



## Migrant Workers and Their Resident Rights as Members of Village Community

So Hee Kim<sup>1+</sup>, Jin Bae Sul<sup>2#</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The Academy of Korean Studies, 323 Haogae-ro, Bundang-gu, Seongnam, Gyeonggi-do, Korea

<sup>2</sup>Institute of Public Affairs, Yonsei University, 50 Yonsei-ro, Seodaemun-gu, Seoul, Korea

### ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the life experiences of migrant workers as members of village community from the perspective of resident rights. Of the various migrant groups, migrant workers are one of the most vulnerable. Thus, strengthening this group's access to citizenship is an important issue in Korean society. Under the current system, migrant workers are allowed legal entry into ROK with an E9 visa. Many of these individuals work toward gaining E7 visa status, which allows them to invite their family members to legally stay with them, thus expanding their rights of residence. However, migrant workers whose visas have expired or who have entered ROK on a tourist visa are not eligible for the rights. Furthermore, there are various levels of accessibility among migrant workers depending on their resident status, further separating within the minority group, resulting in a polarized spectrum with denizens and marginals at either end. In addition, social perceptions toward migrant workers weaken their sense of identity as residents even more, hindering their roles within local communities. So, there is a clear need for social agreement in improving existing systems for migrant workers, and social efforts must be made to ensure that migrant workers feel a sense of identity as residents and belonging within their village community.

*Key words: citizenship, denizenship, village-community, migrant worker, Kyrgyzstan*

### Introduction

With the transition from a migrant-sending country into a receiving country, Korean society encountered new social conflicts and social integration tasks to resolve them. Distinguished by various titles such as marriage migrants, migrant workers, overseas Koreans, international students, and refugees, they are collectively referred to as migrants. Although the number has temporarily decreased due to the recent COVID-19,<sup>1)</sup> as of the end of 2019, the number

of foreign residents excluding naturalized persons exceeded 2.25 million (Korea Immigration Service, Ministry of Justice, 2020: 416). In addition, the number has more than tripled over the past decade, reaching 4.0% of the total population (Local Administration & Decentralization Office, MOIS, 2019). As such, the number of immigrants inflow from Korea is steadily increasing, and the "age of migration" continues despite the strengthening border control.

Korean society has experienced entry into a multicultural society within a relatively short period of time, and in response to this, the government has established various laws and systems and im-

<sup>+</sup> The 1st Author: So Hee Kim, E-mail. [uchinanchu@naver.com](mailto:uchinanchu@naver.com)

<sup>#</sup> Corresponding Author: Jin Bae Sul, E-mail. [jbsul@yonsei.ac.kr](mailto:jbsul@yonsei.ac.kr)

Received: Aug. 12, 2020 / Revised: Aug. 28, 2020 / Accepted: Aug. 28, 2020

© 2020 Crisis and Emergency Management: Theory and Praxis. All rights reserved.

plemented support policies for migrants in a relatively short period of time (Sul, *et. al.*, 2019: 104). However, despite the positive evaluation that policies related to migrants were systematically reorganized for a relatively short period of time, various social problems and conflicts related to migrants are causing. It shows the limitations of existing policies and systems.

Citizenship, which is classified by the resident status, is one of the difficult social problems. The names of migrants, which are distinguished by various names, are distinguished by their visa, that is, their status of sojourn, and accordingly, they have stratified citizenship. Currently, among the foreign residents, the groups generally recognized as migrants are marriage migrants, migrant workers and compatriots, and their visa statuses are F6, E9, F4, and H2.

While Western multiculturalism has been discoursed and practiced mainly for migrant workers, in the case of Korea, the issue of migrants has been publicized mainly in terms of family and welfare policies targeting marriage migrant women and their children. On the other hand, migrant workers are at an unfavorable position for citizenship, so they can be said to be the most vulnerable minority among migrants. Therefore, the expansion of citizenship for those in the worst position can be said to be an important policy task in our society in that it is linked not only to the expansion of citizenship of all migrants but also the expansion of citizenship in the general Korean society. In addition, in terms of guaranteeing human rights, the claims for the expansion and guarantee of migrant workers' rights in various fields are persuasive.

On the other hand, in terms of economic revitalization of regions and village that are experiencing a shortage of labor force due to a decrease in the number of possible production activities, migrant workers exist as members of the village, and their economic activities are indispensable for maintaining the town economy. If they are fixed only as working entities that fill the areas that Koreans avoid, they are more likely to focus on remittances to their home countries, except for the money for minimal living. Therefore, by guaranteeing certain rights as residents, raising the awareness of being a member of the community and inducing participation and contribution as residents is also essential in Korean society, which is experiencing the dual problems of low birth rate and aging population.

From this awareness of the problem, this study aims to examine the differences in institutional approaches and polarization patterns according to the status of residence through cases of migrant workers, and to examine the strategies of migrant workers for obtaining citizenship and obstacles to the improvement of resident rights as members of the village community. To this end, first, a theoretical

discussion on the concept of the village community and the meaning of denizenship as a part of citizenship is reviewed. Next, based on the results of interviews with migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan, we will look at the restrictions on citizenship according to the status of residence of migrant workers and strategies to expand their denizenship while belonging to the town community. Lastly, based on the results of the analysis, the meaning of denizenship (that is, resident rights) based on the need and contribution of migrant workers to residents of the village community will be reviewed.

## Relevant Literature

### Village Community and Denizenship as Citizenship

Looking at the support ordinances related to village development that have become popular nationwide since the 2000s, "a village is a collective term for a social concept that shares the environment and culture, and the spatial concept of common living environment" (Suwon Municipal Ordinance for Village-Making, §2(1)), or it is defined as "spatial and social scope in which the economy, culture, and environment are shared while conducting daily life in the residential area" (Hwaseong City Ordinance on Support for Good Village Making, §2(1)).

Then what is a community? Hillery (1955) defined community as "a human group in which common ties are formed through social interaction within a certain geographic area", and the basic attributes of the community are local and mutual, and a sense of solidarity. Here, geographic area means that a common area must be premised to form a community, social interaction is relations and cooperation between people, and public cultural solidarity means cohesion at the cultural level. Meanwhile, Putnam (1995) emphasizes social capital as an important factor for community maintenance. This is because social capital refers to "features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1995: 67). In addition, the feeling of being a member of the community, that is, a sense of membership and identity, plays an important role. Therefore, a community can be said to be a social group that shares common interests and has a sense of belonging within a common regional area (Stebbins, 1987: 534).

In this way, villages and communities have similar meanings and refer to places where people gather and live together. Nevertheless, the reason why two words with similar meanings are collectively

---

1) As of the end of April 2020, the number of foreigners residing in Korea was 2,176,725, a decrease of about 350,000 from December 2019 (Korea Immigration Service, 2020/4: 3).

called the village community is to emphasize the meaning and value of “together”.

Then, what is citizenship? First, citizenship is a position and role that defines the powers and duties of individual members living in a community, including formal legal qualifications, rights, and obligations, as well as informally, values, traditions, and consensus. Here, a citizen is a person who has the qualifications to enjoy the status of citizenship officially and informally defined by a specific community, and is also a person who is assigned such a role by that community to bear the obligations (Administration Online Dictionary, 2001). Such citizenship is a liberal concept that values individualistic rights and qualifications, and at the same time is related to the communist concept of membership and affiliation of a particular community (Kymlicka, 2008: 397).

