland, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and **the United States**

Note: The countries in bold are representatives of each cluster and are the primary focus of interest in this chapter.

The MIPEX overall scores and the structure of immigration policies across specific policy domains for each cluster are as follows.

As depicted in Figure 6.1, there is a discernible trend emerges where nations exhibit proactive policies in areas such as Permanent Residence and Anti-discrimination, contrasted by relatively passive inclinations observed in the realms of Political Participation, Citizenship, and Education. Cluster 4, which includes proactive multicultural policy advocates like the United States and Canada, notably surpasses the average threshold in immigration policy measures, showing balanced engagement across all policy domains (MIPEX, 2019). In contrast, Cluster 1 exhibits an overall passive approach to immigration policies, marked by significant disparities and variations across specific policy areas. Positioned between the highly proactive Cluster 4 and the moderately proactive Cluster 2, Cluster 3, represented by countries such as Korea, displays partial imbalances across policy domains.
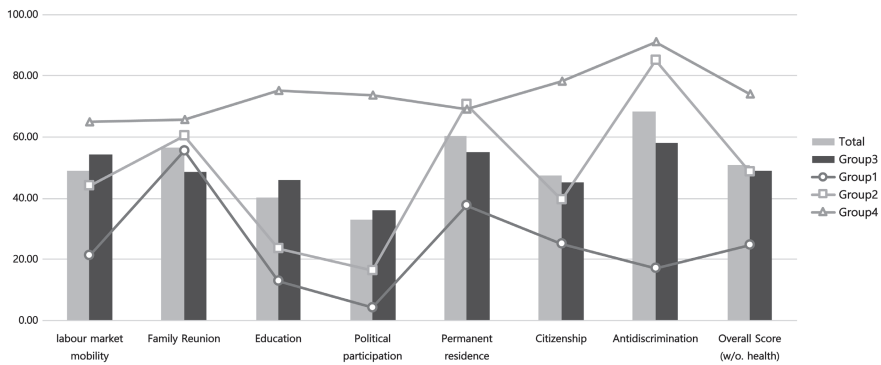

Figure 6.1 Comparison of MIPEX by Clusters

Source: MIPEX (2019).

The classification of 56 countries into 4 clusters aligns with established typologies of immigration policy regimes. Leveraging these insights, countries from Cluster 4, known for their receptive immigration policies, and select nations from Cluster 3 are chosen for comparative analysis alongside Korean immigration policy regimes. This comparative approach is particularly illuminating when examining discrepancies in policy content across distinct clusters. Conversely, juxtaposing Korea with countries within the same cluster facilitates the identification of shared traits and disparities within comparable groupings, enhancing analytical depth and utility. Accordingly, comparative analysis includes traditional immigration nations with active policies like the United States, Canada, and Australia from Cluster 4. From Cluster 3, Japan—sharing a Confucian cultural sphere in Asia with restrictive immigration policies—and Germany, a Western European nation with robust mono-ethnic norms akin to Korea and relatively restrictive immigration policies compared to its European counterparts, are selected for comparative assessment alongside Korea.

International Context: Korea's Positioning and Policy Dynamics

Selected countries from Cluster 4—Australia, Canada, and the United States—were compared with those from Cluster 3, including Japan, Germany, and South Korea. A comprehensive and dynamic comparative analysis spanning the years 2010–2019 was conducted, utilizing MIPEX overall scores and scores for each policy area annually (Table 6.6).

Initially, Korea's proactive approach toward immigrant inclusion across all detailed policy areas was contrasted with Japan, a fellow member of Cluster 3. Historically aligned with a mono-ethnic norm similar to Japan, Korea has traditionally exhibited limited social acceptance of racial diversity. However, amid globalization-driven immigration trends, Korea has implemented more active immigration policies across all MIPEX areas compared to Japan, maintaining an assimilationist policy orientation rather than embracing multiculturalism.

An intriguing parallel within Cluster 3 exists between Korean and German immigration policies. Both countries have maintained similar MIPEX overall scores over time. Similar to Korea, Germany has a history of nationalism and ethnocentrism (Won & Ma, 2017). Despite this, Germany has been one of Europe's largest destinations for foreign residents and has enacted various immigration policies. Like Korea, Germany has been characterized by selective immigration policies and an assimilationist approach toward immigrants (Kymlicka & Banting, 2006; Won & Ma, 2017). Notably, since the introduction of the Zuwanderungsgesetz (Immigration Act) in 2005, Germany has emphasized the principle of integration, focusing primarily on language proficiency and understanding of German society. Thus, there has been limited evidence of a fundamental shift in Germany's policy orientation toward viewing immigrants as subjects for assimilation. In this regard, both Korea and Germany exhibit a convergence in opting for selective and assimilationist policies, particularly focused on labor migration.

Table 6.6 International Comparison of MIPEX (2010–2019)

	Overall score (w/o. health)	Labor market mobility	Family reunion	Educa-tion	Political partici-pation	Perma-nent residence	Citizen-ship	Anti-discrimination
2010								
Korea	61.40	64.78	61.11	66.67	**65.00**	**77.08**	43.75	51.42
Australia	68.60	*53.67*	73.17	78.52	**65.00**	64.58	76.13	69.13
Canada	**81.38**	**75.89**	**93.50**	**85.71**	50.00	**77.08**	**87.50**	**100.00**
Germany	54.85	**75.89**	*41.50*	45.19	55.00	*54.17*	*41.75*	70.46
Japan	*42.19*	59.22	62.00	*33.29*	*20.00*	58.33	46.88	*15.63*
The United States	73.90	63.00	71.28	83.29	40.00	75.00	**87.50**	97.25
2013								
Korea	61.40	64.78	61.11	66.67	**65.00**	**77.08**	43.75	51.42
Australia	68.60	*53.67*	73.17	78.52	**65.00**	64.58	76.13	69.13
Canada	**81.38**	75.89	**93.50**	**85.71**	50.00	**77.08**	**87.50**	**100.00**
Germany	56.70	**81.44**	*41.50*	47.57	60.00	*54.17*	*41.75*	70.46
Japan	*42.79*	59.22	62.00	*33.29*	*20.00*	62.50	46.88	*15.63*
The United States	73.90	63.00	71.28	83.29	40.00	75.00	**87.50**	97.25
2016								
Korea	58.66	64.78	53.72	71.52	**65.00**	60.42	43.75	51.42
Australia	63.64	*37.00*	67.61	78.52	**65.00**	*52.08*	76.13	69.13
Canada	**80.59**	75.89	**87.94**	**85.71**	50.00	**77.08**	**87.50**	**100.00**
Germany	57.72	**81.44**	*41.50*	54.71	60.00	54.17	*41.75*	70.46
Japan	*44.22*	59.22	62.00	*33.29*	*30.00*	62.50	46.88	*15.63*
The United States	74.70	68.56	71.28	83.29	40.00	75.00	**87.50**	97.25
2019								
Korea	58.66	64.78	53.72	71.52	**65.00**	60.42	43.75	51.42
Australia	62.75	*37.00*	67.61	78.52	**65.00**	*45.83*	76.13	69.13
Canada	**80.59**	75.89	**87.94**	**85.71**	50.00	**77.08**	**87.50**	**100.00**
Germany	57.72	**81.44**	*41.50*	54.71	60.00	54.17	*41.75*	70.46
Japan	*44.22*	59.22	62.00	*33.29*	*30.00*	62.50	46.88	*15.63*
The United States	71.58	68.56	62.00	83.29	40.00	62.50	**87.50**	97.25

Note: The highest score is in bold underline, while the lowest one is in italic.

Furthermore, Korea exhibits a pattern of restrictive immigration policies in contrast to settler countries such as the United States, Canada, and Australia. The United States and Canada have historically positioned themselves as immigration nations, characterized by broad societal acceptance of immigration. Both countries have embraced multiculturalism as a foundational policy orientation, albeit articulated through different metaphors such as the 'melting pot' or 'salad bowl' (Castles & Miller, 2003; Kymlicka & Banting, 2006; Martiniello, 2007). This proactive stance is consistently reflected in MIPEX, where the United States and Canada

are noted for their comprehensive and progressive immigration policies across all policy domains. In comparison, Australia shares similarities with the United States and Canada in adopting proactive multicultural policies as central principles of its immigration framework. However, Australia's historical adherence to the concept of 'White Australia' contrasts with its pragmatic accommodation of immigrants based on economic needs (Hundt, 2019). MIPEX underscores these distinctions, highlighting Australia's relatively passive policy approach compared to Canada and the United States across a wide range of detailed policy areas.

Moreover, while minor differences exist in specific areas, Canada and the United States, consistent with their settler country characteristics, have adopted proactive inclusion policies. This proactive stance is notably apparent in areas such as Anti-discrimination and Citizenship. In contrast, Korea demonstrates relatively passive policies in these domains compared to others. Importantly, Anti-discrimination and Citizenship policies are closely linked to the distribution of scarce social resources. Consequently, Korea appears passive in allocating these resources to immigrants compared to Canada and the United States, highlighting a significant gap between Korea's immigration policies and effective immigrant inclusion.

Meanwhile, despite being categorized into the same cluster or typology, countries within this grouping exhibit varied directions in their immigration policies. This diversity in national approaches allows for an examination of the distinct characteristics of Korea's immigration policy regime from different perspectives. The focus and relative priorities of Korean immigration policy from 2010 to 2019 were explored, highlighting how these divergences differ from those observed in other countries. Key issues such as labor migration, family reunification, citizenship, and political participation—crucial topics in Korean society—were selected for comparative analysis with proactive immigration regimes like the United States, Canada, and Australia, as well as restrictive regimes such as Japan and Germany.

As illustrated in Figure 6.2, labor-related issues emerge as the predominant focus in Korea's immigration policy, consistently prioritized over time. This emphasis underscores Korea's historical reliance on international migration to address labor shortages. Several significant observations arise from this context. First, the prominence of labor issues in Korea's immigration policy aligns with similar priorities seen in countries like Japan and Germany, which fall within the same cluster. However, while Korea's emphasis on labor issues closely correlates with its overall MIPEX score across all domains, Japan and Germany notably exceed this score. Korea maintains a balanced approach across various policy areas, whereas Germany places relatively greater emphasis on labor migration, reflecting its industrialization history post–World War II and ongoing reliance on immigrant labor (Oezcan, 2004; Won & Ma, 2017; Yoo, 2010).

Second, the emphasis on labor issues in immigration policy is a common trait among Korea, Japan, and Germany—countries characterized by relatively restrictive immigration policies—while being less pronounced in settler countries like Australia, Canada, and the United States. These settler countries, with extensive immigration histories and more accommodating attitudes, exhibit nuanced policy
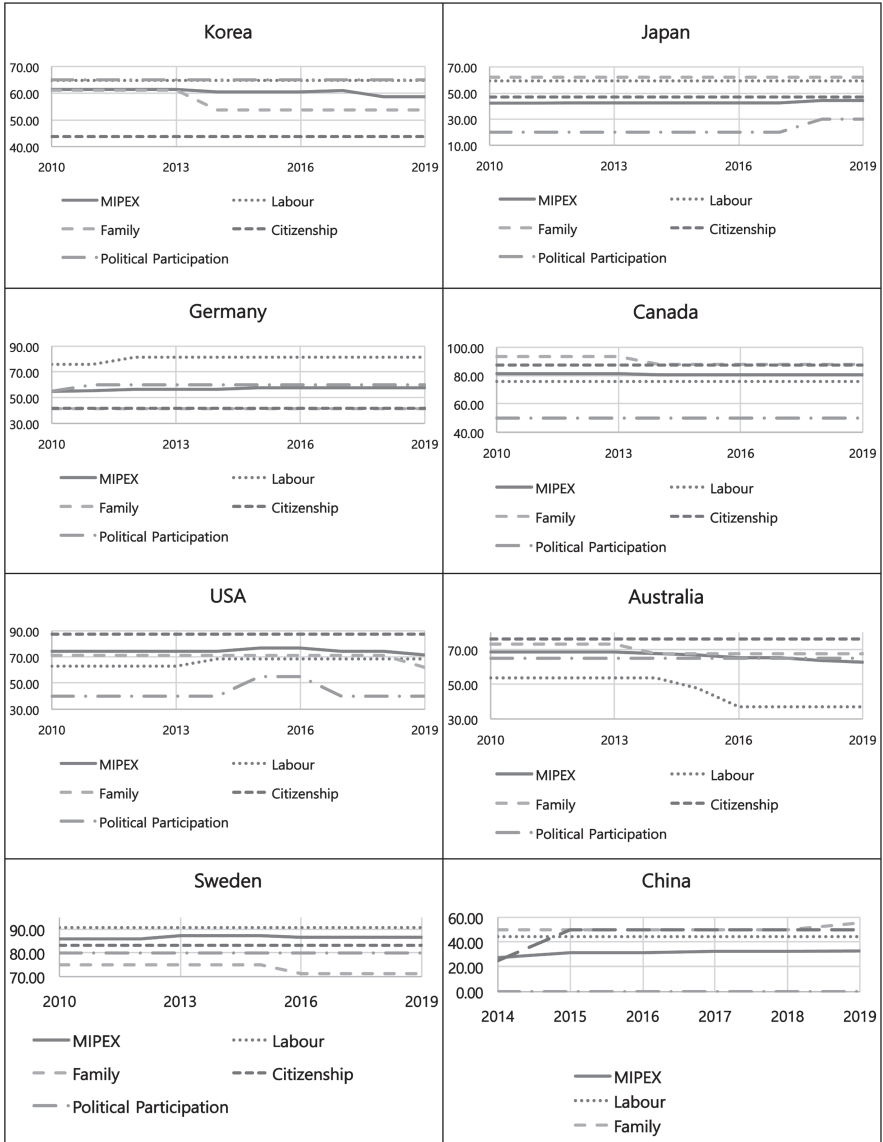
Figure 6.2 Changes in Relative Priorities of Immigration Policies by Country (2010–2019)

Source: MIPEX (2010–2019).

