❚ Article ❚

The Social Integration Policy for Foreigners in Korea and its Effects on Migrant Women's Networks: An Observational Study

Hyun Sook Kim

Sookmyung Women's University, South Korea

Abstract

In the past, women migrated as part of a family and for family reunification, but recently they have been migrating according to their own independent purposes. As the quantity of women's immigration increases, the feminization of migration has emerged as one prominent feature in international migration. In international migration, the migrant network is a major resource, and it is one major factor that greatly influences migrants' settlement, stabilization, and successful migration in the host country. Therefore, the present study investigated the role of migrant networks in international migration and examined how migrant network policies are implemented in Korea's social integration policy for foreigners. The researcher analyzed the status of migrant women's networks in Korea, which have been neglected in Korea's policy implementation. The results showed that migrant women in Korea have been excluded from the formation of a network that could enable them to acquire resources in their settlement due to their vulnerable social status. The policy was mostly focused on marriage migrant women and their families due to Koreans' putting emphasis on the bloodline based on patriarchal thinking. It was also found that women who migrated with the purpose of securing a job by joining the formal market area had more difficulties in accessing the migrant network because of the lack of time and economic burden. More practical policies need to be established to facilitate network formation and access for all migrant women, through which they can acquire resources.

❚ *Keywords* : migrant women, migrant women's network, feminization of migration, social integration, international migration

Introduction

Until the 1980s, women in international migration had been categorized as "accompanying a family" or as "migrant for family reunification." They were not considered independent beings with their own individual purposes in migration. As such, although gender has been rarely considered as a factor in migration research, in recent years, the "feminization of migration" has emerged as a prominent feature in international migration. Above all, the increase in the number of women in migration has been notable. In 2017, 48.4% of all international migrants were women, with 52% in Europe, 51.5% in North America, and 51% in Oceania. In Asia, the percentage of women migrants was 42.4%, which is lower than the international average (UN, 2017). Many women thus have become migrants themselves as laborers or spouses of international marriage. Different from the typical assumption that labor migration usually occurs in an economic context, for female migrants, the boundaries between labor migration and marriage migration are unclear and the relationship between labor migration and that of marriage was found to be in mutual influence. In particular, in East Asian countries (e.g., Japan, Korea, or Taiwan), where the conditions of acceptance of migrant labor are difficult, marriage is often regarded as a channel for migration (Song, 2014).

In addition, the increase in female migration is related to the international division of labor, in which production and reproduction work become marketable. While the need for skilled labor is lessened by the growth of service industries in developed countries, the decline of manufacturing industry, and the development of technology, the need for labor is increasing in certain service sectors, such as housekeepers, waitresses, and simple assembly workers, which domestic residents in developed countries avoid. As most of these jobs have been carried out by migrant women from underdeveloped countries, the "international division of labor for reproduction" (Parrenas, 2001) in the global market economy has been in progress. Such reproduction labor is outside the bounds of

the law, or is not included in the scope of labor laws, and is often not subject to legal regulations. That is why migrant women's status is weak (Song, 2014). Reproduction labor, which is mainly handled by migrant women, is a gendered work based on the traditional sex role norms, and the demand for this type of labor has been constantly increasing, as the automation of them is difficult. Such labor has tended to be less affected by the economic fluctuations, and the increase in demand has continued even during global economic crises such as the Asian economic crisis in 1997. Acceleration of low fertility and aging in advanced countries will continue to make such demand more sustainable (Asis, 2003).

The feminization of migration is highly likely to continue in Korea, too, which is now confronting a serious stage of low fertility and aging. The feminization of migration in Korea began with legal policy considerations as the marriage of bachelors in rural areas became a social problem in the 1990s. The government adopted a policy of actively accepting marriage-migrant women with national spousal status, leading to an increase in migrant women. According to the Justice Department statistics in April 2018, the number of Korea's long-term foreigners surpassed 1.6 million. According to the statistics regarding foreign residents compiled by the Ministry of Public Administration and Security in 2016,[1] there are 1,764,664 foreign residents in Korea. Among them, 46.4% are women (see Table 1). However, 130,773 married immigrant women (Local Autonomy Decentralization Office, 2017) account for only 7.4% of all foreign residents. As there has been a change in the policy for marriage immigrant women, which has led to an increase in the number of immigrant women, it has been also observed that the types of immigrant women who are entering Korea are becoming diverse.

Table 1.