The concept of citizenship originally originated in ancient Greece. Being a citizen in an ancient city-state where the class was divided into slaves and free people means that you can enjoy the rights of free people, and that peoples are qualified to participate in the political process of the community. In this way, the concept of citizenship as a class attribute that enjoys exclusive and special rights changes from birth to a qualification that can be acquired through effort and competence, rather than a class determined from birth. Later, in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948, the concept of human rights was specified in detail, stating that is established "human rights and fundamental freedoms apply equally to all people and everywhere" (United Nations, 1948).

On the other hand, British sociologist T. H. Marshall, who embodies the modern theory of citizenship, divides citizenship into civil rights, political rights, and social rights according to the times, taking the case of Britain (Marshall, 1950). Civil rights are essential rights to guarantee individual freedom and include freedom of speech and thought, freedom of faith, freedom of speech, right of possession, and freedom to exercise one's rights within the bounds of the law. Political rights refer to the right to participate in politics as a member or voter of the society, and social rights refer to “the right to at least share the economic well-being and social heritage and to enjoy a civilized life according to the social standards to which he belongs”. Citizenship is closely related to economic redistribution as well as a suffragette character (Lee, 2014), and in the face of the “era of migration,” its scope is being expanded and discussed.

The Local Autonomy Act stipulates that “persons who have domicile within the jurisdiction of a local government shall be residents of such local government” (§12), and the Resident Registration Act says “the head of each Si/Gun/Gu shall register any person who has domicile or an abode (hereinafter referred to as ‘domicile’)

within his/her jurisdiction, with intent to reside therein for at least 30 days (hereinafter referred to as ‘resident’) as follows: provided, that the same shall not apply to foreigners” (§6①).

However, if only “those who have an address in the area” as defined by the law are limited to village residents, there may be cases that deviate from the actual reality. For example, if a young person who was born in Boryeong and has an address there, enters a university in Seoul, the address may be moved to Seoul, but there are cases where it is not. In general, if a person is still a student, he/she will more likely not move his/her address until he/she graduates and gets a job. However, for four years, this student settles in a village in Seoul and lives there. He/she also consumes while using restaurants, hospitals, beauty salons, and movie theaters in the village. Of course, this young person’s consumption activity does not happen only in the village, but he/she will do the most frequent consumption activity in his/her life, centered on where he/she lives.

But let’s say that this village was suffering from a decrease in the number of residents and a decline in the commercial district. If many young people like this student move to this village and engage in consumer activities around the village, would it not be a very welcome thing in that village? If so, just because the student’s address is not the village he/she currently lives in, can he/she be said to be not a resident of that village? If he/she is not a resident of the village, he/she will not be responsible for paying attention and energy to what is happening in the village. Even if he/she does not pay attention to and does not try to solve the problems together without concerning the various pending issues the village has, such as unauthorized dumping of garbage and the marginalized elderly alone, it is legal to him/her. They can’t even morally tell him/her to share his/her responsibilities. Of course, it is not known whether the student will live in that village or move to another village after graduation. Maybe even before he/she finishes college, he/she can move to another town. However, in general, if he/she lives as a member of a village’s living community for about 4 years, it is obviously good for both the village and the student to think about the issues of the village together and participate in activities for the village, even as long as he/she resides. It is beneficial to each other. This is because from the village’s point of view, they got participants to do village work together, and the student got another community along with the school.

Then, let’s replace the student with a migrant worker. Migrant workers primarily stay in Korea for 3 to 4 years and 10 months. Migrant workers who hold the E9 visa under the current Employment Permit System can legally work in Korea for 3 years from the date of entry, and if re-employed by their employer, they can additionally reside in Korea for a total of 4 years and 10 months.

Like Korean university students, they engage in various consumption activities in their villages. Of course, he/she is not a village resident who will live forever, but it is good for both the village and the migrant worker to give him/her some rights as a village resident and fulfill his/her responsibilities as a village resident during his/her residence.

In addition, there are opportunities to return to their home country after 4 years and 10 months and then re-enter Korea again, so migrant workers will live in Korea for as little as 3 years or as long as 10 years. Among them, some choose to live as undocumented immigrants on the basis that the possibility of re-entry is low, while others acquire Korean nationality by marrying a Korean person while living in Korea. As such crisis and opportunity factors encountered after migration cannot be easily predicted, it is practically difficult to strongly control migrant workers through "circular migration".

Even if the 'circular migration' policy proceeds easily, the period of 3 to 10 years is by no means a short period, so migrant workers are defined as residents of the village community under the concept of residents in real life rather than residents under the legal definition. And they need to expand the discussion about their citizenship.

In this regard, Lee (2014) presupposes residents as "a subject who can bear and enjoy responsibilities and rights in the operation of the region", and "as a member of the region, the right to participate in discussions on issues related to the region is granted. It is defined as a subject who has qualifications to enjoy local welfare benefits", and considered citizenship and denizenship as concepts located in different contexts, and says that citizens are concepts under the premise of the nation-state and residents are beings based on community (Lee, 2014: 198).

However, in this study, in order to raise the issue of the social rights of migrants between the dichotomy of citizens and foreigners, we agree with Lee (2014) and insists on the meaning and realization of denizenship as citizenship. Focusing on the classification of Bosniak (2000), Lee (2014) concentrates on citizenship as the rights of foreigners that must be guaranteed as long as they are citizens of the society even if they are not citizens. In other words, if a man claim that he/she is a citizen who lives for a certain period of time even if he/she is not a citizen, it suggests the possibility that "a third way to be recognized for the rights necessary for survival as a member of the community" can be opened (Lee, 2014: 217).

In that sense, this study proposes "denizenship" as citizenship because two concepts are in the same context.<sup>2)</sup> If so, why do we dare to use the term "denizenship (that is, resident rights)

2) Denizenship means that a state or society grants certain economic, social, and partial political rights to long-term residents without its citizenship.

instead of "citizenship?" It is because "denizenship" comes more realistically when discussing migrant workers as members of a living community.

### Citizenship and Migrant Workers by Sojourn Status

According to the Ministry of Justice Korea Immigration Service (2020/4), as of the end of April 2020, the number of foreigner residents in Korea is 2,176,725, of which there were 1,249,026 registered foreigners, 462,718 foreign national Koreans, and 464,981 short-term residents. By nationality, China 44.3%, Vietnam 8.0%, Thailand 8.8%, the United States 6.7%, Uzbekistan 3.3%, and Kyrgyzstan 0.3% (6,559). Looking at the status of residence of foreign residents, overseas Koreans (F4) account for 464,560, 21.3%, it followed by non-professional employment (E9) 12.2%, working vist (H2) 9.9%, visa exemption (B1) 9.0%, permanent resident 7.2%, marriage migrants (F4) 6.1%, short-term visit (C3) 6.1% (Korea Immigration Service, 2020/4: 14-16).

Here, the status of sojourn is a factor that distinguishes the citizenship of migrants. Currently, the classification of foreign resident status in Korea is largely divided into 36 categories, among which three groups generally recognized as migrants: marriage migrants, migrant workers, and compatriot migrants. They have four types of visa: F6 (marriage migrants), E9 (non-professional employment), F4 (overseas Koreans) and H2 (working vist).