Note: Given the variability in MIPEX values on the *y*-axis across countries, direct comparisons of these numerical values may not be valid. Therefore, the focus shifts to comparative analysis by examining the positions and patterns of each policy area. These serve as proxies for policy priorities, offering insights into the relative emphasis placed on different aspects of immigration policy. This approach avoids over-reliance on the absolute MIPEX scores and instead interprets them contextually within each country's broader policy framework and historical context.

considerations beyond immediate labor demands. Notably, Australia's reduced focus on labor issues around 2013 contrasts sharply with Korea's approach.

Third, the notable emphasis on political participation in Korean immigration policy is particularly intriguing. Political participation, closely linked with political rights and carrying significant civil, social, and political implications, remains a contentious issue across many nations that receive immigrants. In countries with relatively restrictive immigration policies like Japan, and even in more immigrant-accepting nations such as the United States and Canada, political participation tends to be prioritized less compared to other policy areas. Particularly in the United States and Canada, political rights are notably lower in priority relative to other domains. In contrast, the fact that political participation holds a similar level of importance as labor issues in Korea, despite its lower overall acceptance of immigrants, is noteworthy. This underscores Korea's unique approach to integrating immigrants into civic and political spheres, warranting further exploration and detailed analysis in subsequent discussions.

Fourth, a significant observation is the limited policy emphasis on citizenship and access to nationality matters in Korea, which has persisted consistently over time. This pattern, reminiscent of Germany's approach, underscores the importance placed on ethnicity-based traditions in both countries, reinforced by Korea's cultural norms and stringent regulations regarding dual citizenship. This reaffirms the government's cautious stance on citizenship issues compared to the more proactive policies pursued by countries like the United States, Australia, and Canada. Moreover, the stark contrast with Japan, which exhibits passivity and exclusivity across all areas of immigration policy compared to Korea, adds further interest. Japan's approach, deemed incompatible with the evolving landscape of new immigration countries (MIPEX, 2020), warrants deeper scrutiny in comparative analysis. Furthermore, the evolving prioritization of family reunion policies in Korea is also noteworthy. Korea's immigration policy priorities have remained stable over time, with a noticeable decline observed in family reunion issues after 2013. This trend merits detailed exploration in subsequent discussions to better understand its implications and underlying factors.

Policy Details: Sub-Policy Domains

The structure and evolution of Korea's immigration policy have been analyzed through international comparisons, focusing on the 2019 MIPEX data. This examination includes comparisons with Cluster 3 countries, to which Korea belongs, to determine its relative policy position.

According to the 2019 MIPEX report (MIPEX, 2020, https://www.mipex.eu/key-findings), Korea achieves an overall immigration policy score of 56/100, surpassing the global MIPEX average of 49/100. This places Korea's policy in line with advanced nations in terms of comprehensiveness. Detailed exploration of Korea's immigration policy sub-domains reveals the following scores and rankings: labor market mobility (65/100, Rank: 12/56), Family Reunion (54/100, Rank:

33/56), Education (72/100, Rank: 8/56), Political Participation (65/100, Rank: 9/56), Permanent Residence (60/100, Rank: 26/56), Access to nationality/Citizenship (44/100, Rank: 28/56), and Anti-discrimination (51/100, Rank: 42/56).[1] These scores highlight Korea's varying degrees of policy effectiveness across different domains compared to other countries. While Korea demonstrates strengths in areas such as Education and Political Participation, it faces challenges, particularly in Anti-discrimination and Access to Nationality/Citizenship policies, where improvements are needed.

The scores across various policy realms, as outlined earlier, are compared with those of Cluster 3 countries, to which Korea belongs, as well as the average scores of 56 countries. As depicted in Figure 6.3, Korea demonstrates notably higher levels in the domains of Education, Political Participation, and Labor Market Mobility compared to both Cluster 3 countries and the overall average. Except for Anti-discrimination, Korea generally aligns with the average scores of Cluster 3 countries. These findings indicate that while Korea's immigration policy falls below that of traditional immigrant-receiving countries like the United States or Canada, it maintains relatively robust policies compared to other Asian nations such as Japan (Labor Market Mobility: 59, Family Reunion: 62, Education: 59, Political Participation: 30, Permanent Residence: 63, Access to Nationality/Citizenship: 47, Anti-discrimination: 16) and China (Labor Market Mobility: 44, Family Reunion: 56, Education: 7, Political Participation: 0, Permanent Residence: 54, Access to Nationality/Citizenship: 50, Anti-discrimination: 19).

However, a cautious assessment of the Korean immigration policy regime remains, particularly concerning its effectiveness in ensuring substantive levels of equal rights, opportunities, and security for immigrants, despite having well-established formal institutional frameworks. Given this context, a comprehensive evaluation of the Korean immigration policy regime is warranted, involving a nuanced discussion of the distinctive features across specific policy domains and their broader implications.
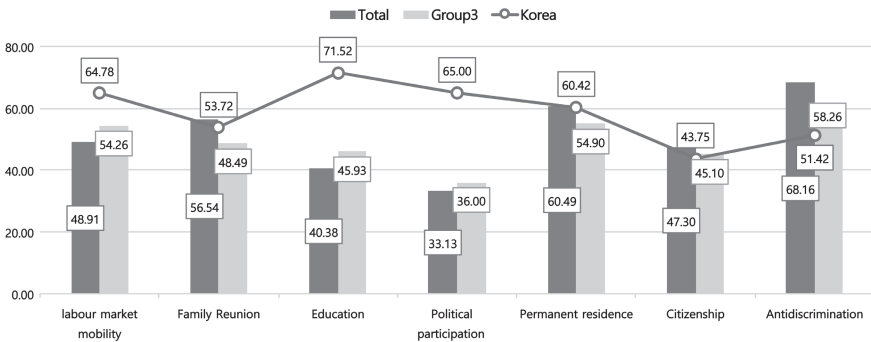

Figure 6.3 Comparison Average by MIPEX Policy Domains

Note: The comparative reference consists of the entirety of 56 nations, Group 3, and Korea.

Labor Market Mobility

In Korea, the labor market mobility of immigrants exhibits a relatively stable framework. Legal immigrants typically have facilitated access to self-employment and opportunities within the public sector, with specific proactive measures aimed at integrating young and female immigrant populations. The regulation of labor migration in Korea primarily revolves around employment permits, which restrict immediate access to the labor market for individuals holding residency status under immigration laws but without designated employment sites. However, the Act on Employment Permit for Migrant Workers, particularly through Article 11, mandates 'foreign worker employment education', intended to provide essential knowledge and vocational training for domestic job engagement. Despite these measures, there remains a notable gap in skills and vocational education support, particularly affecting temporary workers and female immigrants entering through marriage, which impedes their effective participation in the labor market (Figure 6.4).

Labor-related social security benefits in Korea are relatively limited. Access to unemployment benefits, pensions, and other social security measures is restricted to specific categories of foreigners residing in the country. These include individuals married to Korean citizens, those raising minor children who hold Korean nationality, or foreigners cohabitating with Korean nationals. However, such access remains constrained to a limited subset of foreigners, ensuring only moderate accessibility to these benefits.

Family Reunion

Regarding family reunion policies in Korea, they are somewhat restrictive, particularly for multicultural families. Legal sponsorship is required for family reunification, and automatic permanent residency for spouses and children is not granted, posing obstacles to family reunion. The eligibility criteria for dependent family members include both parents and grandparents, albeit solely for minor children.
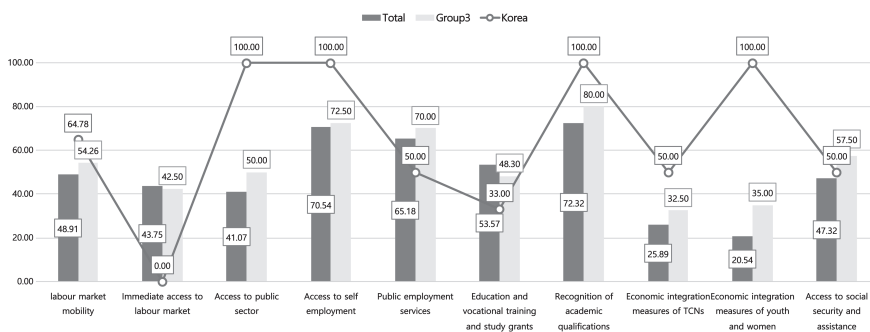

Figure 6.4 The Policy Structure of the Labor Market Mobility
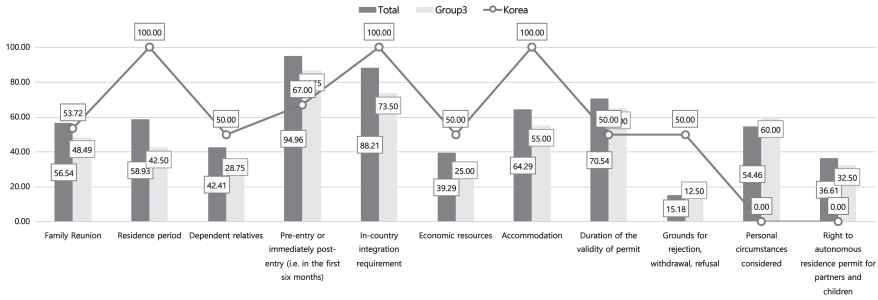*Source*: MIPEX (2019).

Figure 6.5 The Policy Structure of the Family Reunion

Source: MIPEX (2019).

Moreover, proficiency in the Korean language is mandated both prior to and following entry for family reunion purposes. Korea demonstrates a marginally higher threshold of multicultural acceptance concerning income and residency prerequisites. Nonetheless, legal facets regarding the robustness of familial ties before the revocation or denial of residency permits, the tenure of the sponsor's residency, and the consideration of personal circumstances such as physical or emotional abuse remain insufficiently addressed. Additionally, Korea does not afford autonomous residence permit privileges to spouses and adult offspring, thereby resulting in a score of zero for this criterion (Figure 6.5).

Education

In its evolution as a new immigration state, the Korean government has implemented proactive policies aimed at supporting and integrating immigrants through education. Immigrants receive comprehensive educational guidance across all levels, ensuring universal access to education, particularly for immigrant children. The Multicultural Family Support Act enables multicultural families to access language instruction and tailored support embedded within educational curricula. Leveraging legislative frameworks such as the Multicultural Family Support Act, which includes provisions under Articles 11, 11-2, and 12, the Korean government facilitates immigrant access to information about both compulsory and non-compulsory education systems through online platforms such as DaNuRi (www.liveinkorea.kr).