Status of Foreign Residents by Type in 2016

Total number of foreign resident			Long-term stay foreigner						Naturalized migrant	Foreign resident's children (Korea-born)
Total	Male	Female	Total	Foreign worker	Marriage Immigrant	Foreign Student	Korean with foreign nationality	Foreigner with other status		
1,764,664 (100%)	946,561 (53.6%)	818,103 (46.4%)	1,413,758 (80.1%)	541,673 (30.7%)	159,501 (9%)	95,963 (5.4%)	235,926 (13.4%)	380,695 (21.6%)	159,447 (9%)	191,459 (10.8%)

Source. Local Administration & Development Office in the Ministry of the Public Administration and Security (2017); Status of Foreign Residents in Local Governments (2017)

Of the total 962,000 foreigners employed in 2016, 324,000 were women, of which only 4.8% were married migrant women. Migrant women of various statuses of residence for the purpose of employment, such as overseas Koreans, those visiting for employment, and those in Korea for non-professional employment are increasing (National Statistical Office, 2016).

The feminization of Korean migrants has been expanding, starting from marriage-immigration to various types of migration, of which the major purpose of migration was labor. Most male migrant workers are engaged in wide-area manufacturing, while migrant women work in wholesale and retail restaurants, and personal services. This implies that the traditional gender role norms for women are reflected in the gendered labor structure of the recipient countries; therefore, many migrant women are found engaged in specific occupations, such as domestic workers, restaurant workers and hotel helpers. These characteristics are also found in Korea. In addition to facing discrimination based on gender, class, and race, migrant women are placed by these gendered labor demands in the lowest of social positions (Song, 2014).

International migration is a process of social connection, given that people live as settlers in a new land and move from one place to another. It is the very locus in which social capital is involved. The migrants' network centering on social capital is also important to migrant women. For migrants, the network is a resource, a factor that greatly affects their

settlement, stabilization, and successful migration in the host country. Unlike in the past, migrant women voluntarily choose to migrate, but they are still marginalized and vulnerable in the processes of migration, settlement in the host country, and life after settlement. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to investigate the status of migrant women who are marginalized with multiple vulnerability in South Korean society, focusing on the network status of migrant women. Migrants' networks serve as important resources for migrant women. They are also very helpful in facilitating the migrants' adaptation and integration into the host country. This is why a policy that enables networking for migrants is called for. The top priority of immigration policy in the host country should be the realization of harmonious coexistence of the indigenous people and migrants and efforts to promote their social integration.

In this regard, this study first examined the theoretical discussions of migration networks, and explored what kind of migrants' policies were implemented in association to migrant networks in Korea, and how migrants in Korea formed their own networks. The current study would argue that immigrant network policy is important as a means of social integration. The research was conducted with the expectation that this provides an opportunity for migrant women to recognize that establishing a network can be an important resource to them as they suffer from double burden of discrimination because of their gender, racial, or national status. This study was carried out mainly through the analysis of related literature. The first part of the literature review was concerned with the review of the theory of international migration and migration networks. In the next section, the examination of the Korean migrants' network policy was conducted through the analysis of the literature and public statistical information. The migrant women's network analyzed in the third part relied on the sources from the published reports as well as the researcher's own research results by participating in the investigation of the network. The data on migrant women's networks were collected and analyzed through the Internet search.

Theoretical Framework

International Migration in the Contemporary Era and Its Causes

Migration is a very old and common phenomenon that has persisted for tens of thousands of years on earth. Migration refers to the entry of groups and individuals into a place far away from where they lived originally. Migration has received attention recently as international migration has become a global phenomenon. International migration is a complex phenomenon that transcends the space of the state and is a social phenomenon that is related to various human life areas such as politics, economy, society and culture (Batrum et al., 2017). As of 2000, the world's population of migrants who live in a country away from their country was about 100 million, but was estimated about 258 million in 2017, which accounts for about 3.4% of the world's population (UN, 2017).

Cohen (1997) called these international migrants diasporas, seeing them as facilitators of the global economy, increasing free international migration, and activating networks. As a result of these diasporas, multicultural, multi-ethnic, and multilingual global cities emerged, and the competitiveness of migrant labor was strengthened. In addition, the formation of multiple identities contributed positively to the deterritorialization of social identities. These diasporas mean people with the same ethnic origin are living scattered with the same conviction. It is also used as a term that defines people who live in a foreign country and maintain a strong collective identity. In the past, a diaspora was recognized as a group of people who had tragic experiences in the separation processes, and were neglected or persecuted in their own country. However, recently the term diaspora also includes international migration, identity, and community culture. Therefore, in this respect, migrants living in South Korea, who left their home country, can be defined as the "diaspora in us" (Lee, 2013).

As mentioned above, current international migration is a transna-

tional diaspora phenomenon[2] in that it goes beyond the national level and geographical boundaries, not binding migrants' activities. Transnationalism refers to the tendency of migrants to develop their identities and social relations in a multi-national context, rather than rooting themselves in either their home country or in the country they migrated to. It also means the tendency of the migrants to maintain the relationships of loyalty to various nations broadly and persistently (Batrum et al., 2017).