According to the level of rights granted to each of the above four statuses, Ahn (2016) cited civic inclusion (overseas Koreans, F4), civic contraction (working vist, H2), civic expansion (marriage migrants, F6), and civic exclusion (non-professional employment, F9). As a result, it can be seen that the Korean immigration system is organized around the perspective of the "male ethnic subject" at the intersection of nationality, ethnicity, gender, and class, and accordingly, civic stratification is formed (Ahn, 2016).

In addition, unlike in the West, where multiculturalism discourses and practices have been mainly centered on migrant workers, in Korea, it has been publicized in terms of family policies and social welfare policies centered on marriage migrant women and their children. As a result, marriage migrant women received benefits that are incomparable to other migrants, while the benefits could only be provided if they were faithful to fulfilling the roles of wife, daughter-in-law, and mother, making them a beneficiary and victim of Korean multiculturalism.

On the other hand, in the case of migrant workers characterized by "civic exclusion," they are in a position where it is almost impossible to obtain full citizenship, so they can be said to be the most vulnerable minority among various migrants. Accordingly,

the issue of the expansion of citizenship of migrant workers is an important social issue because it not only shares the same role with the expansion of citizenship of the entire migrants, but also leads to the expansion of citizenship in the general Korean society. Furthermore, abandoning their various socio-cultural expectations and desires, limiting them to simply “working beings” is not only contrary to human rights, which is a basic right that all human beings should enjoy, but also inefficient in terms of revitalizing local and village economies.

First, Let's look at the aspect of human rights protection. Human rights refer to the basic freedoms and rights that everyone should enjoy. Human rights are universal, inherent, eternal and inviolable rights that everyone possesses and should enjoy (Encyclopedia of Korean Culture). The United Nations (UN) adopted the “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” at its 3rd General Assembly in December 1948, which, although not legally binding, is regarded as a common promise of mankind to be kept and respected worldwide. For the sake of the dignity and status of the country, it can be said that Korea also has a responsibility to strive to protect it, especially since it joined the United Nations on September 17, 1991.

The 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights' is composed of 30 articles in the preamble and the main text, and it stipulates in detail economic, social and cultural freedom, the right to social security, and the right to labor, as well as regulations on basic liberal rights (United Nations, 1948). Therefore, in terms of the protection of human rights, the argument for the expansion and guarantee of migrant workers' rights in various fields is persuasive.

Next, let's look at the aspects of regional and village economic revitalization. Korea is currently facing a crisis of population cliffs. According to data from Statistics Korea (2019), the production age population between 15 and 64 years old will decrease from 37.75 million (73.2%) in 2017 to 25.62 million (52.4%) in 2047, and it is expected to decrease 11.95 million (-20.8%p) over the next 30 years. The number of elderly people 65 and over is expected to reach 7.07 million (13.8%) in 2017 and 18.87 million (38.4%) in 2047. This is a number that exceeds the United Nations' super-aged society standard of 20%, and it is observed that the working-age population will decline dramatically, overlapping with the low birth rate (Statistics Korea, 2019).

Meanwhile, the number of foreign workers in Korea is gradually increasing. For example, 82 of the nation's basic local governments are the concentration areas of migrants, where foreign residents are '10,000 or more or 5% or more of the population' (Local Administration & Decentralization Office, 2019). In some areas, if the scope is further narrowed down to the unit of village, the ratio of foreign residents to the population of residents exceeds 50% (Incheon Ilbo, 2017. 5. 17.). As such, migrants exist as members

of the village community, and in particular, the economic activities of migrant workers are becoming an indispensable factor for maintaining the village economy.

## Research Method and Characteristics of Research Subject

In this study, data were collected by interviewing migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan in order to analyze the strategies for citizenship of migrant workers and the strategy of expanding their citizenship as members of village communities.

Kyrgyzstan is a country independent from the Soviet Union in 1991 and is located in Central Asia (Wikipedia, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kyrgyzstan>). About 1 million out of 6 million people abroad. It is a country with frequent foreign currency inflow and outflow so that about 20% to 30% of GDP is made up of foreign remittances by migrant workers (Kyrgyzstan News Blog, 2019). Established diplomatic relations with Korea in 1992. As of the end of March 2020, the number of registered foreigners from Kyrgyzstan was 5,033 (2,917 men, 2,116 women) (Korea Immigration Service, 2020), and the number of foreigners staying in Korea was 6,559 as of the end of April 2020 (Korea Immigration Service, 2020/4: 15). Looking at the status of sojourn of foreigners staying in Korea from Kyrgyzstan, as of the end of 2019, working visit (H2) status was the most at 22.8%, followed by non-professional employment (E9) at 16.6%, overseas Koreans (F4) at 15.4%, and visiting family (F1) 13.1%, marriage migrants (F6) 6.0%, and special occupation (E7) 0.6% (Korea Immigration Service MOJ, 2020: 420-423). Meanwhile, as of the end of April 2020, there were 2,606 residents from Kyrgyzstan with employment status, of which 1,486 people were employed on-site (H2), ranking fourth after China, Uzbekistan and Tazakhstan (Korea Immigration Service, 2020/4: 13-27). As such, the proportion of the number of foreigners staying or registered foreigners from Kyrgyzstan is not yet large, but it occupies a large proportion in relation to migrant workers, such as a high proportion of visiting workers.

In this study, a total of 10 migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan were interviewed for data collection, and interviews were conducted between May and Sept. in 2016. Respondent's general information is shown in <Table 1>.

Respondents' names are marked with symbols to protect their personal identity. Looking at the general information of the migrant workers interviewed, it was found that there were 5 men and 5 women, and the age range was 1 in 10s, 6 in 20s, 1 in 30s, and

&lt;Table 1&gt; Characteristics of subjects

| Classification | Gender | Age group | Status of sojourn                      |
|----------------|--------|-----------|--|
| A              | male   | 30s       | non professional employment (E9)       |
| B              | female | 40s       | acquisition Korean nationality         |
| C              | female | 20s       | undocumented migrant (illegal sojourn) |
| D              | male   | 20s       | undocumented migrant (illegal sojourn) |
| E              | female | 20s       | undocumented migrant (illegal sojourn) |
| F              | male   | 20s       | undocumented migrant (illegal sojourn) |
| G              | female | 20s       | undocumented migrant (illegal sojourn) |
| H              | male   | 10s       | undocumented migrant (illegal sojourn) |
| I              | male   | 20s       | non professional employment (E9)       |
| J              | female | 40s       | undocumented migrant (illegal sojourn) |

&lt;Table 2&gt; Framework for questionnaire design

| Category                       | Main context  |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Characteristics as sojourner   | - demographic characteristics(age, gender, entry year, job in home country and Korea)<br>- Intended period of sojourn, purpose of entry, status of visa, etc. |
| Korean language skill          | - Korean language ability<br>- Korean language learning experience(period, place, pathway, disability, satisfaction, etc.)                                    |
| Cultures                       | - Korean culture : pathway to Korean culture, degree of understanding/adjustment, barriers, etc.<br>- similarities and differences between two cultures, etc. |
| Korean society & life in Korea | - perception of Korean society(issues, experience/types/degree of discrimination, etc.)<br>- life in Korea( (dis)satisfaction of life in Korea, etc.)         |

2 in 40s as of 2016. One married a Korean male and acquired Korean citizenship, while the other had an E9 visa at the time of the interview, and the rest were all undocumented immigrants.<sup>3)</sup>

Interviews were conducted in such a way that the subjects had free conversations in a comfortable place, and conducted for 1 to 3 hours per person. In addition, all recordings were made with the consent of the subjects, and then transcribed and used for analysis. For the interview, we prepared essential questionnaires and asked and answered freely based on them. The contents of the interview questions are shown in <Table 2>.