In contrast, the incorporation of diversity into school curricula in Korea remains somewhat limited. While multicultural education is included in the overall curriculum through the 7th curriculum revision, it is not designated as an independent subject. Furthermore, there are no proactive measures in place to recruit or attract immigrants as teaching staff to ensure diversity within the teaching workforce. Consequently, it remains practically challenging for immigrants to actively participate in the education sector as teachers (Figure 6.6).
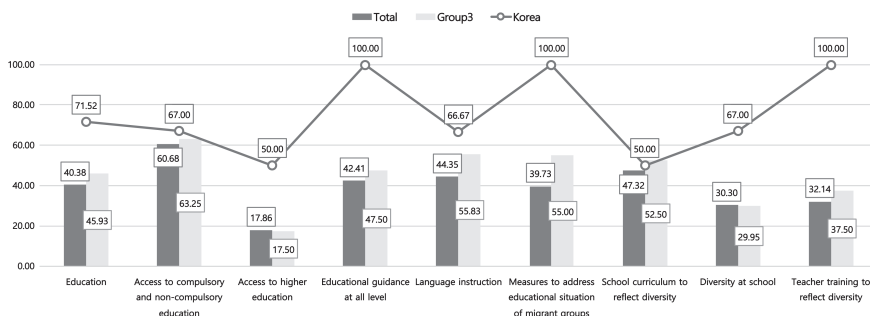
Total   Group3   —○— Korea

	Education	Access to compulsory and non-compulsory education	Access to higher education	Educational guidance at all level	Language instruction	Measures to address educational situation of migrant groups	School curriculum to reflect diversity	Diversity at school	Teacher training to reflect diversity
Total	40.38	60.68	17.86	42.41	44.35	39.73	47.32	30.30	32.14
Group3	45.93	63.25	17.50	47.50	55.83	55.00	52.50	29.95	37.50
Korea	71.52	67.00	50.00	100.00	66.67	100.00	50.00	67.00	100.00

Figure 6.6 The Policy Structure of Education

Source: MIPEX (2019).

Political Participation

Suffrage symbolizes a privilege reserved exclusively for members of a political community, namely the citizens of a nation. Despite Korea's high MIPEX scores in political participation, ranking second only to education, indicating proactive policies aimed at facilitating immigrants' democratic engagement, there exists a notable contrast. The provision of national funding to immigrant associations and consultation services through Foreigners' Policy Committees underscores Korea's commitment to immigrant political participation. However, juxtaposing Korea's relatively stringent immigration policies with the profound societal and symbolic significance of political power reveals a discordance in the government's ostensibly proactive approach to immigrant political participation.

Upon closer examination of the political participation landscape in Korea, it becomes evident that immigrants' involvement in politics is marked by a nuanced duality. While immigrants are formally acknowledged to have voting rights through institutional mechanisms, the actual extent of their political participation is constrained. Immigrants are allowed to participate in local and regional elections, provided they meet specific residency criteria. However, they are prohibited from participating in national elections. Moreover, immigrants are categorically barred from candidacy under any circumstance, and they face fundamental restrictions on political engagement, as stipulated by the Immigration Control Act, Article 17. Additionally, immigrants are prohibited from affiliating with political parties, further limiting their avenues for political involvement (Figure 6.7).

Permanent Residence

Similar to many European countries, eligible immigrants in Korea are granted permanent residency after a 5-year period of residency. However, marriage immigrants and overseas Koreans have the option to apply for permanent residency
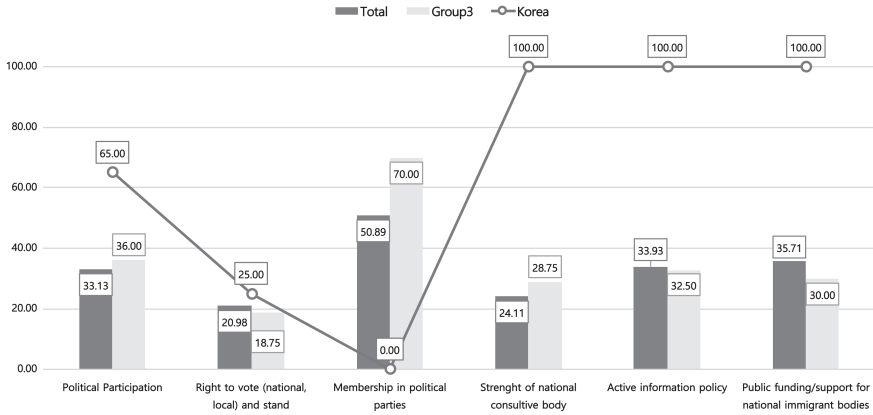
Figure 6.7 The Policy Structure of the Political Participation

Source: MIPEX (2019).

after residing for more than 2 years, reflecting differentiated acceptance based on immigrant groups.

Since 2018, immigrants seeking permanent residency must complete a social integration program and pass a comprehensive evaluation as part of their application process. Additionally, an income requirement has been implemented, necessitating applicants to demonstrate the ability to support themselves. Compared to Japan, where a 5-year period for residency renewal abroad is permitted, Korea imposes a more restrictive policy, limiting the period for renewal of permanent residency abroad to 2 years. Despite these limitations, permanent residents in Korea enjoy equal access to social benefits such as unemployment benefits, pensions, maternity leave, and family allowances, on par with nationals (Figure 6.8).

Figure 6.8 The Policy Structure of the Permanent Residence

Source: MIPEX (2019).

Access to Nationality/Citizenship

Access to Nationality/Citizenship policies in Korea are among the most restrictive compared to other policy areas. The country adheres strictly to *Jus sanguinis* nationality law, which emphasizes ethnic lineage, thereby making it impossible for immigra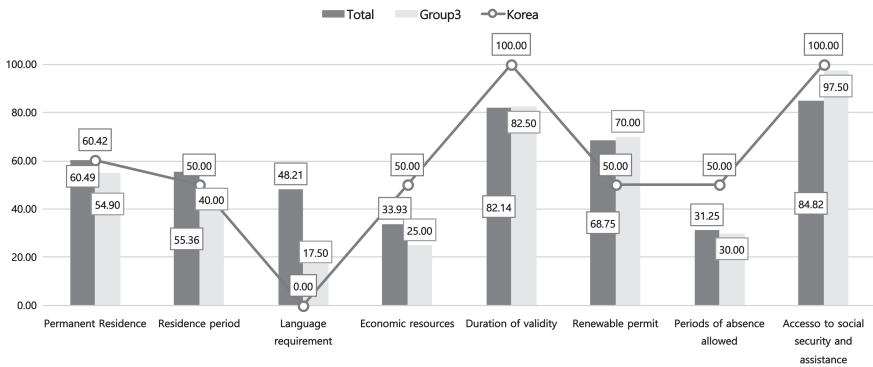nt children to acquire citizenship. Despite increasing immigration rates, Korea maintains its adherence to mono-ethnic and mono-cultural standards, thus denying citizenship entitlements to children and prohibiting dual nationality for naturalizing foreigners, a practice allowed in most immigrant-receiving countries. Korea enforces strict requirements for nationality acquisition, including renunciation of foreign nationality and a prohibition on dual nationality for most naturalized citizens.

This policy approach in Korea reflects a closed stance that contradicts the characterization of a 'new immigration state'. In terms of naturalization, residency requirements include a mandatory 5-year period and high proficiency in Korean, along with undergoing a comprehensive evaluation and interview as part of a social integration program. Additionally, Korea takes a stringent approach to citizenship acquisition by verifying income levels for livelihood sustainability and conducting criminal record checks (Figure 6.9).

Anti-discrimination

In the realm of anti-discrimination within the Korean immigration policy regime, it ranks among the most restrictive policy areas alongside citizenship. While immigrants formally enjoy equal access to employment, vocational training, education, and goods and services compared to domestic nationals, issues arise regarding legal remedies for cases of direct or indirect discrimination or harassment.
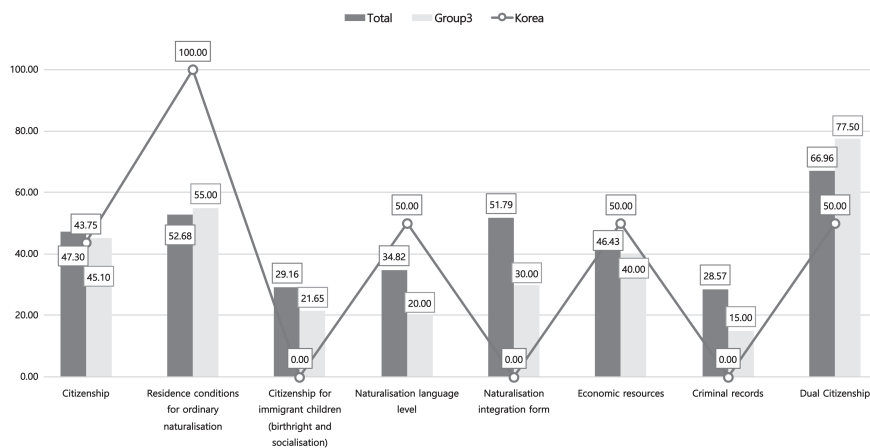

Figure 6.9 The Policy Structure of the Access to Nationality/Citizenship
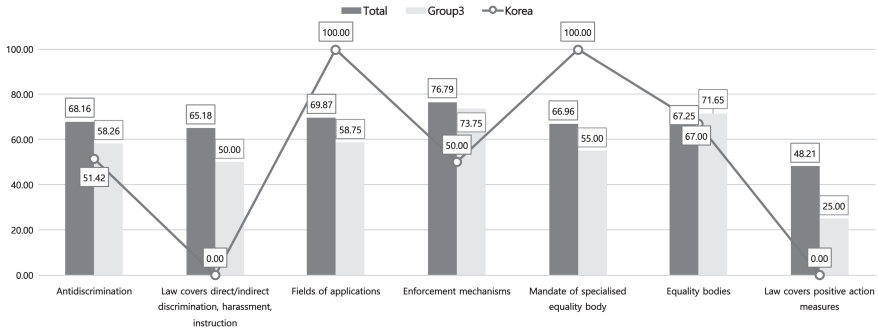*Source*: MIPEX (2019).

Figure 6.10 The Policy Structure of the Access to Antidiscrimination

Source: MIPEX (2019).

According to MIPEX (MIPEX, 2020, https://www.mipex.eu/key-findings), the Korean immigration regime appears proactive in prohibiting discrimination against immigrants compared to Japan. However, the enforcement mechanisms for such laws are less robust compared to many other countries. Korea lacks clarity regarding the executive body and procedures for discrimination victims, relying primarily on the National Human Rights Commission for arbitration and conciliation, with no explicit provisions for criminal prosecution of discriminatory acts. Moreover, proactive measures such as positive action to prevent discrimination are not legally guaranteed.

In conclusion, while the Korean immigration policy regime establishes institutions to prohibit discrimination nominally, it plays a limited role in protecting immigrants who face discrimination in practice. Anti-discrimination policies in Korea exhibit a dualistic nature, endorsing discrimination prohibition in principle but offering limited support to discrimination victims through public and legal institutions, thereby reflecting both arbitrary and passive dimensions (Figure 6.10).

Substantial Governance in the Korean Immigration Policy Regime

The concept of governance is employed here to elucidate how immigration policies function as a process of precaritization, leading to varying levels of precarity among immigrant groups. Governance is understood in various ways within scholarly discourse. According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, governance is defined as the act or manner of governing: the office or function of governing. In the realm of policy and administrative spheres, governance is characterized as 'self-organizing, inter-organizational networks characterized by interdependence, resource-exchange, [and] rules of the game' (Rhodes, 1997, p. 15). Similarly, Kelly and Duerst-Lahti (1995, p. 12) define governance as 'the process of implementing modern state power, of putting the program of those who govern into place'.

Drawing on these conceptualizations, this chapter undertakes a dual-dimensional approach to immigration policy governance, delineating between

substantive governance and structural governance. The former pertains to the cognitive landscape inhabited by government bureaucrats, encompassing policy ideas, national identity constructs, and evaluative stances vis-à-vis immigration and immigrants. Conversely, the latter concerns the institutional apparatuses, organizational infrastructures, and networked interactions characterizing immigration policy formulation and execution, as illuminated by existing governance literature. Although governance typically refers to structural governance, this section accentuates substantive governance due to the unique context of Korea, as explained further below.

The primary dimension of immigration policy governance, namely substantive governance, foregrounds the pivotal role of central and local government functionaries in the immigration policy process. In contrast to structural governance, which focuses on institutional frameworks, governmental structures, and their interactions, substantive governance centers on governmental bureaucrats as key actors in shaping immigration policy. The policy ideas and preferences of these bureaucrats regarding immigration and immigrants significantly determine the content and direction of immigration policy (Boswell & Hampshire, 2017; Schmidt, 2008). In Korea, where bureaucratic influence is deeply entrenched, substantive governance plays a crucial role in shaping immigration policy. This influence is particularly pronounced due to the lack of policy precedents or heritage in immigration matters, making the role of bureaucrats critical in navigating and shaping the country's approach to immigration. For instance, they may opt for granting only formal legal citizenship without political rights or employ exclusionary strategies in social rights such as employment or welfare (Bauböck, 2005; Hansen & Koehler, 2005). Various national policies may also be employed to enact precaritization, which involves creating or sustaining conditions of precarity for certain immigrant groups. Consequently, substantive governance becomes a focal point of analysis in understanding Korea's immigration policy landscape.