Why then does international migration in the contemporary era show transnational characteristics? Although they are different in their motivation and experiences, most international migrants migrate with the hope that they will be able to live a better life. In their decision-making, not all of them decide to move because of economic difficulties.

The causes of migration can be divided according to the nature of the analysis made by the migrant: personal analysis or structural analysis. In the case of personal analysis, most migrants assume that they make a rational choice. In this analysis, one person looks for a place where a company can offer him/her high payment for his or her own human capital, such as his or her education, expertise, and strength. Migration at an individual level is a kind of family-level decision as one of the family's crisis dispersion strategies. It is a way to cope with the family crisis by sending one or two of the family members abroad to make money. In this case, migration is considered to be a response to a problem in a family unit.

In the structural analysis, migration is determined by any pushing and pulling forces beyond an individual's control. Political, social, and economic factors are such forces. Examples of pushing forces can be overpopulation, lack of land and sexism, whereas population decline, lack of cultivated population, and demand for domestic labor are examples of pulling forces. There are many theories in the structural approach, one of which is the dual labor market theory. The development of capitalism means that a distiction emerges in the labor market between a safe, permanent, high-skilled, high-wage type of business and a hard, harsh,

and low-wage type of business. In the rich countries, there are not enough people to work in the latter type of work, such as construction, cleaning, and restaurant business, but they do not find people by extending the payment for these jobs. In the past, women and young people in the host country worked in such a deteriorated labor market, but these days, migrant workers are occupying these jobs. Migrant workers are clearly engaged in these tasks in the separated labor markets because they can earn more money than at home (Stoker, 2004).

However, it is difficult to clearly explain the factors of international migration with economic structural factors such as individual rational choice or labor market segmentation. As the explanatory power of this analysis is limited, a theory that integrates individual elements and structural elements emerges. It is the migration network theory that focuses on the social network surrounding migration.

International Migration and Migrant Network

Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor (1993) explain the conditions that enable the migration flow to be perpetuated by the social capital theory and the cumulative cause theory, by postulating that the causes of migration and the social conditions of subsequent migration are different. Social capital theory focuses on international migration by focusing on social groups, organizations, or social networks that mediate the structure and actors of international labor migration. The "network" approach focuses on the social (ethnic group) and the state (policy) actors who have a great influence on the continuation of migration and successful settlement. Massey et al. (1993) define a network as human-to-human connections between relatives, friends, and community members located in the sending and receiving countries. Many migrants are systematically linked to various organizations and institutions that support their migration, job acquisition, and new social adaptation in a variety of ways. According to this theory, social networks (e.g., family, relatives, churches, alumni associations, festivities, etc.), migra-

tion organizations (e.g., legal brokers, smuggling organizations), or humanitarian NGOs play a role (to constitute) a widespread migration network (Jeon, 2008).

Social capital is important in network access. Most scholars agree that social capital, as an extension of the traditional capital concept, offers certain benefits to individuals and groups as significantly as economic capital does. Social capital has attributes that are inherent in the relationships among the social actors, unlike the capital that social actors hold individually. Social capital, like economic, human and cultural capital, has the characteristic that the profits are not owned exclusively by the owner of the capital, but are shared with others.[3] In addition, it is capital that demands efforts from people to maintain it. This is because the relationship between the group members is maintained and reproduced only after constant confirmation, reconfirmation, and recognition of the continuous exchange process.

Social exchange made through social capital is not an exchange of equivalence. For example, trust relationships show that the trust between two parties is a positive sum that accumulates and increases as you use it, not as a zero-sum relationship that decreases and grows as much as one gives. Social capital has unique characteristics that grow as you use it. Furthermore, unlike economic capital, where the exchange of time is simultaneous, the exchange of social capital is not simultaneous. In other words, instead of rewarding the partners immediately for their help, people reward their partners when they have a chance. Therefore, there must be a belief that social exchange can someday be rewarded. Social capital is a resource based on general reciprocity, and this reciprocity has an unstable character (Yu, 2003). Given these characteristics of social capital, it can be argued that social capital, unlike the economic capital, or human capital, is inherent in the structure of relations and is a norm, institution, and social network that is based on the reciprocity and reliability.

Migrants must participate in social networks, organizations and social systems in order to gain resources in their life in the migrated country.