Specific survey items consisted of personal information, Korean speaking, Korean learning, Kyrgyzstan and Korean cultures, Korean society, Korean life, and causal relations in Korea. Two items related to Korean language were also included in order to find out the effect of Korean proficiency on adaptation to Korean culture. Through the items of Kyrgyzstan and Korean culture, we tried to find out the cultural similarities and differences between Korea and Kyrgyzstan, and how these factors affect the adaptation of Korean culture. In addition, we examined whether racial discrimination was experienced while living in Korean society, and if so, what kind of discrimination was it. Lastly, it was confirmed

what was the satisfaction of living in Korea and what was needed for adaptation and the difference according to the status of residence were checked. Through these questions, we tried to grasp the overall perception of Kyrgyz migrant workers about Korea and what they would like to see in Korea.

### Status of Sojourn: Swamp of System

The first thing to pay attention to in relation to migrant workers is the status of residence they have. This is because Korea is currently implementing a circular migration policy that does not allow settling of migrant workers in principle.

The 'Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea', which is based on the treatment of foreigners entering the country, restricts the application to foreigners who are legally staying for the purpose of residence (§2(1),(3)). In other words, since undocumented migrants are not eligible for coverage, they have a weaker legal protection net than other migrants, even if they suffer from unfair things (Choi, 2016: 515).

In addition, in the case of the Employment Permit System established through the enactment of the Foreign Workers Employment

3) 'Unregistered migrants' and 'illegal migrants' have the same meaning, but there is a problem that illegal aliens are more stigmatizing the target as a preliminary offender.

Act in 2003, the employment rights of migrant workers are considerably given priority to domestic employment and the domestic employment market (Kim, 2015: 128). It is partially infringed. Therefore, they take various actions to further broaden the scope of these restricted rights, which also differs between migrant workers with employment permits, that is, E9 visa (non-professional employment), and undocumented migrants who do not currently hold legal status of residence.

### For the Hope of Family Invitation, Dream E7 Visa

What legitimate migrant workers with E9 visas dream of is an upgrade of their status of residence to enjoy more rights, and the basis for this is obtaining an E7 visa. Mr. A entered Korea in 2012, and his wife was pregnant at the time. However, He came to Korea without his wife giving birth to a baby, and did not meet her and his daughter until 2016, when the interview was taken. Of course, he often contacts them through video chat, but he is deeply sorry and longing for his daughter who has never been held in his arms. He wanted to achieve his intended purpose in Korea quickly, and to do so, good language communication was essential. Therefore, he went to the Foreign Welfare Center every Sunday to learn Korean while working from Monday to Saturday and taking only one day off on Sunday. And these efforts were still going on.

Now that he speaks Korean quite well, the researchers asked whether he enjoys other hobbies on holidays these days. Mr. A replied that he learns Korean during his break. Mr. A's efforts to keep studying Korean so that he doesn't forget Korean weren't limited to just learning Korean.

*"These days, I study Korean from 9 to 6. Because I have to pass the social integration program. I started from step 2. I started that in 2014. I started learning Korean language in July 2012. I studied from 10 to 12. Only two hours. I only did two hours every week. But with that, it's not enough. To pass the social integration program, I have to work harder and more." (Interview from A)*

The social integration program that Mr. A talked about was very important for obtaining an E7 visa. In other words, in order to obtain an E7 visa, several conditions had to be satisfied, because one of them was to complete the social integration program up to level 5. The 'Social Integration Program' is a program operated by the Ministry of Justice for the purpose of cultivating basic literacy essential to self-reliance in our society for immigrants.

Specifically, it contains the contents of Korean language, Korean culture, and understanding of Korean society. Many immigrants are currently trying to complete this program because the program for all immigrants legally residing in Korea can enjoy many benefits compared to other cases.

However, it is impossible to obtain an E7 visa simply by completing the social integration program up to 5 levels. In the case of migrant workers, it is said that there is a condition that they must work for at least four years in one company, and they also need an expense of about 3 million won. In principle, migrant workers under the Employment Permit System, where it is not possible to change their workplace by their free will, can make legitimate attempts for a "better life" only when the requirements are met in both emotional and economic aspects.

Nevertheless, many migrant workers with E9 visas make great efforts to obtain an E7 visa, because the E7 visa is very important to migrant workers. In other words, E7 visa holders can have the right of "family reunification," which was never allowed for migrant workers.

*"I met Ms. B, who knows a lot about Korea. So, Ms. B told me several things. Since then, I have listened to a lot of programs. So, I am preparing for step 5 of the social integration exam. (...) If you pass the test, you can get an E7 visa. If you get an E7 visa, you can bring your family. (...) All of the foreigners here miss it, families. But getting an E7 visa is really difficult. I hope it becomes a little easier. (...) I have to study, take the test, and if not, I have to take the test again. I can not help it." (Interview from A)*

The importance of the E7 visa is also revealed through an interview with Ms. B, who is currently helping migrants from Kyrgyzstan after obtaining Korean citizenship.<sup>4)</sup>

*"I have friends who come here want to change their status of residence. If it's E9, it's a work visa. I have friends who want to change to E7. That way, you can become a technician, get a higher salary, and invite your family. Their main purpose is to invite their family members." (Interview from B)*

However, the cases in which the efforts can be made with these clear goals are limited to migrant workers with legal status of

4) It is an E7 visa that offers more than an E9 visa, but obtaining an E7 visa does not guarantee a rosy dream. In many cases, 47,000 E7 visa workers did not receive a pension premium of 216 billion won from the National Pension Service, and they still do not enjoy their right (Yonhapnews, 2016.11.1. <https://www.yna.co.kr/view/AKR20161101097500052>).

residence E9 visas. If he/she is working as an undocumented migrant after entering the country through a tourist visa, or if he/she entered the country with an E9 visa at first but cannot extend his/her status of residence for various reasons and become an undocumented migrant, he/she has already deviated from the so-called “legal” route. In many cases, the details of the E7 visa were not well understood.<sup>5)</sup> In other words, it also means that he/she doesn't have to go back and forth to get into the institutional sphere while crossing many barriers. Unregistered migrants are always anxious because they are outside the legal system, but paradoxically, they are also free. However, it is not easy to obtain a legal status of residence again after becoming an undocumented migrant, so this freedom has a limit in that even though he is a member of a living community, he has no choice but to become a presence in the dark.

### Bare Life, the Duet of Anxiety and Freedom

The lives of undocumented migrants, more commonly known as “illegal migrants,” are quite disturbing. They do not know when and where they will be cracked, so they are more cautious in places where crowds of people gather, and if someone is caught in a sudden crackdown and is deported, the radius of their living is minimized for a while. The researcher also suffered a situation where the older sister of the information provider who was supposed to be interviewed was unexpectedly caught by a checkpoint, and that it would be difficult to do an interview because she was at the police station.

Although the popular prejudice against 'illegal migrants' is 'potential criminals', they rarely commit crimes that actually harm any of them. They want to live invisibly<sup>6)</sup>.