Substantive governance, a key facet of immigration policy governance, underscores the central role of governmental officials in shaping immigration policies. While structural governance deals with institutional frameworks and governmental interactions within the immigration policy process, substantive governance highlights the influence wielded by bureaucrats. These bureaucrats play a critical role in formulating and executing immigration-related laws and policies, with their policy preferences and ideas significantly shaping the content and trajectory of immigration policy.

The influx of immigrants poses a fundamental challenge to the redefinition of national identity within Korea's mono-ethnic paradigm. This adds another layer of complexity to the role of bureaucrats, as their ideas and orientations regarding ethnicity or cultural homogeneity (or heterogeneity) become even more crucial in determining the content of immigration policy. Ultimately, bureaucrats exert direct influence on the selective adoption of specific immigration policy models, thereby affecting the reception of immigrants and the types and scope of rights they enjoy. This signifies that the differential distribution of precarity among immigrant groups is directly impacted by bureaucratic influence. Bureaucrats' orientations and policy

preferences, particularly in a country like Korea, where immigration is a relatively new phenomenon, play a decisive role in navigating the complexities of integrating immigrants while redefining national identity. This underscores the importance of substantive governance in understanding and analyzing immigration policies and their implications.

Second, structural governance of immigration policy refers to the 'combined frameworks of legal norms, laws and regulations, policies and traditions as well as organizational structures (subnational, national, regional, and international), and the relevant processes that shape and regulate States' approaches with regard to migration in all its forms' (IOM, 2019). In the context of South Korea, structural governance involves the coordination between the central government and local governments in formulating and implementing policies, as well as providing immigration-related services. It emphasizes the role of networks, whether intergovernmental or inter-organizational, in pursuing common objectives in immigration policy.

The manner in which central, local, and relevant institutional interactions unfold within the immigration policy process determines the differential distribution of precarity among immigrants. Effective structural governance requires a cohesive framework where different levels of government and various organizations work collaboratively to manage immigration effectively. This involves not only the creation of policies but also their implementation and the provision of services that support immigrant integration and well-being. In Korea, this entails navigating the complexities of intergovernmental relations and ensuring that policies devised at the national level are effectively implemented at the local level.

Governmental Bureaucrats as Strong Actors

One significant component of substantive governance, which determines the precarity of immigrants as a new precariat, is the role of governmental bureaucrats. Their influence in selecting policy alternatives is formidable (Ellermann, 2021) and is closely tied to their identity. Within the policymaking process, bureaucrats' identities manifest either as impartial mediators resolving conflicting interests or as proactive agents driving policy agendas. While both identities shape bureaucratic power dynamics, in nations such as Korea, where a state-centric development strategy has historically prioritized bureaucratic authority, bureaucrats tend to align more closely with the role of proactive agents in the policy process.

A nuanced understanding of the impact of immigration policy and the role of governmental bureaucrats can be achieved through institutional and bureaucratic approaches. These approaches emphasize the centrality of administrative bodies or bureaucracy within the policymaking process. Institutional perspectives articulate that state institutions possess a degree of autonomy in making political decisions (Fitzgerald, 1996; Meyers, 2000; Skocpol, 1985), even amid external pressures from society and interest groups (cf. Allison, 1969). Consequently, immigration policies may arise from the independent deliberations of governmental departments and bureaucrats or may be tailored to accommodate (or undermine)

specific interest groups. For example, departments associated with agriculture may design immigration labor policies to benefit the agricultural sector or facilitate the entry of migrant workers advantageous (or disadvantageous) to specific industries.

The institutional and bureaucratic approaches, particularly illuminating in the distinction between strong and weak states concerning immigration policy, shed light on the dynamics of state involvement. Strong states are characterized by governmental decision-making that aligns with the overarching 'national interest', with less susceptibility to external pressures from civil society, legislative bodies, or corporations. France stands out as an exemplar of a strong state, where immigration issues are politicized through a statist lens. Conversely, weak states contend with considerable external pressures when formulating immigration policies. The United States, owing to its federal system and pluralistic party structure, manifests fragmented approaches toward addressing immigration concerns, thereby embodying attributes of a weak state or a sectoral state (Fitzgerald, 1996). The concept of a sectoral state denotes variations in governmental influence across specific domains of immigration policy. For example, while the United States may demonstrate characteristics of a strong state in its refugee policy sector, it may concurrently exhibit features of a weak state in its policies pertaining to illegal immigrants.

From this perspective, Korea aligns with the category of a strong state concerning immigration policy. This stance reflects a statist tradition deeply entrenched in government-led developmental strategies across various policy spheres. Bureaucratic influence is a prevalent feature in immigration policy formulation, even in Western contexts where immigration histories are more established (Boucher, 2013; Paquet, 2015). However, Korea distinguishes itself by the heightened prominence of bureaucratic involvement in shaping immigration policy compared to its Western counterparts. This heightened bureaucratic involvement stems from the rapid influx of international migrants into Korea over a short period, prompting urgent governmental action before public discourse on matters of racial diversity or multiculturalism could develop fully. Unlike Western immigration nations, Korea faces unprecedented policy issues, lacking accumulated policy experiences, legacies, and institutional frameworks. In such a context, bureaucratic policy ideas concerning racial diversity or multiculturalism inevitably play a crucial role (Park & Won, 2010; Park, 2010; Won, 2008, 2019). Consequently, bureaucratic influence in the realm of immigration policy in Korea transcends mere policy execution, assuming a role of paramount importance.

In the realm of immigration policy in Korea, a significant reason for the increased influence of government bureaucrats is the relative absence of involvement from immigration-related interest groups, a notable divergence from Western contexts. According to the domestic politics approach, also known as the society-centered approach (Meyers, 2000), the state is conceptualized as a neutral platform accommodating various societal interests, including diverse interest groups and parties. Thus, the formulation of immigration policy typically involves negotiation and compromise among these interest groups, which include political parties,

corporations, and civil organizations, each pursuing distinct objectives. These groups exert influence to shape immigration policies that align with their agendas. Historical examples, such as the resistance of tin-mining companies in Australia to government measures restricting Chinese immigration (Collins, 1988) or the lobbying efforts of the British Cotton Industry Association to compel the government to develop proactive immigration policies to address labor shortages, illustrate the role of interest groups in influencing immigration policy processes (Meyers, 2000; also see Body-Gendrot & Schain, 1992).

The orientation of immigration policy can lean toward either pro-immigration or anti-immigration stances, influenced by these interest groups. In contrast to Western contexts, where the influence of immigration-related interest groups on policies is evident (Meyers, 2000), in Korea, the determination of immigration policies is predominantly steered by government bureaucrats. These bureaucrats are relatively insulated from external interest group pressures during both policy formulation and implementation phases. The rapid acceleration of immigration in Korea over a brief period granted Korean bureaucrats a pronounced degree of autonomy before the emergence of interest groups focusing on immigration issues. As a result, government bureaucrats have positioned themselves as pivotal actors in shaping immigration policy.

Applying an institutionalist lens, the selection of immigration policies is contingent upon the institutional characteristics and level of autonomy of each country (Hollifield, 1989, as cited in Meyers, 2000). Therefore, the policy orientation and priorities of government bureaucrats play a decisive role in choosing policy alternatives. Given the contentious nature of immigration policy, which often involves conflicting considerations regarding the identity and instrumental value of specific immigrant groups, the prioritization of policies by government bureaucrats ultimately determines the selection of alternatives that may benefit or disadvantage particular immigrant groups. This policy prioritization significantly contributes to divergent precarity among immigrant groups.

Considering the Korean context, this chapter theoretically discusses and empirically confirms how the immigration policy ideas, models, and preferences of Korean government bureaucrats are structured and how they interact with the differential distribution of precarity experienced by immigrant groups. Both central and local government officials are key actors in Korean immigration policy, albeit with varying degrees of influence. Central government officials wield substantial power in shaping the trajectory and substance of immigration policy, driven by the rapid evolution of policies under central government-led initiatives that establish the overarching policy framework. Local government officials also hold significant sway, with a nuanced understanding of regional characteristics and specific policy needs. They frequently engage directly with immigrant communities at grassroots levels, facilitating the incorporation of regional policy demands in a timely and effective manner. Thus, a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics surrounding the conceptualization, integration into policy, and impact of immigration policy ideas requires careful consideration of the roles played by both central and local government officials.

Bureaucrats' Policy Idea on Immigration

Ideas on Racial Diversity and Nationhood

In governance discourse, policy ideas are commonly categorized into three primary types: public philosophies, program ideas, and policy proposals (Boswell & Hampshire, 2017; Schmidt, 2008). Public philosophies serve as overarching paradigms that define the contours of policy issues and establish the boundaries within which acceptable solutions are formulated (Goldstein & Keohane, 1993). In contrast, program ideas and policy proposals represent concrete, specialized, and technical solutions or alternatives crafted by policymakers to address specific policy challenges. While public philosophies offer broad foundational guidance, program ideas, and policy proposals provide detailed and technical approaches to problem-solving.

Within the realm of immigration policy, paradigmatic ideas are historical constructs that emerge from societal norms and values, profoundly influencing the course of policy development. Various policy paradigms—such as liberalism, utilitarianism, and humanitarianism—emphasize distinct values and priorities in the formulation of immigration policy. Liberalism, for instance, prioritizes the rights and freedoms of immigrants, while utilitarianism assesses immigrants' societal contributions through a cost-benefit analysis, potentially resulting in selective inclusion or exclusion. Humanitarianism, on the other hand, guides policies concerning immigrant groups with political implications, such as refugees or asylum seekers (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010). The influence of these paradigms varies across time, space, and reputational contexts, ultimately shaping the disparities in precarity faced by immigrant populations.

Various perspectives coexist regarding the function of policy ideas. According to institutionalist approaches, policy ideas act as structural constraints on policymakers, shaping their perceptions and delineating the range of viable policy options (Hay, 2010). Conversely, instrumentalist perspectives view policy ideas as resources that can be mobilized to achieve policy objectives (Baumgartner & Jones, 1994; Kingdon, 1984). Despite their seemingly contradictory nature, these perspectives coexist, with policy ideas serving as both constraining structures and mobilizable assets. For instance, countries categorized as settler states or classic countries of immigration, such as the United States, Canada, and Australia, exhibit variations in immigration policy content and scope based on dominant policy ideas (Cornelius & Tsuda, 2004; Freeman, 2011). While family immigration policies in the United States are influenced by liberalism or humanitarianism, Canada and Australia prioritize economic immigration based on investment or employment, reflecting utilitarian ideals (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010). Thus, policy ideas shape the range of policy alternatives depending on policy issues or immigrant groups, contributing to differences in immigration policy content among ostensibly similar countries and exerting path-dependent effects on immigration policy.

In the case of Korea, one prominent philosophy underlying the policy ideas among government bureaucrats is the adherence to mono-ethnicity and

mono-culture, influenced by a collective emphasis on the notion of pure blood. This fixation on mono-ethnicity and mono-culture inevitably influences specific policy proposals and programs. Consequently, Korea's immigration policy regime is characterized by exclusionary tendencies rooted in separatism (Kukathas, 1992). However, complete discrimination and exclusion are theoretically possible but impractical within globally interconnected economic and social systems.

Recognizing the social necessity of an inevitable influx of immigrants, the Korean immigration regime adopts a stance of selective exclusion and selective accommodation, characterized by discriminatory and exclusionary practices (Won, 2008). As a result, policy decisions are driven by utilitarian principles, assessing immigrant groups based on their contributions to problem-solving in Korean society and their instrumental utility (Hartmann & Gerteis, 2005; Ingram et al., 2007). For instance, while Korea restricts immigrants from competing with nationals across the entire labor market, it selectively allows immigrant participation in sectors where Koreans are less inclined to work, thus addressing chronic labor shortages. Additionally, the Korean immigration regime enforces restrictive and discriminatory policies, limiting welfare provisions, and restricting political activities such as suffrage and candidacy based on nationality acquisition status, all underpinned by utilitarian philosophical principles.

Based on these foundational policy ideas, this section examines the concepts of immigration, mono-ethnicity, multi-ethnicity, and multiculturalism, considering how they are perceived either as challenges or assets. The goal is to elucidate their potential impact on immigration-related policies among government officials responsible for shaping immigration policy content. Empirical validation of these influences was conducted among central government officials responsible for delineating the overarching direction of Korean immigration policy.[2]

In the Korean context, where mono-ethnicity functions as a societal norm predicated on lineage, the extent to which officials adhere to this mono-ethnic perspective shapes policy ideas and subsequently informs immigration policy formulation. Within this framework, variables such as pride in and preservation of mono-ethnicity, its nexus with national competitiveness, and the perceived adverse effects of racial diversity on social cohesion were examined. The evaluation of mono-ethnicity involved assessing attitudes toward its preservation, valuation, and future outlook (Hwang, 2007). The theoretical construct of national identity (nationhood) was delineated through an appraisal of both ethnic factors (lineage, place of birth, and duration of residency) and civic factors (respect for legal institutions, acquisition of nationality, language proficiency, and sense of belonging), drawing upon the International Social Survey Program's concept of nationhood (Smith, 1991). Perceptions of a multi-ethnic, multicultural society were categorized into embracing racial diversity versus perceiving it as a societal threat.