As Massey et al. (1993) have seen, this is true in the migration process as well. In other words, in the process of migration, the network increases the movement of an international labor force by lowering travel costs and risks and raising expected net profits. In any country, when the number of migrants exceeds a certain number, interpersonal relations are formed between migrants' networks, which comprise relatives, friends or the local people connecting non-migrants to the emigration country. This migration network increases the likelihood of migration and creates a chain of migration that will build up a new structure, leading to subsequent migration.

Since the formation of a migration network that enables chain migration is made outside the government control, the government is not able to control the flow, and this migration network acts as a mechanism to perpetuate migration. Social networks such as migrant networks, which serve a form of social capital, are friends and family members living abroad. They provide information on job opportunities, funds for travel, shelter, and employment opportunities (Jeon, 2008). The network composed of people from certain native countries helps displaced people settle into new communities and helps them to be placed in accommodation, shelter, jobs and employment, geographical communities, and specific employment markets.[4)] Migrants prefer countries for their migration in which they are able to use the niche communities or multinational connections that were created by their predecessors (Lee, 2013). This network approach, as an inclusive perspective, is useful in explaining the mechanisms of migration, persistence, and adaptation.

Types of Migration Network

In this study, I have classified migrant network types into family, social, and ethnic cultural networks. A family network is based on blood kinship and consists of family members in a home country or a third country. It provides the pre-migrants with the information on the countries they are planning to move to, and plays a major role in adapting to

the new societies and finding jobs. The family-relative networks are essential for the migrants' economic and social survival in the host country. These networks are linked to an integral internal organization, and the relationship is very strong (Bankston, 2014; Lee, 2013). Social networks consist of individuals or groups called nodes, which are bound to various kinds of relationships based on various friends, common interests, values, economic relations, and influences. Social networks are social structures created by the relationship of these intersectional nodes. Each individual has a social network in that s/he is a member of a social structure composed of various kinds of relationships. Institutions with various scales such as family, community, social organization, city, and country also are formed by social networks. People in such social networks are linked by common interests, economic activities, mutual influence, and hostility. Networks do not have closed, and visible boundaries, and they look different depending on the group or community (Batrum et al., 2017).

A social network can also be defined as a series of connections that represent the people or social roles defined by the self in the individuals' relationship. It encourages people to show specific behaviors, links emotional and material support among members, and sustains close relationships to strengthen solidarity. Social networks are also divided into weak bonds (e.g., official networks composed of business centers) and strong bonds (e.g., family, friends, close friends, and informal networks). The strong bond has a high intensity or frequency in their contact between actors, while the weak bond has a low contact strength or frequency. The strong bond has a strong supportive effect in emotional and material aspects. Other social networks can be divided into ties and bridges according to the objects of social relations (Choi & Jeong, 2015).

Recently scholars have paid special attention to the formation of international networks based on the ethnic culture and their role, given that international migration shows a transnational tendency. This is because cross-border human networks and cultural networks are increasing and ethnic-group-based networks are developing. These networks are characterized by a bottom-up globalization in that while globalization

is shown in a form of international exchanges between migrants and the ethnic communities, these exchanges are led by the general public and the communities are formed by the public rather than by the conditions of the market.

These ethnic networks are characterized by the expansion of the national territory politically, the world marketization through the ethnic network economically, and the transnational connection of the ethnic culture in their identity (Lee, 2007). These networks become the basis for promoting various economic transactions such as communication, visits, academic or cultural exchanges among members, and trade and investment (Lee, 2013). Migrants are politically dominated by the country they reside in, but their economic and cultural activities develop across various countries where their economic benefits are generated, which are beyond the influence of the country in which they reside. They also maintain networks based on religion, family and social community, economic activities, or cultural ties, and connect themselves with the same ethnic groups who have moved from their home countries (Lee, 2007). To distinguish the boundaries between the networks is difficult in the overlapping migrant network types classified above. Nonetheless, the type distinctions will help identify migrants' relationships in the host country.

The Migrant Network Policy in South Korea

As the number of foreign workers and marriage migrant women suddenly increased in the late 1980s and early 1990s in Korea, migrants' policies came to be established due to urgent policy needs. As a result, the policies took on a very post-prescriptive character. The legal system for subsequent migrants has been restructured since the 2000s. In 2007, the Basic Law for the Treatment of Foreigners and the Multicultural Family Support Act in 2008 were enacted as the main law. Based on these, policy plans for migrants and foreigners, such as the Basic Plan of Foreigners Policy and the Basic Plan for Multicultural Family, were prepared. These plans all began to be implemented in a form of

three-phase plan in 2018.