Agamben (2005) described a person whose citizens' rights are restricted in this way as the concept of “homo sacer,” or “bare life”. Homo sacer refers to a sinner who was excluded from society in ancient Roman law. The punishment on them was not physical, but limited all rights as citizens. As the state power expands the space of exceptions, it spreads the fear that people can be thrown out as “bare lives” (Cho, 2008: 39). In other words, "Homo Sacer is an outsider within society that is excluded from all value systems shared by the community, including the legal system" (Gwangju

Daily Newspaper, 2015. 9. 16.).

And we meet again in the 21st century, when we believe and share human rights as a natural right of “bare life”. In the name of “unregistered migrant”. To use a title that can more clearly reveal that citizenship is being excluded, it is the name of “illegal migrants.” It is the moment when Hannah Arendt's discovery (Yi, 2012: 359) that an individual will be deprived of the “human rights”, which is a natural right for everyone, is revived in the same time again in the modern world. In other words, we generally think that citizenship is included in human rights or that it is appropriate to have citizenship in human rights, but for migrants, human rights, a natural right, must be secured only when citizenship is secured (Kim, 2011: 227).

However, paradoxically, in the era of transnational migration, undocumented migrants can be both ‘bare life’ and ‘strategic and active actors’, and because they are ‘bare lives’, they can become ‘free actors’.

While contemplating the future in Kyrgyzstan, Ms. C chose to travel to Korea to create an opportunity for a better life as well as travel. From the beginning, she entered Korea on a tourist visa with the intention of working, and it has been more than four years since she has been living as an undocumented immigrant. Ms. C, who works for a cleaning company, works from Monday to Saturday and has irregular leave hours. Usually, She works from 9 am to 7 pm, but when she finishes late, it is almost 10 am. Living in Korea may be difficult, but always bright and sincere. There are not many days to enjoy vacations, but she learns Korean every Sunday, and when she has a few days off due to holidays, she travels to various places in Korea. Learning Korean itself is fun, so she studies hard, but learning Korean is more meaningful because it is directly connected to Ms. C's future dream.

Ms. C, who came to Korea after taking a leave of absence while attending a university in Kyrgyzstan, wants to be a professor after completing her studies and going to graduate school when she returns to Kyrgyzstan. Currently, Korean is a very popular language in Kyrgyzstan. If she learns a lot of Korean in Korea and goes to her home country, Ms. C will have a very helpful career in her future career.

Mr. D, who is currently working on interiors with his Korean brother[friend], is also an undocumented migrant from the beginning until now. When he works a lot, he earns an average of 2 million won to 2.5 million won a month. It is said that the least earned is about 1.5 million won and the most earned is about 4 million won. Mr. D, who has been in Korea for five years, said that with the money he earned, he has already bought his own apartment and a house for his brother in Kyrgyzstan. Mr. D, who is very satisfied and enjoyable living in Korea, said he has no intention

5) Among registered foreigners, the majority of illegal foreigners are workers with E9 (46.8%) (Korea Immigration Service, 2020: 82).

6) The Korea Economic Daily commissioned DaumSoft, a big data analysis company, and analyzed the keywords related to migrant workers reported in the domestic media from January 2012 to December 2015. It was counted that there were five negative words such as 'suspect' (The Korea Economic Daily, 2016. 2. 4. <http://news.hankyung.com/society/2016/02/04/2016020487041?mv=o>)

of returning to his home country for the time being. In Kyrgyzstan, there is nothing to do, and there are many things to enjoy in Korea, so life in Korea is more fun.

Mr. D also likes to learn Korean, but this is both a hobby and a break for Mr. D. There is no compulsory learning requirement, nor is there a need to earn more than a certain number of points. So he repeats attendance and absence in Korean class as he wishes.

In the case of C and D, there are many differences in the reason and motivation for learning Korean. Ms. C is consistently sincere and enthusiastic, but Mr. D's passion is different in temperature. However, what the two have in common is that filling their precious holidays is not determined based on "duty" or "responsibility" or "destiny". For those who did not have the E9 visa itself, the advantages of the E7, a better status of residence, do not touch the skin. In other words, the freedom that undocumented migrants enjoy is a paradoxical freedom that does not have to be buried in access to a better status of residence from the beginning.

## Polarization in Polarization

The distinctive feature of the era of migration is that international migration affects all countries and regions of the world more than in the past, while in connection with other complex processes affecting the entire world (Castles & Miller, 2013: 497).

In the background of the acceleration of migration in the last 20 to 30 years, there is a wave of globalization. Combined with neoliberal discourse, globalization has left a deep and strong negative impact from migration. In other words, people, things, capital, etc. were able to move more freely at a faster speed across borders, but the most powerful initiative in determining the flow of migration shifted from "individual" to "capital". The decision of individuals to choose to migrate is ultimately derived from their desire for 'a better life-which is inevitably linked to economic prosperity under the capitalist system.' It is bound to become more powerful.

Just as rural to urban migration has the nature of migration from poor to rich areas of education and employment, so interstate migration also leads to migration from underdeveloped countries to countries that live better economically. Whether the path of migration is marriage, migrant labor, or study abroad, migration usually takes place from the southern hemisphere to the northern hemisphere.

And when migration occurs, some people profit and others lose, and profits and losses do not simply mean economic gains and losses. Many families in global cities often rely on migrant women from underdeveloped countries for their caring work, and migrant women engaged in caring work like this: Form a chain ring. Intimacy

and financial satisfaction cannot be divided dichotomously, but in this chain of care, some feel lonely and some feel guilty.

As such, the consequences of migration are very complex and sometimes conflicting. Therefore, it is still difficult to reach an optimal agreement on the most appropriate immigration policy and social integration plan. This can also be confirmed through the case of migrant workers from Kyrgyzstan.

*"The salary here is between 1.8 million and 2 million per month. Living expenses are about 700,000 won. Put what's left in my bankbook. Originally, I bought a house [in Kyrgyzstan]. So I sent it to my country, but now I put it in my bankbook. (...) I bought the house [in Kyrgyzstan] after 3 years in Korea. If you have 30 million Korean won, you can buy 25 pyeong [apt. in my country]. (...) I haven't done the interior yet. In Korea, the interior is even inside, but in my country you have to do it yourself." (Interview from E)*

Kyrgyzstan is currently undergoing rapid urbanization. Accordingly, the city's price level is quite high. According to the stories of several people, it is possible to purchase a 25 pyeong apartment in Kyrgyzstan with about 30 million won in Korean money. However, considering the average wage level in Kyrgyzstan and the difference in GDP from Korea, it is said that in reality, he needs to have about 300 million won in Korean money to buy an apartment in Kyrgyzstan.

This means that there is a real estate bubble caused by rapid urbanization, and yet people, especially the younger generation, are flocking to the city while dreaming of a richer, more comfortable and convenient life. Also, there are not many jobs in Kyrgyzstan, and if he works in Korea, he can earn at least 4 to 5 times what he earns in Kyrgyzstan, so many people dream of migrant work in Korea. And still, the "Korean Dream" is in effect. It is difficult to buy an apartment after working in Kyrgyzstan for 2-3 years, but if he works in Korea for 2-3 years, he can buy an apartment in Kyrgyzstan.

In the era of migration following the neoliberal wave, migrants are polarized into so-called denizen and margizen. The so-called transnationalism from below and the transnationalism from above are utterly opposed. However, another phenomenon can be discovered through interviews with migrants. Migrants belonging to the margizen realm are also experiencing polarization.