First, a nuanced stance toward mono-ethnicity among central government officials is revealed, with an average score of 2.5 out of 5, indicating moderate inclination. This ambivalence in the perception of mono-ethnicity warrants multifaceted interpretations. On one hand, it suggests resilience in retaining a favorable view of mono-ethnicity amid ongoing challenges posed by multiculturalism. Conversely, it

may signify a discernible shift in officials' perceptions of mono-ethnicity, despite Korea's enduring adherence to mono-ethnic norms.

Furthermore, government officials' perceptions of 'nationhood' serve as a pivotal determinant in shaping immigration policy paradigms. Should bureaucrats, as influential agents in policy formulation, construe the prerequisites of nationhood primarily through ethnic considerations such as lineage, a proclivity toward conservative immigration policies becomes more plausible compared to an emphasis on civic criteria. Empirical findings underscore that officials subscribing to policy paradigms accentuating ethnic elements are predisposed toward conservative and exclusionary immigration policies (Won, 2019). In this context, an assessment of central government officials' perspectives on national conditions reveals a higher endorsement of civic factors (3.16 out of 5) compared to ethnic factors (2.73 out of 5). These findings highlight the potential for more adaptable and rational responses to racial diversity and multicultural societies.

A particularly intriguing aspect lies in the contrast between the ideas of central government officials and those of local government officials, as well as the similarities and differences between the ideas of central government officials and those of the general public regarding nationhood. Specifically, there is a significant disparity in the conception of nationhood among local government officials compared to central government officials. While linear comparisons should be approached cautiously, a study by Won (2013) focusing on municipal civil servants in Seoul revealed that civil servants at district offices within Seoul prioritize ethnic factors (3.97) over civic factors (3.48) as conditions for being considered 'Korean'. This discrepancy suggests that, unlike their counterparts in central government, local government officials attribute significant importance to hereditary and lineage-related factors in determining citizenship. Such findings underscore the enduring influence of ethnic nationalism or mono-ethnic ideology in the Korean context. Furthermore, the emphasis on ethnic factors correlates with a heightened recognition of the necessity for discriminatory policies targeting immigrants, as supported by empirical studies (Park & Won, 2010). Consequently, it is plausible to interpret that local government officials may have a relatively limited scope for accommodating immigrants or tolerating multicultural situations. They particularly prioritize ethnic factors, which may restrict their capacity for inclusivity.

Along similar lines, another salient issue arises from the contrast between the perceptions of nationhood held by central government officials and those of the general public. Although there is a time gap, insights from a 2007 survey conducted among the broader Korean population (Hwang, 2007; see also Park & Won, 2010; Won, 2019) reveal divergent perspectives. Notably, the general public tends to place greater importance on ethnic criteria, while government officials prioritize civic considerations.

Among central government officials, the hierarchy of conditions for acquiring Korean nationality emphasizes civic identity factors. Key civic factors include feeling a sense of nationality (3.39), respecting Korean policy institutions and laws (3.28), being able to speak Korean (3.23), acquiring Korean nationality (3.15), and contributing to Korean political, economic, and cultural development (3.07).

In contrast, ethnic factors such as being born in Korea (2.62), having a Korean mother (2.78), and having a Korean father (2.80) are given lower priority.

For the general public, while civic factors like feeling a sense of nationality (3.51) and being able to speak Korean (3.48) are emphasized, there is also significant emphasis on ethnic factors such as having a Korean father (3.43) and having a Korean mother (3.41). A comparative analysis of these priorities reveals a clear contrast: the general public places higher importance on maternal and paternal lineage, ranking them fourth and fifth, respectively. In contrast, government officials rank these factors seventh and eighth, indicating a divergence in priorities. Conversely, government officials prioritize respect for Korean policy institutions and laws and contributions to Korean political, economic, and cultural development, ranking them second and fifth, whereas the general public ranks these sixth and eighth, respectively.

These findings permit several exploratory interpretations. For the general public, the continued emphasis on ethnic criteria for national identity suggests a gap between the expanding racial diversity and multicultural realities and ideals. In contrast, government officials, who are more frequently exposed to the increasing presence of immigrants, appear more flexible and aligned with civic ideals concerning racial diversity and multiculturalism. They prioritize contributions to Korean society from a utilitarian perspective. Overall, the perception of nationhood among central government officials aligns more closely with rational and modern ideals centered around civic factors, which underpin the direction of immigration policy.

However, it is noteworthy that there appears to be a change in the perception of nationhood among the general public over time and across different target groups. According to the National Multicultural Acceptance Survey conducted among the general public, there is now a greater emphasis on civic factors over ethnic factors concerning nationhood. Moreover, there has been a significant shift in the prioritization of nationhood criteria compared to a 2008 survey. Civic factors such as feeling a sense of nationality (3.28), acquiring Korean nationality (3.27), respecting Korean policy institutions and laws (3.27), being able to speak Korean (3.25), and contributing to Korean development (3.08) now rank higher. This shift toward a more modern perception may be partly influenced by the growing size of the immigrant population and the perception of immigrants as a solution to some of Korea's societal challenges over time.

Ideas on Multicultural Society

An empirical study involving public bureaucrats examined the impacts of multiculturalism on Korean society, distinguishing between favorable (multicultural support) and unfavorable (multicultural threat) outcomes. Positive attitudes toward multiculturalism were measured by affirmations of the benefits from racial, religious, and cultural diversity, as well as the belief that such diversity enhances national competitiveness and enriches Korean culture due to the growing immigrant population. Negative perceptions were assessed through responses supporting the

prompt repatriation of illegal immigrants, concerns about the negative effects of foreign labor on Korean wages, the displacement of Korean workers by foreign counterparts, and the association of increased immigration with higher crime rates.

The study revealed a significant disparity, with positive attitudes toward multicultural support (3.87/5) significantly outweighing perceptions of multicultural threat (2.65/5). These findings suggest two possible interpretations. First, Korean public bureaucrats may recognize the tangible benefits of immigration and multiculturalism. With the inevitable increase in immigrants, there may be expectations of enhanced national competitiveness from a multicultural society, leading to positive evaluations. Second, social desirability bias might have influenced public bureaucrats' views on immigration and multiculturalism. In a country where mono-culture and mono-ethnicity norms prevail, racial diversity is a contentious issue. Consequently, there may have been pressures to align more closely with socially desirable notions, often referred to as political correctness (PC).

Expanding upon this comprehension, a detailed examination of public servants' viewpoints concerning the societal shift toward a multicultural society driven by immigration was conducted, considering their demographic attributes. A key focus was distinguishing between civil servants based on their involvement in multicultural tasks, a distinction less commonly made among the general populace. Given their direct engagement in activities related to multiculturalism, civil servants' perspectives could be shaped by the nature of their interactions with immigrants, whether positive or negative. To examine these distinctions, work experience was categorized into those with and without exposure to multicultural tasks, further divided into supportive and regulatory responsibilities. This stratification allowed for a more nuanced analysis of civil servants' attitudes toward a multicultural societal framework.

Positive endorsement of a multicultural society exhibited a marginally higher propensity among male civil servants (3.90/5) compared to their female counterparts (3.81/5), although this difference was not statistically significant (t value: 1.556, ns). Conversely, the perception of immigration and a multicultural society as a negative phenomenon, termed 'threat perception', was statistically higher among male civil servants (2.70/5) compared to female civil servants (2.56/5), with statistical significance (*t* value: 2.547, $p < 0.01$). The observation that males tend to harbor more negative perceptions of a multicultural society relative to females aligns with prior research, suggesting that females, due to their heightened empathy and sympathy toward minorities, may offer a more benevolent assessment of immigrants, potentially mitigating negative perceptions of a multicultural society. In contrast, males may demonstrate a proclivity toward viewing social transformations stemming from immigration through a more pessimistic lens. Notably, given their heightened involvement in the labor market, males may encounter adverse experiences associated with the influx of immigrants more frequently, thus potentially reinforcing negative perceptions of a multicultural society.

Of particular interest is the observed variation in attitudes toward immigration and multicultural society based on experience in implementing immigration-related policies. According to the analysis, civil servants lacking experience in

immigration-related policies expressed significantly higher positive attitudes (support) toward immigration and multiculturalism (3.82/5) compared to negative attitudes (threat perception) (2.67/5). Importantly, differences in attitudes were noted based on the nature of work experience. Civil servants with experience in support tasks demonstrated higher positive attitudes (support) toward immigration and multicultural society (4.07/5) compared to those involved in regulatory tasks (3.93/5). Conversely, civil servants with experience in regulatory tasks exhibited higher negative attitudes (threat perception) toward multicultural society (2.99/5) compared to their counterparts in support tasks (2.43/5). The disparities in positive attitudes (support) (F value: 5.234, $p < 0.05$) and negative attitudes (threat perception) (F value: 10.999, $p < 0.001$) based on work experience were statistically significant. These findings are interpreted in the context of regulatory tasks being more closely associated with prohibition and exclusion, thereby exposing individuals to more negative facets resulting from immigrant influx. Ultimately, civil servants who have encountered more unfavorable situations related to immigration and multicultural society through their work experiences tend to perceive immigrant influx and multicultural society as threatening.

Furthermore, an examination of how perceptions regarding immigration and multiculturalism vary based on factors such as rank and age is intriguing. With increasing rank, there is a noticeable trend toward a more positive view of the transition to a multicultural society resulting from immigration (Grade 3–4: 4.09/5; Grade 5: 3.92/5; Grade 6–7: 3.01/5), a trend supported by statistical analysis (F value: 4.407, $p < 0.01$). Although the decrease in negative perceptions, specifically the perception of a multicultural society as a threat, with higher ranks was not statistically significant (F value: 2.193, ns), it is nonetheless noteworthy (Grade 3–4: 2.56/5; Grade 5: 2.65/5; Grade 6–7: 2.70/5).

These findings resonate with similar observations in Western literature (Williams et al., 1999). While caution is warranted in extrapolating Western findings, as they often do not focus on public servants, they do suggest that individuals with higher levels of education and social status tend to emphasize the positive aspects of immigration and multiculturalism. Typically, higher education levels and social status correlate with lower levels of direct competition with immigrants, thereby reducing perceptions of threat toward multicultural society. In light of this interpretation, it can be inferred that higher-ranking individuals, who often possess higher social standing and education levels, tend to perceive immigration and multiculturalism with less apprehension, resulting in fewer negative attitudes.

On the other hand, examining perceptions of racial diversity and multicultural society by age revealed that older age groups tend to perceive diversity and multicultural society as more threatening (20s: 2.45/5, 30s: 2.59/5, 40s: 2.73/5, 50s: 2.74/5), a trend supported by statistical analysis (F value: 4.630, $p < 0.05$). Older individuals are more accustomed to the norm of 'mono-ethnic, mono-cultural', and such entrenched norms may narrow their acceptance of racial diversity. Additionally, they may perceive the expansion of racial diversity as potentially undermining the established norm of mono-ethnicity, leading to heightened symbolic and cultural threats.

Bureaucrats' Preference for Immigration Policy Models

Based on the findings regarding immigration and multicultural society discussed earlier, this section delves into bureaucrats' differential preferences for various models of immigration policy. Immigration policy models broadly encompass 'assimilationism', 'differentialism', and 'multiculturalism', with the relatively recent emergence of models such as universalism, inter-culturalism, and mainstreaming (Huddleston & Scholten, 2022).[3] Each model of immigration policy carries its own set of attributes, thereby influencing the content of immigration policies and the inclusion or exclusion of immigrant groups based on the preferences of government bureaucrats. In other words, the varying preferences for specific immigration policy models among officials play a crucial role in determining the precarity of immigrant groups. The characteristics of each immigration policy model are as follows.

ASSIMILATIONISM

Assimilationism embodies a unidirectional model focused on integrating immigrants into the host society as fully equal members. It underscores the importance of robust societal bonds, often termed 'thick forces', among its constituents. As such, assimilationism places significant emphasis on the collective unity of the entire society, promoting cultural homogeneity and conformity. It prioritizes the collective identity of individuals based on shared understanding over their individual identities (Hartmann & Gerteis, 2005; Won, 2008). This framework posits that immigrant groups access limited social resources by relinquishing their original identities and conforming to the norms of the host nation. Ultimately, assimilationism envisions a gradual process whereby immigrants assimilate into the host country over time.