The main government organization in charge of the Basic Plan of Foreigners Policy is the Ministry of Justice, and the plan is similar to the immigration policy plans in other countries. However, in Korea, labor immigration is not allowed, and thus, the Ministry of Justice, which is a government ministry in charge of this, uses foreigner policy terms instead of immigration policy terms, and the policy plan is called the Basic Plan of Foreigners Policy. The basic assumption in this policy is that migrant workers, who make up the majority of the total migrants, are those who will eventually return to their home countries over time. Instead, despite their not being the majority of the migrants, marriage immigrant women and their families who have entered the country with the purpose of settlement as the spouses or daughters-in-law of Koreans, or mothers of the Korean children, have become major policy targets.

In Korea's multicultural policy led by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, most of the migrants are excluded. Therefore, these policies do not seem to reflect the recent tendency towards feminization and transnationalism in international migration. Nevertheless, the policy of migrant network in Korea should be examined through the Basic Plan of Foreigners Policy, as it is the main framework of the policy for foreigners. In the following, the examination of how the government of the city Seoul, the largest among local governments, approaches the migrant network through the Basic Plan of Foreigners Policy.

The Basic Plan of Foreigners Policy

Migrant network policy is reflected in the contents of social integration policy for immigrants. As already mentioned, the immigration policy has been restructured since the 2000s, and the recognition of social integration tasks incumbent upon the government has also appeared since 2006. Table 2 presents the main contents of the social integration policy for immigrants in Korea.

Table 2.

Main Contents of Social Integration Policy for Immigrants

Main Policy	Policy Object	Vision	Policy Goal
Social integration support plan for marriage immigrant families (April, 2006)	Families of foreign women, Korean men, and their children	Realization of social integration of married immigrant women and of open multicultural society	Resolution for discrimination and welfare blindness
Support plan for the mixed-blooded and migrants (April, 2006)	Domestic mixed-blooded Foreign mixed-blooded Domestic foreigner	A leading nation that realizes human rights for multicultural people	Cultivation of manpower that can contribute to the culture, diplomacy, and economy of future Korean society beyond social integration
Basic Law for the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea (July, 2007)	Legal foreign resident	1) Enhancing national interest 2) Social integration	- Foreign residents in Korea being able to adapt themselves to the Korean society and fully demonstrate their abilities. - Creating a social environment where Korean people and foreigners mutually understand and respect each other - Contributing to the development and social integration of Korea
Multicultural Family Support Law (March, 2008)	Multicultural families: marriage immigrants and their families, naturalized people and their families	1) Support for stable family life of multicultural families 2) Social integration	- Executing stable family life of multicultural family members - Improving the quality of their lives by allowing them to fulfill their roles and responsibilities as the members of society - Contributing to social integration

Source. Adapted from Lee (2013, p. 118).

The contents of the social integration of migrants are also included in the Basic Plan of Foreigners Policy based on Article 5 of the Basic Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea. The third plan was announced in 2018, and Figure 1 below indicates how the goals of the basic plan have changed from the first plan to the third.

1st Plan	2nd Plan	3rd Plan
Strengthening national competitiveness through aggressive opening	Opening: economic activation and recruitment of the talented	Orderly opening that the people sympathize with
social integration of high quality	Integration: social integration in which the common values of Korea are respected	A society integrated with immigrants' independence and participation
Realization of an orderly immigration administration	Human rights: prevention of discrimination and respect of cultural diversity	A safe society that people and immigrants make together
Human rights advocacy for foreigners	Security: a safe society for the people and foreigners	A just society where human rights and diversity are respected
	Cooperation: joint development with the international community	Future-oriented governance based on cooperation

Figure 1. Goal changes in the basic plan of foreigners policy. Adapted from Chung (2017).

As shown in Figure 1, the goals of the Third Plan of the Foreigners Policy were established based on the results from the implementation of the First and Second Foreigners Policy Plans As a result of the first and second steps, it was necessary to strengthen trust and solidify the integration of citizens and immigrants in order to promote the immigration policy that seek harmony and reconciliation. To this end, it was necessary to provide long-term foreigners with the status as immigrants who are members of the society, to give them responsibility for self-reliance and participation, to provide enhanced settlement and integration support services, and to strengthen systematic human rights protection for immigrants and cultural diversity policies (Kang, 2017).

Therefore, in the integration field of the third plans in the Basic Plans of Foreigners Policy, with the goal of integrating immigrants into self-reliance and participation, four major initiatives were set up that could support immigration and promote immigrants' social integration step by step, strengthen immigrant children's capacity, strengthen welfare support for immigrants' social integration, and increase immigrants' social participation. Particularly, in the project to increase the immigrants'

participation in the community, the improvement of local service through the establishment of community related organization networks, and the development of a localized service model, and the active enforcement of participation policy with such specific goals as expanding the provision of multilingual information were established. In addition, in the human rights sector, the government set up detailed tasks to strengthen the system to prevent discrimination, to establish a systematic system for protecting human rights, and to promote the human rights of immigrants who were employed in Korea. In particular, the ministry has set up specific goals for promoting the human rights of vulnerable immigrants, including women and children, particularly with a view to strengthening the protection of human rights for farmers, fishermen, women, and children. (The Third Basic Plan of Foreigners Policy, February 2018.)