It can be said that the majority of the interviewees belong to 'Margizen' rather than 'Denizen'. The majority of undocumented migrants do not have legal status of residence, and therefore, many living barriers are weak. However, as in the case of Mr. D, there are also migrant workers who make quite a bit of money. In the

case of Mr. D, it is said that when he makes a lot of money, he earns more than 4 million won, so he is getting a considerable amount of profit compared to a significant proportion of Koreans. In addition, they have already bought ordinary houses and apartments in Kyrgyzstan. Most of all, the Korean brother[friend], who needs his labor, is worried that he, who is an “illegal migrant,” will be caught in a sudden crackdown and be expelled, so he goes to pick him up himself and even takes him after work.

This was the same for Mr. H. The company brings him to the front of the house every morning, and when the work is over, it brings him back to the front of the house. As confirmed earlier, Ms. C also bought an apartment in Kyrgyzstan and plans to return to Kyrgyzstan after earning money by working in Korea for two more years. The reason C wants to stay in Korea for two more years is that, unlike in Korea, apartments in Kyrgyzstan can be purchased only by the apartment itself, and interior decoration fees must be paid separately. In other words, Ms. C wants to stay in Korea for two more years in order to earn the cost of decorating the interior of the apartment.

In addition, it is true that the social safety net of undocumented migrants is weak, but they only pay a little higher price than foreigners who have visas for legal staying, and there are banks and hospitals that they can use. They can easily communicate in Korean. It feels really good to live in Korea. The same is true of marriage migrant women. The word ‘marriage migrant women’ itself identifies them as economically disadvantaged, but in fact, migrant women participating in programs run by various organizations and institutions can access such information and use the group without interference or sanctions from their in-laws.

On the other hand, what about migrant workers and marriage migrant women in rural areas? They are at high risk of being in a serious human rights blind spot. There are times when they are exposed to all kinds of violence, but there is no way to get help or how to ask for help. Even if they receive help, they often use them to pursue their own interests.

## Factors Hindering Resident Consciousness

Previously, the “swamp of the system” experienced by migrant workers was examined through examples of migrant workers with E9 visa and undocumented migrants. In other words, migrant workers’ aspiration for a status of residence that allows them to enjoy more rights is likely to be frustrated in the context of obtaining overlapping qualifications, and undocumented migrants enjoy paradoxical

freedom. It was ruled out from the beginning, so there are inherent limitations to this freedom. This suggests that the position of migrant workers is like a swamp, so it is not easy to break away from the position of “bare life” and become an imposing settler. Based on this, in this chapter, we examine why it is difficult for migrant workers to have a sense of citizenship as a member of the village community in Korean society.

## Difficulties in Learning Korean: Time and Space

The majority of the migrant workers interviewed entered Korea without knowing any Korean language, and this resulted in a lot of difficulties in the early stages of life in Korea. When asked how much Korean they had learned before coming to Korea, 7 out of 10 respondents answered that they had never learned it, and 3 said they had less than 2 months. In other words, it can be presumed that migrants come to Korea with insufficient preparation for actual life in Korea.

What is more serious is the fact that even though Korean language is the basis of the most basic communication, there are limited channels to properly learn it in Korea. When asked about the most difficult point in learning Korean, 6 out of 10 respondents answered ‘I don’t have time for learning.’ It is difficult to set aside time to learn Korean because they spend their time on labor, and even though they are willing to learn, there are many cases where information on appropriate educational institutions is weak and cannot be learned. Furthermore, the migrant workers can only make time on Sundays, but because there are not many organizations or institutions that can provide Korean language programs on Sundays, the opportunities for migrant workers to learn Korean are further limited.

*“Korean. It’s still not easy. So there is something misunderstanding.” (Interview from F)*

*“I don’t have time. Because I work late. Because I work until 9 o’clock. There is too little to study once a week. If I have time, I want to learn every day, but I don’t have time. I. (...) At first, it was so loud when Koreans talked that I felt a headache. I didn’t understand. But after a while, I understood what they were talking about, so I got better. (Interview from G)*

In fact, it may not be such a big problem in a way that it was difficult because communication in everyday life was not easy. The bigger problem, and most importantly, is that for migrant

workers with different socio-cultural backgrounds, Korean language proficiency becomes essential for securing safety and health directly connected to their lives.

In the case of migrant workers who are often engaged in manufacturing, a small mistake in the operation of machinery is likely to lead to a major accident. According to Kim & Chung (2015), many workplaces employing migrant workers in Korea are managed by employers. In many cases, workplace safety and health activities such as supervision, safety and health education, and provision of safety and health information are not performed properly.

In this regard, essential safety and health information should be provided in the native language of migrant workers, but in a reality that does not make sense, migrant workers make every effort to learn Korean as quickly as possible through their own methods at the workplace.

However, it is not easy to overcome the lack of absolute learning time, and if he/she continues to bump into such a wall of reality, he/she may stop thinking about active exchanges with Korean society and Koreans with the goal of learning Korean language optimized for work. As most of their daily lives are invested in "labor", the focus is on "salary" and "remittance", which are the outcomes of the labor, and it becomes more difficult to develop an identity and sense of residents as a village resident.

### Anti-multiculturalism and Prejudice

'Grammar' was most often mentioned as the biggest similarity between Korea and Kyrgyzstan, while matters on 'ritualism' and 'religion' were commonly mentioned as the difference. In the case of food, clothing, and shelter, which is the biggest difference, this is an answer that is easily understood when considering the socio-cultural background of Kyrgyzstan, which is a landlocked country with a large territory and a tradition of nomadic life. In addition, since 60% of the population is Kyrgyzstan, who are Muslim, it can be seen that it has a very different religious culture from Korea (Wikipedia, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kyrgyzstan>).

The similarities and differences between Korean culture and Kyrgyzstan culture revealed through the interview were largely the community culture and the thought of the elderly. Mr. F said that it was curious that adults in Korea had to hold a spoon first and then the rest of the people would eat rice.

*"The adults here first picked up their spoon, and then young people started eating. I didn't know at first. So I was embarrassed once. (To the researcher's question, through what kind of opportunity did you learn it?) I think someone told*

*me." (Interview from F)*

It was also fun for Koreans to come together to eat food, which is very similar to Kyrgyzstan, but it is very different. In other words, even in Kyrgyzstan, it is natural for members of the community to gather together at someone's birthday, wedding, etc., to party from morning to night to bless and enjoy. However, Korea has a strong consciousness to be together in normal times, but it does not do so when it is necessary to enjoy leisurely for a long time. In addition, the sedentary culture of Korea, derived from the ondol culture, was also seen as heterogeneous in the eyes of Ms. G.

*"Koreans drink soju a lot in the TV dramas. They drink and drink alcohol. And, we eat at the table, but Koreans sit on the floor and eat food. At first, it looked strange." (Interview from G)*

However, these differences in life culture are in areas that can be easily understood and accepted as he/she becomes accustomed to life in Korea. Korean residents also look at Kyrgyzstan's wedding culture, where families, relatives, and friends gather together and enjoy parties all day long, recalling the old Korean wedding culture, looking more critically at the current formal wedding culture, and finding the original meaning of the wedding.