Assimilation is divided into cultural assimilation and structural assimilation (Huddleston & Scholten, 2022). The former, also known as acculturation, involves immigrants internalizing and aligning with the sociocultural values and norms of the host country. The aim is for immigrants to mirror the attitudes and behaviors of the native population. In contrast, structural assimilation pertains to immigrants' active participation and inclusion in the social structures and institutions of the host society, such as the labor market, elections, education, and protection from discrimination. Consequently, cultural and structural assimilation are interlinked, with cultural assimilation being facilitated by structural inclusion and vice versa (Huddleston & Scholten, 2022). France stands out as a country known for actively embracing assimilationist models. French society emphasizes the internalization of core principles like freedom, equality, and brotherhood, stressing the shared identity of 'new French citizens' rather than recognizing differences among immigrant groups.

A notable aspect in contemporary assimilation paradigms lies in the differentiation between segmented assimilation and traditional assimilationist frameworks. Traditional assimilation primarily focuses on immigrants' adaptive processes within the host society and their subsequent impact on immigrant group development, emphasizing the extent to which immigrants distance themselves from their

country of origin. In contrast, segmented assimilation shifts its focus to the diverse assimilation paths influenced by factors such as immigrant group characteristics or generational shifts, recognizing the heterogeneous assimilation experiences within immigrant populations.

While traditional assimilation provides insights into immigrants' adaptation, it has been critiqued for its limited acknowledgment of internal differentiation within immigrant cohorts. Its assumption of a uniform and linear adaptation process for all immigrant groups neglects the inherent diversity within these populations. Conversely, segmented assimilation offers a more nuanced perspective by attending to variations in the pace and patterns of adaptation and assimilation within immigrant groups. Notably, segmented assimilation highlights that the assimilation strategies employed by immigrant children to integrate into mainstream society's socio-economic strata differ from those of their parental generation, resulting in divergent assimilation outcomes within immigrant communities (Zhou, 1997).

A crucial distinction arises between assimilation and integration in the discourse on immigrant adaptation. Assimilation primarily seeks to conform to mainstream society by unilaterally adopting its fundamental values and norms. Conversely, integration encompasses not only this process of alignment but also acknowledges and embraces cultural differences. Moreover, integration expands the discourse beyond mere alignment to address structural inequalities and facilitate access to social resources and opportunities for participation. Merely striving for similarity is inadequate in addressing the multifaceted challenges associated with immigration. Therefore, as Heckmann (2006, p. 2) argues, integration necessitates a multidimensional approach that encompasses structural dimensions (relating to core institutions such as health care, housing, education, and employment), socio-cultural dimensions (encompassing attitudes, behaviors, and shifts in social dynamics), and identity dimensions (including individual identity and a sense of belonging). While assimilation underscores a comprehensive process of aligning with mainstream society, integration emphasizes the pathways through which immigrants adapt. Consequently, integration surpasses mere similarity to prioritize the incorporation of individual immigrants into the essential institutions of the host society (Heckmann, 2006, p. 2), or the attainment of acceptance as integral members of society (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016, p. 14).

DIFFERENTIALISM (DISCRIMINATION/EXCLUSION)

Another model of immigration policy is differentialism (Huddleston & Scholten, 2022), also known as ethnic segregationism. This model is rooted in an ideology of isolationism (Kukathas, 1992), where racial diversity is viewed not as something to be accommodated but as a target for policy exclusion (Hartmann & Gerteis, 2005; Won, 2008). Historically, various nations have implemented segregationist policies. Examples include black segregation in the United States, the Apartheid regime in South Africa (Huddleston & Scholten, 2022), and Australia's White Australia Policy (Hundt, 2019), all of which represent explicit and rigorous forms of segregationist models.

However, these overt and forceful segregationist approaches have proven unsustainable due to the globalization of immigration and the pragmatic necessity of immigrant labor. Consequently, there has been a shift toward more moderate or implicit forms of segregationism. For instance, Germany historically pursued segregationist policies by categorizing immigrant laborers as temporary guest workers, thereby discouraging permanent settlement by mandating their departure after a specific period (Sainsbury, 2006). Similarly, as discussed previously in Chapter 4, Korea has adopted implicit segregationist policies by adhering to a 'circular principle' for immigrant laborers, allowing them to reside temporarily only for the duration of their employment contracts and requiring their return to their home countries afterward. This selective and restricted acceptance segregates immigrant laborers only for certain (yet essential) occupations that mainstream populations tend to avoid, thereby leveraging the societal benefits of immigrant labor.

Korea, in its adherence to exclusionary segregationist principles, also imposes stringent conditions and procedures for naturalization, resulting in discriminatory practices against temporary residents, denying them access to citizenship, welfare benefits, and other social resources. This discriminatory treatment extends even to countries like Korea and Germany, which have mono-ethnic state experiences. Moreover, immigration countries like the United States and Canada also employ discriminatory practices against specific immigrant groups (e.g., lower-skilled labor) by limiting permanent residency according to a rotation principle.

Of particular interest is the observation that even when opting for fundamentally segregate and exclusionary policy models, they are selectively applied based on the characteristics of immigrant groups. This phenomenon suggests that differentialism extends beyond mere segregation and exclusion to encompass dualistic inclusion and exclusion within immigrant groups. For instance, discriminatory policy models are observed to be applied to the same group of immigrant laborers based on their skill levels. Lower-skilled immigrants often face restrictions on settlement under the rotation principle, while more lenient policies are adopted to attract high-skilled labor immigrants. This selective discrimination in the application of segregationist policies is influenced by several factors, including the values immigrant groups hold toward the host country, their evaluation of immigrant contributions, and the perceived instrumental utility of immigrants.

MULTICULTURALISM

Multiculturalism, as a policy model, is designed to address racial diversity by promoting intergroup equality and recognition (Breugelmans & Vijver, 2004). Its core objectives include the advancement of equality, the accommodation of diversity, and the prevention of discrimination through targeted policy initiatives (Huddleston & Scholten, 2022). Additionally, multiculturalism aims to foster coexistence and mutualism among diverse groups while offering policy frameworks to safeguard the preservation of cultural, social, and linguistic identities within immigrant populations.

The concept of multiculturalism is commonly categorized into two main variants: weak multiculturalism and strong multiculturalism (Taylor-Gooby & Edmund, 2014; Won, 2019). Weak multiculturalism represents a nuanced departure from assimilationist approaches. Unlike coercive assimilationist strategies, weak multiculturalism advocates for the voluntary assimilation of immigrants without erasing their ethnic or cultural identities. Proponents of weak multiculturalism argue that it facilitates the integration of immigrants into the host society's culture, language, and customs not through coercion, but by enriching the lives of immigrants. Ultimately, weak multiculturalism recognizes and respects the ethnic and cultural identities of immigrant groups while supporting their integration into mainstream culture as deemed appropriate.

Conversely, strong multiculturalism offers a critique of the limitations inherent in weak multiculturalism. It argues that weak multiculturalism fails to depart significantly from assimilationist ideals. According to this perspective, if assimilation occurs voluntarily among immigrant groups, then the notion that 'there is nothing wrong with assimilation' prevails (Parekh, 2000, p. 197). Moreover, strong multiculturalism emphasizes the inherent challenge faced by immigrants, who are inherently disadvantaged, in reconciling assimilation into mainstream society with their ethnic identities. Consequently, immigrants are more likely to prioritize assimilation into mainstream society over nurturing coexistence with their ethnic identities.

In response to these observations, the strong multiculturalism policy model advocates for institutional reforms across various sectors of mainstream society, including the labor market, education, and political systems, to promote substantive equality and necessitate policy intervention. Simply acknowledging immigrants' identities without addressing the inherent inequalities they face in mainstream society is insufficient for achieving true equality. Therefore, proactive policies that emphasize expanding opportunities for immigrant equality and participation are emphasized. Within this framework, the strong multiculturalism policy model employs active policy measures, such as safeguarding minority group cultures and rights.

In the strong multiculturalism policy model, racial diversity is not merely tolerated but actively promoted through policy frameworks and financial support. This approach enables immigrants to maintain their identities while achieving equal membership in mainstream society (Kukathas, 1992). Additionally, surpassing conventional citizenship rights and transcending traditional entitlements, the concept of 'multicultural citizenship' broadens policy scope to encompass the recognition of unique rights afforded to specific immigrant cohorts (Kymlicka, 1995; Parekh, 2000). This extends beyond mere modifications to the socio-political structures of mainstream society, establishing a distinct framework that institutionally acknowledges differences. This approach surpasses mere alterations to the socio-political structures of mainstream society, creating a distinct framework that formally recognizes and institutionalizes diversity. Countries that have notably adopted this robust multiculturalism policy model include Canada.

Table 6.7 Policy Models on Immigration

	Assimilationism	Differentialism/ Exclusion	Multiculturalism
Basic policy direction	Advocating for accelerated assimilation into mainstream society under the principle of citizenship acquisition	Preventing unwanted acquisition of citizenship by immigrants from the majority group and maintaining discriminatory treatment against immigrants	Recognizing the equitable worth of immigrant populations as minorities, supporting the preservation of minority cultures, and granting certain entitlements
Policy Objectives	Integration of minority groups into the fabric of mainstream society	Removal and minimization of racial minority groups	Promoting social cohesion and celebrating cultural diversity
Role of the State	Limited supports	Active regulation	Active support
Perspective on Immigrants	Offering partial acknowledgment contingent upon assimilation into mainstream societal norms	Alienation	Mutual respect and tolerance
View on Equality	Ensuring parity in access to social welfare and opportunities	Emphasis on the legitimacy of discrimination	Guaranteeing equitable outcomes alongside opportunities
Legal measures	Institutionalizing measures to eradicate discrimination	Prioritizing enforcement and deportation	Safeguarding fundamental rights
Conditions for Citizenship	Jus sanguine (right of blood)	Jus sanguine (right of blood)	*Jus soli* (the place of birth), dual citizenship

Source: Revised based on Castles and Miller (2003), Kymlicka (1995).

A summary and comparison of policy models on immigration are as follows (Table 6.7).

Divergent Policy Model Preferences

The study investigated the preferences of central government officials regarding various immigration policy models. Results revealed a hierarchical preference, with the assimilation model receiving the highest endorsement (3.87/5), followed by the discrimination/exclusion model (3.72/5), and the multiculturalism model trailing behind (2.95/5). Notably, there was a significant disparity in preference levels, particularly with the multiculturalism model being less favored compared to the assimilation or discrimination/exclusion models.

These findings underscore a prevailing inclination among Korean central government officials toward policies promoting immigrant assimilation and adherence to Korean cultural norms and institutional frameworks, rather than embracing multiculturalism, which emphasizes recognizing disparities and celebrating cultural diversity. The preference for the assimilation model mirrors patterns observed in Western contexts during the early stages of immigration policy formulation. However, it's essential to note that this preference isn't solely a temporal matter. For instance, France, with extensive experience as an immigrant-receiving country, still maintains assimilation policies, suggesting that attributing preferences for the assimilation model solely to temporal factors oversimplifies the situation. This enduring preference indicates that attributing the differential preferences for the assimilation model solely to temporal factors is an oversimplification of the complex reality.

Furthermore, beyond the overall preference for immigration policy models among central government officials, an analysis of nuanced preference structures across demographic strata was conducted. Initially, no statistically significant differences were observed in preferences based on gender for the various policy models, including assimilation (Male: 3.86, Female: 3.89, T value: -0.524, ns), discrimination/exclusion (Male: 3.74, Female: 3.70, T value: 0.661, ns), and multiculturalism (Male: 2.95, Female: 2.96, T value: -0.202, ns). Similarly, no noticeable distinctions were observed based on occupational roles. However, age emerged as a significant factor, revealing discernible variations in preference trends. Preferences for assimilation (20s: 3.88, 30s: 3.87, 40s: 3.85, 50s: 3.95, F value: 0.527, ns) and multiculturalism (20s: 3.00, 30s: 3.00, 40s: 2.86, 50s: 3.01, F value: 1.942, ns) remained relatively consistent across different age groups. However, there was a notable increase in support for the discrimination/exclusion model among older individuals (20s: 3.49, 30s: 3.62, 40s: 3.85, 50s: 3.90, F value: 8.801, $p < 0.001$). This trend suggests a heightened preference among older age cohorts for policies that prioritize mono-cultural ideals, likely influenced by perceptions of racial diversity as a destabilizing factor, aligning with observations from Western contexts.