From the perspective of the migrants' network policy, the 3rd Basic Plans of Foreigners Policy seems to have focused on supplementing the problems raised by the existing policies. It is very encouraging that the plans consider the voluntary participation of immigrants, linkage with indigenous people, role-sharing or strengthening of community, and protection of immigrants' human rights. Particularly, the expansion of the participation of immigrants in the community can be regarded as a direct immigrant network policy, which can affect the expansion of the social network of migrants.

It is necessary to see what kind of policy goals and tasks actually take place and what kind of contents will be carried forward. Although protecting the human rights of vulnerable immigrants such as women and children are referred to as specific tasks, there is no concrete content for that. In other words, there is no mention of how the tasks are to be carried out and from what policy content. However, human rights and networks of migrant women are the areas where synergy arises through interconnection. It is highly expected that in the third plan, implementation of the policies that can activate migrant women's networks through the recognition of the importance of migrant women's human rights and network connection can take place.

Migrant Network Policy of Seoul Metropolitan Government[5)]

While the foreign policy implemented by the Ministry of Justice's Foreign Policy Basic Plan is a macroscopic central policy, Seoul metropolitan government's is a micro-level policy that can have a more direct impact on the lives of migrants. In this study, I selected the case of Seoul to examine the implementation of this microscopic migration policy. Seoul is a global international city and the number one residence location of foreign residents in Korea. In addition, Seoul is superior to other local governments in terms of its infrastructure and linkage with central policy. As of 2017, there were 312,423 migrants in Seoul, including registered foreigners and naturalized persons. About 85,000 migrant workers engaged in simple or functional work are reported as the major type of residence, who shows the highest proportion. But the type of residence in Seoul is diverse and evenly distributed compared to other regions.

The Multicultural Family Support Center is the policy project that migrants and most related municipalities implement in common. Although the Multicultural Family Support Center is sponsored by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, the expenses from both the government and local government are provided in their administration. In the case of Seoul, 7 centers had been operated by 2016 and increased to 10 in 2017. The Multicultural Family Support Center has been continuously working on programs to support marriage immigrants in the early stages of their settlement, and has been working to build networks through self-help groups.

The Support for Victims of Violence Against Women and Children, which is one of the support policies for victims of violence against women and children sponsored by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, has also been supported by the expenses of the central government and local government. This policy is intended to protect the human rights of migrant women, and thus, it is difficult to see it as a project to establish a migrant women's network directly. However, this policy can be viewed

as a network policy in that it is essential to establish a network among migrant women in the course of the project implementation so that the protection of human rights for migrant women can be facilitated. From 2016 to 2017, the city operated four migrant women shelters, one migrant women volunteer support center, and two migrant women group homes.

Among the policies related to migrants that are promoted by the city government in 2016, the following policies are related to migrant network policy: 1) the establishment of active participation channels for foreign residents, 2) the independence of multicultural families, and 3) the realization of social integration in which cultural diversity and values are respected. In 2016, the performances demonstrated on the part of the foreign residents' participation in the policy-making process were the operation of a private-public consultation center in the southwestern part of Seoul and the operation of the representatives' organization of foreign residents. At the resident representatives' meeting, 38 representatives from 23 countries were selected and six regular meetings were held. In addition, a total of 3 foreign residents' Seoul Town Meetings were hosted according to the nation. The hosts were Thai residents, residents of Mongolia, and IT representatives from China.

Meanwhile, policies for multicultural family independence and settlement have strengthened education, jobs for marriage immigrants, and entrepreneurship support. Eight programs of the employment and entrepreneurship education programs in Seoul for migrants were implemented and 141 people completed the education programs. Social integration policies supported migrant networks such as foreign community culture, support for sports events (20 foreign communities), national self-help groups (20), and community reception room operating groups (4 groups). This is direct implementation of the migrant network policy by the city of Seoul.

Most of the policy tasks in 2016 were implemented in 2017. The added portion in 2017 were the policies aimed at establishing Seoul as communication partner with the indigenous people and migrants. The effects of the policies were that through the improvement in the operation

of the flea market by foreigners, cultural exchange and consensus building occurred and that through the strengthening of the volunteer programs, both citizens of Seoul and the foreign migrants actively participate in the sharing activities.

Table 3.