In other words, the bigger obstacle to accepting migrant workers as residents is the intensifying anti-multiculturalism and prejudice of locals. For example, Weekly Chosun (2017) dealt with the birth of 'young anti-multiculturalism' as the theme, and the answer that 'I do not trust foreigners' was highest in the twenties, and at the root of that, in the intensifying competition society. It is said that there is anxiety, anger, and a sense of damage that we feel (Weekly Chosun, 2017. 3. 20.). Increasing numbers of people say that the negative image of IS was immediately replaced by Islam and Muslims, thereby revealing a sense of exclusion according to religion, or having experienced a sense of antipathy that the Chinese are rude and the Japanese are double.

### Concern about the Ethnic Enclaves

In the era of 2.5 million migrants, residential clusters of migrants were created in various places in Korean society. Typical examples include Wongok-dong in Ansan, Daelim-dong, Garibong-dong, Namyangju, and Maseok Furniture Street in Namyangju.

As can be seen from Western cases, areas with large foreign residents as if forming a single community tend to become slums due to their low social status and low wages. Therefore, these

specific clusters are basically a phenomenon that shows that a society has not been able to smoothly embrace minority ethnic groups. At the same time, by allowing 'them' to exist in 'their own space', direct contact between indigenous and migrants is hindered, which leads to increased misunderstandings and conflicts. On the other hand, by paradoxically 'invisible existence' of migrants, discrimination is bad, but it intensifies indifference, pretending to be neutral, which we do not want to welcome.

In fact, the more frequent contact with migrants in daily life, the stronger the tendency to think of them negatively, and the support for the migration policy of Koreans living in highly concentrated areas of foreigners is much lower than that of the Koreans living in general areas (The Kyunghyang Shimun, 2016. 10. 7.).

It is "security and environment" that Koreans point out, and the anxiety related to security often comes from the media's emphasis on crimes committed by "foreigners" for occasional foreigner crimes. On the other hand, complaints about the environment are a problem that can be raised enough from the standpoint of Koreans, because unlike Korea, there is no culture of separate collection and use of garbage bags by type, or foreigners from rare countries are not familiar with the universal norms of Korean society.

In many cases, this is directly linked to the problem of the culture level and civic consciousness level of the migrants' home country, and it is often dismissed. The lack of free communication in Korean language, low social status, and a lot of time invested in labor are some of the things that distract them from ensuring that they fully learn and respect the norms of Korean society.

## Conclusion

The Mayor of Iksan, who attended an event where 600 multicultural families gathered in Iksan in May last year, said in a congratulatory remark that "hybridism is strong" and was in trouble. Later, he said, "The hybrids are smart, but I can't use the word fries. It was done to promote multicultural families." However his explanation raised controversy (Hankook Ilbo, 2019). In addition, at a breakfast meeting with representatives of small and medium-sized businesses in Busan, held at the Busan Chamber of Commerce in June 2019, a party representative said, "The basic value that there should be no discrimination is correct, but anti-discrimination that does not fit into equality is prohibited. It shouldn't be," he said, but this was also controversial (The Kyunghyang Shimun, 2019).

The two controversies raise many questions to our society about the members of a society and their rights. Although the congratulatory

remarks are clearly racist remarks, there is a very complex situation to conclude that the party representative's argument is discrimination, and there are many factors that must be considered in a realistic way. This is because the remarks of political party representatives contain the core debates of migration policy that Korea, which is undergoing many changes in society, culture, and economy, should discuss carefully and comprehensively from a long-term perspective, and decide and implement through consultation.

Of course, migrant workers are contributing a lot to the Korean economy by coming to Korea and working. The key here is the difference between the contributions of indigenous peoples who have been living in Korea and pay taxes in the future and the contributions of immigrants who have just set foot in Korea, that is, migrants who will work for as little as 3 to 10 years and return to their home country. Since this is a question that Koreans have, defining such a question by racial discrimination only intensifies the resentment of migrant workers, especially Koreans, who have a strong antagonism toward "unregistered migrants", and makes it difficult to come up with practical solutions.

In addition, a social discussion process is needed on whether the application of a collective standard that does not take into account complex factors such as industry and business condition, local prices, worker's ability, experience, and skill level is indeed fair and equal or unrealistic and uniform.

That way, various questions become possible. What kind of being is a member of a society? Shouldn't the opportunity to acquire nationality be opened to migrant workers who have sincerely lived in Korea? How much migrants should Korea accept to reduce social conflict and increase national competitiveness? In this era when the boundaries between nations and nationalities are increasingly blurred and the flow of migration continues, is it valid to distinguish between citizens and non-citizens, residents and non-residents only by the presence and type of "visa"? If the equation of "national = people = citizens" was wrong from the beginning, or if it was correct in the past, but now it has changed, would it not be necessary to correct it? So, on what basis and how will citizenship be granted?

Still, there is a strong tendency in Korea to want migrant workers to remain exclusively as "labor" beings excluded from all their daily activities and desires during their stay in Korea. However, the subject of labor is also the subject of production activities. As the economic activity participants participate in consumption activities at the same time, the economy returns while undergoing a cyclical process of production, consumption, and distribution. Therefore, it is neither wise nor possible to unconditionally block various areas in which migrant workers, already existing as residents of a village, can contribute to the village due to fear and prejudice.

Nevertheless, the attitude of Koreans toward migrants has not improved, but rather, the negative view is increasing, as the paternalism seen in the early 2000s has changed to apathy in the 2010s (Yoon, 2016; Sul, *et. al.*, 2019: 107). In response to the increase in migrants, the government's policies for migrants have been actively discussed and implemented. The skepticism, antipathy, and fatigue according to multicultural policies of assimilationism, enlightenmentism, and visionism, not multiculturalism faithful to the original meaning, are certainly one of the reasons. However, there is something more essential to the foundation of anti-multiculturalism, which is expressed through such animosity and even hostility and anger: the economic crisis and polarization. As the economic situation worsens and polarization intensifies, the tendency to misunderstand migrant workers, who actually contribute much to the Korean economy, as beings that take jobs from Koreans intensifies.

People whose survival is unstable and their pain is great cannot afford to listen to the survival and pain of others. It is difficult for a person who has never experienced a community of reciprocity and hospitality to have the heart to give unconditionally to immigrants from outside.

Therefore, when approaching the problem of migrants, we should not only look at them from the special position of 'migrants', but pay attention to the larger structure and the impacts of such structural factors on our society as a whole. In addition, it is necessary to organize diverse communities so that migrant workers can have a sense of residents and create opportunities to communicate with indigenous people. This is because a resident is an entity that has responsibilities and duties as well as rights.

Various residents live in harmony in our villages. There are also migrant workers who at some point became new neighbors of the village. For a village that is a "place where people live together" and a sustainable village, both indigenous and immigrants must go through a process of harmonizing their expectations, concerns, hopes and dissatisfaction, while actively embracing migrant workers. There is no village without conflict. A village without conflict is not healthy. What is important is the will and process of going through the conflict and solving it. The village is essentially a place to cooperate and a place to compete.

## Acknowledgement

The authors would like to thank three anonymous reviewers for their careful reading of the manuscript and their insightful comments.