The impact of work experience in immigration-related tasks on policy model preferences is particularly intriguing. The analysis revealed that individuals with support work experience showed a higher preference for both the assimilation model (no immigration task experience: 3.88; regulation tasks: 3.68; support tasks: 3.88, F value: 2.135, ns) and the multiculturalism model (no immigration task experience: 2.94; regulation tasks: 2.82; support tasks: 3.01, F value: 0.885, ns), although these differences were not statistically significant. In contrast, preferences for the discrimination/exclusion model exhibited a different pattern. Individuals with regulation work experience (4.32) showed a significantly higher preference for discrimination/exclusion compared to those with support work experience (3.64), with this difference being statistically significant (F value: 14.515, $p < 0.001$).

Among central government officials, while there is no significant difference in preference for the assimilation and multiculturalism models based on personal characteristics, substantial variation in preference for the discrimination/exclusion model is observed according to work experience and age. These findings suggest

that the assimilation model enjoys widespread acceptance among Korean civil servants, likely due to Korea's status as an emerging immigration nation, which mitigates significant dissent rooted in individual backgrounds. Conversely, the perception of the multiculturalism model as excessively liberal and premature within Korean societal contexts constrains the latitude for divergent viewpoints. The inherently negative associations with bias and segregation inherent in the discrimination/exclusion model afford a greater propensity for dissent, positioning personal characteristics such as work experience and age as influential determinants of preference for this model.

The observed discrepancies in preferences concerning the discrimination/exclusion model, contingent upon individuals' work experiences, reveal a nuanced interpretation of the contact hypothesis. The contact hypothesis, extensively discussed in existing literature, posits that increased interaction frequency tends to mitigate fixed stereotypes and prejudices toward immigrants (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Smith et al., 2009; Won, 2019). However, the salience of interactions lies not solely in their frequency but also in their quality. The accumulation of negative encounters with immigrants can paradoxically foster unfavorable perceptions. Regulatory tasks often involve issues such as illegal marriages, undocumented residency, and illicit visa issuances, all of which entail negative and threatening circumstances arising from immigration. Consequently, these negative experiences naturally steer preferences toward the discrimination/exclusion model within the sphere of immigration policy frameworks.

Furthermore, an examination was conducted to ascertain whether central government officials exhibit discriminatory preferences toward specific immigrant groups delineated by their types or objectives of immigration. Immigrant types are broadly categorized into marriage migration, labor migration, and ethnic migration (Ministry of Justice, various years; Won, 2019). Labor migration is further divided into low-skilled/non-professional labor migration and high-skilled (professional) labor migration. High-skilled labor migration pertains to foreign professionals who contribute to economic development by possessing specialized knowledge, experience, etc., in fields such as management, technology, education, and knowledge services. Ethnic migration refers to foreign nationals, including Chinese diaspora residents.

The investigation into preference patterns based on immigrant types revealed that among central government officials, the most favored immigrant group is high-skilled labor migrants (4.07/5), followed by production labor migrants (3.30/5), marriage migrants (3.12/5), and ethnic migrants (2.936/5). The discriminatory preferences contingent upon immigrant typologies prompt several intriguing points. First, it underscores the perceived practical utility and allure of high-skilled labor migration from the perspective of central government officials. As previously posited, evaluation criteria for immigrants typically revolve around their societal worthiness or deservingness and their instrumental utility in contributing to the welfare of the host society. From this standpoint, high-skilled labor migrants are likely to receive more favorable evaluations compared to other immigrant types. The cohort of high-skilled professionals, primarily composed of managers, researchers, scientists, engineers, professors, and specialized professionals in finance, health

care, design, construction, and advanced industries (IT, BT, new materials, etc.), is perceived to possess a higher utility than cost. Their expertise, capabilities, and investment potential are seen as substantial contributors to the advancement of Korean society. Given the sensitivity of public officials to policy costs and benefits, the higher preference for high-skilled labor migration over production labor migration is a comprehensible outcome.

Second, since 2008, the Korean government has placed substantial emphasis on the recruitment of exceptional talents as a central tenet of its immigration strategy. It is essential to note that preferences toward immigrant groups and the trajectory of policies are contingent upon the ideological orientation and distinctive characteristics of the governing administration. Historically, a noticeable disparity in policy trajectories concerning labor migration emerged between the Participatory Administration (2003–2008), which espoused progressive ideals, and the Pragmatic Administration (2008–2013), characterized by conservative leanings. This divergence in policy direction was reflected in both the overarching policy visions and the operational frameworks for immigration policy. The Participatory Administration aspired to foster an 'inclusive society harmonizing with foreigners', while the Pragmatic Administration aimed to position South Korea as a 'globally leading nation coexisting with foreigners'. Operationally, the Participatory Administration established the 'Commission on the Eradication of Disparities and Discrimination', whereas the Pragmatic Administration instituted the 'National Competitiveness Enhancement Committee' to drive immigration policies forward. In terms of policy focus, the Participatory Administration targeted 'marriage immigrants and foreign residents', whereas the Pragmatic Administration prioritized 'exceptional talents'. Consequently, while the Participatory Administration emphasized 'support for the social integration of female marriage immigrants and multicultural families' as a pivotal policy aspect, the Pragmatic Administration emphasized 'strategies to attract global high-skilled professionals' as its primary policy thrust (Won, 2019; Won & Park, 2010).

Another salient observation regarding discriminatory preferences based on immigrant typologies is the relatively higher preference for low-skilled/non-professional labor migration compared to marriage migration. The significance of marriage migration within the Korean context cannot be understated. Despite the scale of immigration, marriage migrants, particularly women, hold substantial societal significance and contribute to societal utility. Nevertheless, it is striking that the preference for marriage migrants is comparatively lower among central government officials than the preference for low-skilled/non-professional labor migration.

One plausible interpretation is that central government officials perceive low-skilled/non-professional labor migration as imposing a lesser social burden. This type of migration not only addresses labor demands in low-wage, labor-intensive sectors but also offers flexibility for temporary utilization as per demand. Consequently, policymakers who are sensitive to the fiscal implications of policies may perceive the societal utility of low-skilled/non-professional labor migration to outweigh its associated costs, unlike marriage migration. Marriage migration, in contrast, entails societal costs that are as significant as its societal benefits and inherently presupposes the attainment of permanent residency status.

Moreover, the welfare demands of multicultural families formed through marriage migration are inevitable. This reality engenders ambivalent perceptions of marriage migration, despite its considerable societal benefits, resulting in lower preferences compared to low-skilled/non-professional labor migration. This interpretation extends to the low preferences for ethnic migration as well. While protecting overseas compatriots from an ethical and moral standpoint is desirable, from a pragmatic perspective that considers policy costs, the influx of ethnic migrants may be perceived as imposing more societal burdens than societal benefits by public officials.
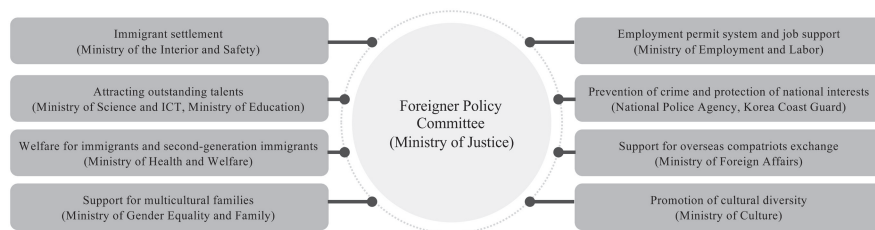
Structural Governance of Immigration Policy

Structural Governance of Central Government

Traditionally, Korea has taken a proactive role in shaping immigration policies, encompassing the scale, composition, and timing of immigrant inflows across all sectors. This approach aligns with its robust nationalist development strategy. To address labor shortages, there is a degree of collaboration between the government and the private sector in employing migrant workers. However, given the predominant presence of small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) that heavily rely on government support, their influence on policymaking is relatively subdued. Additionally, with the exception of refugee-related matters, South Korea has limited engagement with international organizations regarding immigration. Consequently, immigration policy in Korea predominantly operates within domestic boundaries, guided by the national political economy.

One of the most distinctive features of immigration policy governance in Korea is the involvement of diverse actors, which results in a fragmented system. The scope of immigration policy in Korea encompasses border control, immigration management, nationality policies, issues specific to immigrant groups, and social integration policies. While the central government sets overarching objectives, implementation occurs through a decentralized governance framework, with each ministry managing specific policy domains.

The key actors in Korea's immigration policy and the immigration issues managed by each actor are illustrated in Figure 6.11. The central coordinating body is

Figure 6.11 Structural Governance of Immigration Policy: Central Government

Source: The Ministry of Justice (2023, https://www.immigration.go.kr/immigration/1605/subview.do).

the Immigration Policy Committee, which aligns policies across ministries based on the Basic Plan for Foreigner Policy. This committee guides immigration policy-making and management across different domains.

The Immigration Policy Commission, comprised of a total of 19 ministries and agencies, including the Prime Minister's Office, is responsible for setting the long-term policy framework for immigration in Korea. It formulates the Master Plan for Immigration Policy every five years, covering aspects such as border control management, nationality regulations, and social integration measures. Among these entities, the Ministry of Justice assumes a pivotal role. Initially instituted to address the intricate nature of immigration policy and the dynamic policy landscape, the Immigration Policy Commission was established to proactively chart comprehensive and structured policy directions at the national level. However, in practice, rather than comprehensively coordinating immigration policy, the committee tends to oversee fragmented and individual policy initiatives conducted by relevant ministries and agencies. Consequently, criticism has been directed toward the Immigration Policy Commission for merely compiling policies from various ministries without integrating them effectively, often referred to as a 'stapling committee'.

Furthermore, the bureaucratic fragmentation of immigration policy is exacerbated by the existence of separate policy committees for different policy areas. As seen in Table 6.8, in addition to the central Immigration Policy Commission, there are separate committees established for multicultural family policy, foreign labor policy, overseas compatriot policy, cultural diversity policy, and low birthrate and aging society policy, each setting its own policy direction according to specific immigration issues. As these committees operate with their own distinct goals, the lack of policy coordination and the presence of overlapping policies have become chronic issues (Yoo et al., 2020).

As observed, immigration policies in Korea are distributed across multiple committees based on specific immigration issues and are subsequently implemented by individual ministries. The execution of these policies is shaped by two principal factors: (1) the categorization of policies according to their intended recipients and (2) the management of policies based on their content. First, the Ministry of Justice, operating through the Immigration Policy Commission, concentrates on immigration affairs and the interests of overseas compatriots. Aligned with the directives established by this commission, specific policies are enacted through entities such as the Immigration Office and various social adaptation programs, often outsourced to private organizations.

Second, policies concerning migrant workers fall within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Employment and Labor. Governed by the directives set forth by the Foreign Labor Policy Committee, these policies are implemented through governmental bodies such as employment centers and foreign worker support centers, as well as through private contractors. Third, oversight of marriage immigrants and multicultural families falls under the purview of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. Policies outlined by the Multicultural Family Policy Committee are translated into action through specific initiatives managed by multicultural family support centers, often operated by contracted private organizations.

Table 6.8 Committees for Immigration Policy: Central Government

	Immigration policy commission	Multicultural family policy committee	Foreign labor policy committee	Overseas compatriot policy committee	Cultural diversity committee
Function	Deliberation and coordination	Deliberation and coordination	Deliberation and resolution	Deliberation and coordination	Deliberation and coordination
Key tasks	- Development of master plan for immigration policy - Creation of implementation plan for immigration policy, monitoring, and evaluation - Facilitation of social integration for foreign residents	-Establishment of master plan for multicultural family policy - Formulation of implementation plan for multicultural family policy, progress assessment, and evaluation - Conducting research, analysis, and evaluation of policies pertaining to multicultural families - Coordination of diverse support programs for multicultural families	- Development of master plan for national labor policy - Determination of sectors and magnitude for the introduction of foreign workers - Designation and withdrawal of countries eligible to send foreign workers	- Development of basic guidelines for overseas compatriot policy - Assistance for settlement of overseas compatriots - Enhancement of legal and social status, strengthening of bonds, and promotion of identity among overseas compatriots - Support for domestic and international economic activities of overseas compatriots	- Formulation and amendment of master plans -Assessment of master plan implementation - Conducting surveys on cultural diversity - Interagency collaboration for the preservation and promotion of cultural diversity - International collaboration for the preservation and promotion of cultural diversity

Source: Revised based on Yoo et al. (2020).

Finally, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs supervises policies related to overseas compatriots. Policies established by the Overseas Compatriot Policy Committee are executed through governmental entities such as embassies, consulates, and overseas compatriot foundations. Additionally, policies are integrated and managed regardless of their target ministry based on their content. For instance, immigration-related crimes fall under the jurisdiction of the National Police Agency, immigrant and children's education is overseen by the Ministry of Education, welfare provision is under the purview of the Ministry of Health and Welfare, and settlement support is administered by the Ministry of the Interior and Safety.