Performance of the 2017 Migrant Network in Seoul

District	Project Title	Budget (Unit: 10,000 KRW)
Seongdong-gu	Multicultural café	2,800
Seoul City	Flea Market Operation by Foreigners	900
Dongjak-gu	Multicultural Family Self-Help Group	200
Gangdong-gu	Happiness Together Project	600
Gangsu-gu	Multicultural Youth Culture and Arts Program	1,000
Seoul City	Multicultural Family Community Support Program	4,200
Seoul City	Establishment and Operation of Private-Public Consultation Center in Southwestern District in Seoul	2,000
Seoul City	Organizing the Representatives' Meeting of Foreign Residents in Seoul	6,200
Seoul City	Global Concert Cultural Performance	2,400
Jung-gu	Multicultural Family Happy Hall	1,000
Yeongdeungpo-gu and other 4 districts	Various Cultural Experience Programs	4,300
Seocho-gu	Banpo Seorae Korea-France Music Festival	11,000
Seongbuk-gu	Seongbuk Multicultural Food Festival 'World Food Festival'	7,000
Seoul City	Supporting Cultural Events for Foreign Residents in Seoul	10,500
Seoul City	Seoul Global Village Sharing Hanmadang Festival	49,800
Seoul City	Seoul City FC Seoul Foreigners Day Promotion	1,000
Gangseo-gu	Multicultural Festivals with Local Residents of Gangseo-gu	2,000
Gwanak-gu	Multicultural Expo	1,000
Dongdaemun-gu	Dongdaemun-gu Multicultural Family Hanmaeum Festival	1,000
Seongbuk-gu	Seongbuk-gu Global Culture Festival	13,600
Nowon-gu	Uh-Oolim Hanmadang Festival with Foreigners Living in Nowon-gu	1,000

District	Project Title	Budget (Unit: 10,000 KRW)
Guro-gu	Support Program for Foreigners Organizations	1,000
Seoul City	Seoul Metropolitan Foreign Seoul Town Meeting	2,000
Seoul	Foreign Volunteers in Seoul	1,000
Yangcheon-gu	Supports for Settlement of Foreign Residents as a Local Resident	2,000
Guro-gu	Guro-gu Multicultural Supporters Organization and Operation	1,500
Seoul City	Seoul Volunteer Group for Foreign Students	400

Source. Adapted from Central Government Agency Foreign Policy Implementation Plan I, by Foreign Policy Committee, 2017(a).

Table 3 shows only the issues associated with migrants' network among 103 foreign policy tasks (at Seoul in 2017). The table shows that only a handful of immigrant network support projects are available, and most of the work is still focused on networks between multicultural families. In addition, even network support tasks are implemented in the form of one-time business and festival-type cultural events. The city emphasizes being a global city and stresses the need for communities to communicate through the foreign migrants' participation in the local communities and policies. Nevertheless, it is difficult to confirm this commitment from the above tasks. There is no network support project for social integration for all migrants, and the network is limited to the support of multicultural families. It is therefore natural that we cannot find any single task that is specifically aimed at migrant women, including migrant women's networks.

Although the above table shows that Korea has entered a multicultural society, the immigrant policy is out of the government's priority. It is intended to produce only an exhibition effect with a small budget. It is no surprise that we cannot expect policy consideration for migrant women, who are placed in the multi-tiered minority position, beyond policies that deal with emergency situations such as violence. In addition, as implied in the name of task of the policy, which separates foreigners from the multicultural families, the migrants were categorized as one

social group in the name of the foreigners despite their differences in gender, ethnicity, culture or religion. Remediating this categorization and lack of gender responsive perspective should be considered as a priority when there is a policy change in the future.

Status of Migrant Women's Network in Korea

Previously, the researcher examined the migrant network policy by dividing the central and local governments separately. Therefore, the status of domestic migrant women's networks was analyzed first based on the immigration network under the Ministry of Justice, and the migrant network of the Multicultural Family Support Center (self-help group). The following is an analysis of the existence of networks for migrant women and in what form they exist among the networks that migrants have voluntarily formed.

Immigrant Network in the Ministry of Justice

The Ministry of Justice established a network of immigrants in each of the 15 immigration offices nationwide in September 2007 to help them immigrate with safety and share information among themselves. At the time of building the network, a community centering on marriage immigrants was established. This was a way to support senior marriage immigrants to serve as guardians of the new marriage immigrants. The network was revitalized with self-help groups, settlement support programs, a liberal arts academy, cultural exchanges, volunteer activities, and gathering together events. In 2012, the number of marriage immigrant network members was 16,040, and 2,300 immigrants acted as interpreters and civil aid assistants in the civil affairs office (Ministry of Justice press release, May, 3, 2013). The Ministry of Justice has extended such marriage immigrant-oriented networks into "migrant networks" since May 2013, in which foreign students, foreign workers, and foreign nationals participate.