## References

- Ahn, Chang Hye. 2016. Civic Stratification of Migrants: Focusing on Classification of Status of Sojourn. *Issues in Feminism*. 16(2): 93-132.
- Castles, Stephen and Mark J. Miller. 2013. *The Age of Migration*. Korean International Migration Studies Association, Trans. Seoul: Ilchokak.
- Cho, Joo Hyun. 2008. Biopolitics, Bare Life, Feminist Ethics. *Journal of Korean Women's Studies*. 24(4): 35-64.
- Choi, Yoon Cheol. 2016. A Study on the Changing and Prospective of Migration Law in Korea. *Ilkam Law Review*. 33: 505-532.
- Encyclopedia of Korean Culture. Human Righs. <https://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Item/E0046847>
- Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea. 2017. Act No. 1497 (31, Oct. 2017. Partial Amendment).
- Gwangju Daily Newspaper. 2015. 9. 16. <http://www.kjdaily.com/>
- Hankook Ilbo. 2019. 6. 26. <https://www.hankookilbo.com/News/Read/01906261265321933?did=NA&dtype=&dtypecode=&prnewsid=>
- Hillery, G. A. 1955. Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement. *Rural Sociology*. 20(2): 111-123.
- Hwaseong City Ordinance on Support for Good Village Making. Hwaseong City Ordinance. 2020. No. 1660 (15, July 2020, Partial Amendment).
- Immigration & Social Interaction Network. [https://www.socinet.go.kr/soci/main/main.jsp?MENU\\_TYPE=S\\_TOP\\_SY](https://www.socinet.go.kr/soci/main/main.jsp?MENU_TYPE=S_TOP_SY)
- Incheon Ilbo. 2017. 5. 1. <http://www.incheonilbo.com/?mod=news&act=articleView&idxno=761595>
- Kim, Jung Sun. 2011. The Critical Study of Korean Style Multiculturalism as Welfare Policy Excluding Citizenship. *Economy and Society*. 92(0): 205-246.
- Kim, Jong Se. 2015. The Guarantee of Workers Human Rights about Foreign Worker in Constitution and the Issues of Employment License System. *Han Yang Law Review*. 26(4): 127-146.
- Kim, Hye Son and Jin Joo Chung. 2015. Dilemma of Migrant Workers' Occupational Safety and Health (OSH) and Workplace Change in the Manufacturing Industry. *Korean Journal of Labor Studies*. 21(2): 261-301.
- Korea Immigration Service. 2017. *Korean Visa & Immigration Guide*. Korea Immigration Service, MOJ.
- Korea Immigration Service. 2020. Korea Immigration Service Monthly Statistics.
- Korea Immigration Service. 2020. Status of Registered Foreigners by Nationality/Region and Sojourn Status. <http://www.immigration.go.kr/immigration/>
- Korea Immigration Service, MOJ. 2020. *Korea Immigration Service Statistics 2019*.
- Kymlicka, Will. 1995. *Multiculturalism Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kymlicka, Wiil. 2008. *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction*. Dong Jin Jang, Trans. Seoul: Dong Myeong Publishers.
- Kyrgyzstan News. 2019. 9. 23. <https://blog.naver.com/taeheonan/22151>

- 9920587
- Marshall, T. H. 1950. *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, Da Hea. 2014. Migrant Workers in a Citizenship Perspective. *Social Security Law Review*. 3(1): 95-243.
- Lee, Yong Seung. 2014. Citizenship Aporia in the Age of Multiculturalism: Who Are Citizens and Who Has the Rights to Enjoy Citizenship? *Korean Political Science Review*. 48(5): 185-206.
- Lee, Yong Seung. 2016. Social Integration of Migrants in a Local and the Function of Denizenship. *Minjok Yeonku*. 65(0): 4-25.
- Local Administration & Decentralization Office, Ministry of the Interior and Safety (MOIS). 2019. Statistics on Foreign Residents by the Local Governments 2018.
- Local Autonomy Act. 2018. Act No. 16057 (24, Dec. 2018. Amendment by Other Act).
- Namkoong, Keun. 2007. Some Issues in the Empirical Studies of Social Capital, its Formation and Effects. *Journal of Governmental Studies*. 13(4): 297-325.
- Online Encyclopedia of Public Administration. 2019. Citizenship. <http://www.kapa21.or.kr/epadic/print.php?num=445>
- Putnam, Robert D. 1995. Bowling Alone, Revisited. *The Responsive Community*. 5(2): 18-33.
- Resident Registration Act. 2020. Act No. 16930 (4, Feb. 2020. Amendment by Other Act).
- Statistics Korea. 2019. Population Projections for Provinces (2017-2047).
- Stebbins, Robert A. 1987. *Sociology: The Study of Society*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Sul, Jin Bae, Eun Kook Lee, and Ji Hae Kim. 2019. Multicultural Acceptance of Natives and Self-concept and School Achievement of Migrant Adolescents in Korea-moderating Effect of Social Support. *Crisisonomy*. 15(7): 103-123.
- Suwon Municipal Ordinance for Village-making. Suwon Municipal Ordinance. 2019. No. 2980 (17, May 2019. Partial Amendment).
- The Korea Economic Daily. 2016. 2. 5. <http://news.hankyung.com/society/2016/02/04/2016020487041?nv=o>
- The Kyunghyang Shimun. 2019. 6. 19. [http://news.khan.co.kr/kh\\_news/khan\\_art\\_view.html?artid=201906191149011&code=910100#csid](http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?artid=201906191149011&code=910100#csid)
- xb6c5c84e81f18f095d0fc94888d3f04
- The Kyunghyang Shimun. 2016. 10. 7. [http://news.khan.co.kr/kh\\_news/khan\\_art\\_view.html?www&artid=201610072052005&code=210100](http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?www&artid=201610072052005&code=210100)
- United Nations. 1948. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).
- Weekly Chosun. 2017. 3. 20. <http://weekly.chosun.com/client/news/viw.asp?ctcd=C01&nNewsNum=002449100011>
- Wikipedia. Kyrgyzstan. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kyrgyzstan>
- Yi, Hee Young. 2012. (Post) Division and Actor-network of International Migration: Case Study on the Life and Human Rights of ‘Traveling’ North Korean Refugees. *North Korean Studies Review*. 17(1): 355-393.
- Yonhapnews. 2016. 11. 1. <https://www.yna.co.kr/view/AKR20161101097500052>
- Yoon, In Jin. 2016. Characteristics and Changes of Koreans’ Perceptions of Multicultural Minorities. *Journal of Diaspora Studies*. 10(1): 125-154.

---

**So Hee Kim (uchinanchu@naver.com)**

She completed her doctoral course from The Academy of Korean Studies, Seongnam, Korean in 2018. Her research interests include multiculturalism, immigration and social integration policy. The research papers are “A Qualitative of Study of Symbolic Capital and Distinction-Making among Marriage Migrant Women in Korea (2019),” “The Effects of Social Support and Multicultural Acceptability on School Adjustment by Multicultural Background (2017),” “Social Network and Transnational Identity of Marriage Migrant Women (2013).”

**Jin Bae Sul (jbsul@yonsei.ac.kr)**

She received her Ph.D. in Public Administration at Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea (“The Effects of Managerial Characteristics on Organizational Performance,” 2011). She is a professional researcher of Institute of Public Affairs at Yonsei University. Her research interests include public management, public policy, and social integration policy. The resent research papers are “Analysis of Public Complaints to identify Priority Policy Areas: Evidence from a Satellite City around Seoul (Sustainability, 2019),” “Searching for the Various Effects of Subprograms in Official Development Assistance on Human Development Across 15 Asian Countries (Sustainability, 2019),” “Multicultural Acceptance of Natives and Self-concept and School Achievement of Migrant Adolescents in Korea (Crisisonomy, 2019),” etc.