Structural Governance among Central Government-Local Authorities-Agencies

The structural governance of Korea's immigration policy is characterized by the interaction between the central government, local authorities, and related institutions. The central government determines policy objectives and directions based on policy content or targets outlined by relevant ministries, while local authorities act as intermediaries in implementing centrally formulated policies and delivering immigration-related public services to local residents.

As illustrated in Figure 6.12, Korea's immigration policy is fragmented across individual ministries. Consequently, the service delivery system of local governments targeting immigrants does not deviate significantly from this pattern.

Local governments act as channels for the implementation of public policies and services concerning immigration, which originate from diverse ministries such as the Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Employment and Labor, and Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. These policies are tailored based on distinct policy objectives and content. For example, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family delegates the operation of multicultural family support centers to facilitate the
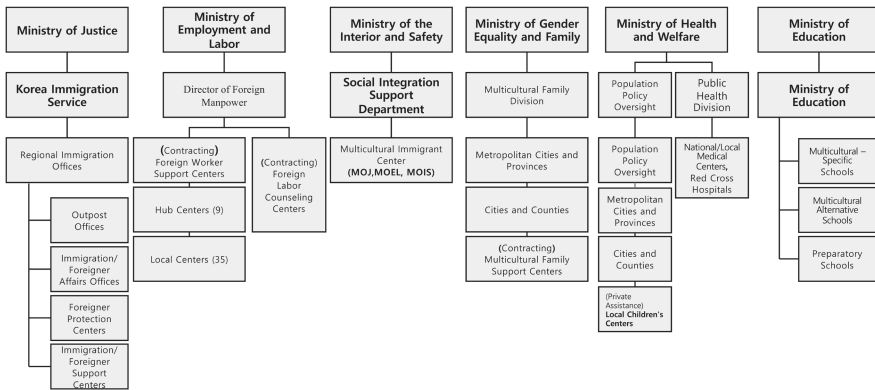

Figure 6.12 Delivery Systems of Public Policy and Public Service on Immigration

Source: Revised based on The Gyeonggi Welfare Foundation (2020).

integration of marriage immigrants and their families into local communities. Conversely, the Ministry of Public Administration and Security supervises multicultural plus centers, while the Ministry of Health and Welfare oversees a spectrum of facilities, including social welfare centers, self-reliance support centers, local children's centers, health centers, and multicultural schools.

Moreover, both the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family and the Ministry of Health and Welfare have service delivery systems that encompass all levels of local governments, ranging from metropolitan cities to provinces, cities, and counties. For instance, the Foreign Workers Support Center, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Employment and Labor, offers services such as interpretation assistance, legal counseling, Korean language education, and legal education to foreign workers and employers. Similarly, the Immigrant Women's Violence Support Center provides temporary protection and medical assistance to immigrant women who have experienced violence, in addition to managing group homes for them and their children. These policies and procedures are executed through various tiers of local governments or through private contracts with relevant institutions. Ultimately, local governments and their affiliated bodies play a crucial role in delivering public services to immigrants at the grassroots level, guided by policies formulated by the central government.

In the governance of Korea's immigration policy, various agencies assume significant roles, each dedicated to specific policy objectives. A comprehensive overview of immigration-related agencies at the local level is outlined as follows. First, the Immigration Office, operating through its 21 regional offices, exercises oversight over the entire foreign population. Its functions encompass a wide array of tasks, including immigration screening, visa issuance, foreigner registration, residency status management, and the provision of educational and informational programs. These programs encompass support for settlement, initiatives aimed at fostering social integration, early adaptation programs, and guidance for international marriages.

Second, institutions such as the Foreign Labor Counseling Center and the Foreign Workers Support Center are specifically focused on addressing the needs of migrant workers and their employers. The former provides essential information conducive to adapting to domestic life and business operations, along with offering consultations for both parties involved. Meanwhile, the latter offers region-specific services, including interpretation support, legal counseling, Korean language and IT education, and medical assistance.

Furthermore, specialized services are available for immigrant youth aged 9–24 through the Rainbow Youth Center. This facility offers a spectrum of assistance ranging from accommodation support to career guidance and psychological counseling. Through commissioned educational programs, vocational training is facilitated, enhancing the employability of immigrant youth. Agencies dedicated to supporting immigrant women and multicultural families are notably active. The Multicultural Family Support Centers, numbering 228 nationwide, provide comprehensive assistance to marriage immigrants and their children. Services include language education, interpretation, social adaptation programs, and employment support.

Additionally, the DANURI Call Center offers Korean living information, crisis counseling, and emergency assistance to multicultural families and immigrant women. It operates six emergency shelters nationwide for crisis intervention. Moreover, 28 Immigrant Women's Violence Support Centers offer shelter and group homes nationwide to safeguard immigrant women experiencing various forms of gender-based violence. This effort is complemented by the Immigrant Women's Self-Reliance Support Center, which provides resources for independence and self-sufficiency, including housing, medical, and legal support.

Up to this point, we have delineated the structural governance of immigration policy within the Korean immigration regime, distinguishing between the central government and institutions related to the central-local government nexus. Through the preceding discussions, we can synthesize the characteristics and constraints of immigration governance as follows.

First, a significant issue arises in interagency governance within the central government apparatus. As elucidated, immigration policy governance in Korea is characterized by various ministries within the central government managing their policies independently, each delineated by distinct policy domains. Within this framework, effective governance necessitates cooperation that navigates ministry boundaries, which proves to be both crucial and challenging. However, such collaborative efforts encounter obstacles due to policy silos stemming from barriers between diverse ministries.

In line with relevant theories (Ostrom & Ostrom, 1971), government ministries act as rational entities striving to actualize their respective preferences and interests. Consequently, each ministry tends to pursue the maximization of its interests and preferences as the focus of rational decision-making. This pursuit of interest maximization complicates cooperation in multi-agency policy governance. One contributing factor is each ministry's inclination to expand its budget. This tendency poses a challenge as augmenting the budget of one ministry within a finite budgetary realm creates zero-sum relationships with other ministries, thereby fostering conflicts. Moreover, ministries are incentivized to magnify their workload and outputs. The proliferation of tasks not only enhances a ministry's stature but also provides a rationale for mobilizing human and material resources. Accordingly, the drive to maximize budgets and resources exacerbates inter-ministerial conflicts over jurisdictional boundaries, impeding collaboration.

In contexts where multiple governmental bodies participate jointly, such as in the governance of South Korea's immigration policy, another obstacle to cooperation arises from a propensity for risk aversion toward unfavorable policy outcomes. When various ministries engage in immigration policies, the resulting outcomes are considered shared responsibilities in principle. However, each ministry's focus on minimizing risks, particularly those tied to negative outcomes, hinders collaboration through passive information sharing and a lack of cooperative efforts. Passive information exchange fosters incentives for shirking responsibility for potential policy failures in the future.

This phenomenon is evident in immigration policies. First, the structure for formulating, executing, and directly administering immigration policies is characterized by its multi-tiered and fragmented nature. Such segmentation, where administrative entities are compartmentalized based on immigrant targets or policy content, tends to prioritize government ministries as service providers rather than as entities responsive to policy demand. Moreover, when various ministries are tasked with implementing immigration policies based on distinct targets or policy domains, there emerges a risk of becoming entrenched in the interests of specific groups due to divergent perspectives and perceptions. For instance, ministries overseeing agriculture may tailor immigration labor policies to benefit agricultural sectors or encourage the influx of immigrant workers for their policy fields. Similarly, the concentration of social integration policies primarily within the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family restricts integration efforts beyond policies aimed at the entire immigrant population to those focused specifically on marriage migrant women.

This issue is intertwined with the chronic problem of sectionalism rooted in the boundaries between ministries, a longstanding criticism within the Korean bureaucratic system. Despite the formal establishment of comprehensive directions for immigration policy, specific policies are managed separately, leading to diminished feasibility in achieving long-term and systematic immigration policy goals. Consequently, this sectional governance structure inevitably results in the duplication of efforts targeting the same demographic groups. Furthermore, the differing emphases among ministries pose challenges in executing comprehensive and systematic policies.

Meanwhile, the governance structure involving the central government, local authorities, and institutions in Korea encounters several limitations. Primarily, at a macro level, Korea's immigration policy tends to align with either a centralist type or an inclusive authority model (Wright, 1988). Traditionally, the country adopts a top-down approach, with dominance from the central government, reflecting the asymmetrical power dynamic between central and local authorities. Similar to other policy areas, immigration policy cascades from the central government to local entities. Here, the central government assumes a pivotal role in establishing immigration-related policy agendas and shaping policy specifics. Conversely, local governments typically serve in a supportive role, implementing policies in line with central directives.

The supportive role of local governments in immigration policy is further emphasized by the constraints they face in terms of available resources (Yoo & Lee, 2019). Typically, local governments operate with limited staffing and organizational structures, primarily tasked with implementing immigration policies formulated by the central government. With the exception of Seoul and Gyeonggi Province, most local governments lack dedicated departments specifically handling immigration-related tasks. Particularly notable is the low ratio of dedicated departments and public officials engaged in immigration affairs, consistently remaining below 1%, regardless of the immigrant population size in the area.

Moreover, the tasks undertaken by local governments predominantly revolve around multicultural family policies delegated by the central government, particularly the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. Even in areas where the proportion of migrant workers or international students outweighs that of marriage migrant women, policies concerning the latter remain central. This phenomenon arises from local governments prioritizing the straightforward execution of policies dictated by the central government over formulating their own immigration policies based on the composition or ratio of immigrants in their regions. Informing local authorities of policy directions decided by the central government and encouraging the development of similar policies accordingly makes it impractical for them to allocate and execute their budgets based on local demands. This exemplifies the typical interdependent relationship between the central and local governments.

The landscape of immigration policy governance in Korea reflects a flow dictated largely by local governments. Given their proximity to the lived realities of immigrants, a policy approach that centers around local governments, rather than solely relying on the central government, appears more pragmatic for effective immigration policy implementation. Indeed, according to pertinent studies (Pisarevskaya & Scholten, 2022), local governments are better positioned for 'pragmatic accommodationism' in immigration policy. Their proximity to local circumstances and the needs of resident immigrants equips them to devise tailor-made solutions more effectively. Additionally, depending on the context, an approach grounded in domestic politics may enhance the effectiveness of immigration policy formation, as the political dynamics between local and central authorities can bolster policy efficacy. Despite the potential advantages of a local government-centric approach or a multi-level governance model involving both central and local authorities in policy formulation, Korean immigration policy governance remains primarily characterized by a centralist type or Inclusive-Authority Model, with a top-down approach centered around the central government (Wright, 1988; Pisarevskaya & Scholten, 2022). This situation presents a challenge in promptly addressing the vulnerabilities faced by immigrants residing in local communities.

Notes

1 The MIPEX scores are evaluated in the following manner for each segment: 80–100 is considered 'Favorable', 60–79 is deemed 'Slightly favorable', 41–59 is categorized as 'Halfway favorable', 21–40 falls under 'Slightly unfavorable', 10–20 is labeled as 'Unfavorable', and 0 is assessed as 'Critically unfavorable'.

2 The sample composition of the total 610 central government officials is as follows. Gender: Male: 63.6%, Female: 37.4%, Rank: Grade 3–4: 59 individuals, Grade 5: 233 individuals, Grade 6–7: 263 individuals, Experience in immigration-related tasks: Yes: 130 (22%), No: 476 (78%), Nature of immigration-related tasks (applicable only to officials with experience in immigration-related tasks): Support: 97 (15.9%), Regulation: 33 (5.4%). The ranks of Korean government officials are categorized into nine grades. Grade 1 denotes the highest rank, while Grade 9 indicates the lowest. In the sample, the number of individuals in Grades 1–2 was too small (only eight individuals), so they were excluded from the analysis due to inadequate representation. Additionally, Grades 8–9 were omitted from the analysis as their influence on policymaking was limited.

3 New policy frameworks, namely Universalism, Interculturalism, and Mainstreaming, have emerged (Huddleston & Scholten, 2022). Universalism prioritizes the impartiality of public institutions, aiming for equal access to resources such as the labor market, welfare state, and political system for all members of society, including immigrants. It encourages immigrants to succeed through active participation, resembling a colorblind approach. In contrast, Interculturalism diverges from multiculturalism by emphasizing contact, interaction, and social mixing between diverse cultures to foster integration and mutual understanding. This approach, gaining prominence as an alternative to multiculturalism, is particularly notable in Canada. Mainstreaming, the third model, applies gender mainstreaming principles to immigration issues, advocating for the integration of immigration and diversity considerations across all policy areas, akin to gender relations mainstreaming. This integration emphasizes the incorporation of diversity and immigration topics into universal institutions and structures like the welfare state, education, and bureaucracy. While not extensively discussed in this chapter, these new frameworks suggest avenues for future research in the development of immigration policy.

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