By examining the immigrant network of 15 immigration offices across the country in 2016, the researcher identified several features. First, there was a big difference between the number of officers who were officially registered and the number of officers who actively participated in the activities. Second, although the members were composed of multi-national members, the actual nationality of the active members were Chinese and Vietnamese. Therefore, the self-help group by nationality in the network was also concentrated on China and Vietnam. Third, despite the expansion of the immigrant network from the marriage immigrant network in 2013, it was still centered on marriage immigrants. In fact, they were not able to extend beyond the network of marriage migrant women. Fourth, since it was governed by the Ministry of Justice, most of the active members were volunteers of the Ministry of Justice civil affairs. They were operated in such a way that they were closely connected with immigration office duties such as helping immigration offices or participating in events.

This feature of the Justice Department immigrant network appears to be caused by the immigrants' time shortages and economic reasons. Migrants who migrated for economic or academic purposes are virtually unable to participate in volunteer activities such as acting as interpreters, mentors, and other events while they are working. This is also the reason for the difference between the number of registered members and the number of network members. Therefore, unlike labor migration, marriage immigrant women who came to Korea for the purpose of settlement were relatively free from time, and thus became the center of network activities. Despite the fact that the Ministry of Justice has announced its policy of expanding the network to cover all status of residence, the situation in which the majority of migrants have to be engaged in the economic activities has placed married migrant women at the center of their operations.

These immigrant networks operated by the Ministry of Justice are social networks. However, there are various subordinate groups such as self-help groups, cooperatives, and congregational groups within the im-

migrant network of the Ministry of Justice. Among the subgroups, there are networks of ethnic culture network types according to their nationality, and also social networks including multinational residents and indigenous Koreans. Therefore, the immigrant network of Justice Department shows a form of coexistence between social networks and ethnic culture networks. In spite of the fact that the target participants include all immigrants, the networks operated by the Ministry of Justice can be regarded as women's networks centering on married immigrant women in that most of the 15 immigrant networks were composed of married immigrants. Given that these networks are governed by the governmental organization, and have no economic support with rigid organizational characteristics, the network activities do not seem to be active. However, there is an advantage of network activity in that it gives the immigrants the opportunity to acquire practical immigration information and acquire useful resources in new settlements through exchanges with Koreans. Furthermore, the authority of the Ministry of Justice has motivated them to become active. For this reason, the immigration network of the Ministry of Justice seems to be well maintained.

Marriage Migrant Women's Network in the Multicultural Family Support Center (Self-Help Group)

The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, which is responsible for running the Multicultural Family Support Center, is implementing policies to support marriage immigrants in their early adaptation to Korean society and to encourage the stable family life of multicultural families. There are 218 multicultural family support centers across the country, where family, gender equality, human rights, social integration, Korean language education, and language development support projects for multicultural families are underway. In 2017, the Multicultural Family Support Center was integrated with the Healthy Family Support Center. As a result of the integration, immigrant network related work was organized in the area of community business within the family sector. In

the basic support plans, there are support packages for marriage immigrants' job findings, marriage immigrant settlement by stages, including meetings, activities, and cultural programs. The details of this project include the family business, and network related contents such as the creation of a family unit circle, the creation of *Pumasi* between neighbors, the creation of autonomous activity space, the network of related organizations, and so on (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family Affairs, 2017).

According to a survey of 217 multicultural family support centers across the country in 2016, at least one married immigrant women's self-help group existed. Mostly various self-help groups coexisted, and the types of meetings were classified into five categories. First, self-help groups according to the country of origin (friendship meeting); second, self-help groups with multinational members (multinational group); third, self-help groups for the husband and parents-in-law of the married immigrant woman; fourth, self-help groups for couples (multinational, by country); and fifth, self-help groups based on hobbies, economic independence, language education, child education, service, religion, food, and so on.

The types of family, social, and ethnic cultural networks that have been categorized above are all found in the marriage migration women's self-help group at the Multicultural Family Support Center. In the case of a family network, it is a marital self-help group, which is not a family in a native country but a newly formed family after marriage migration. Particularly, when the mother country of the spouse comes to the marital self-help group among the same countries, the family and the ethnic culture network overlap. National self-help groups, traditional dance groups, and traditional cuisine groups are ethnic cultural networks. In the case of multinational groups with the indigenous Koreans, they can be classified as social networks. Therefore, the family, social and ethnic cultural network types classified in this study were all found in the self-help groups at the multicultural family support center.

Nevertheless, as a network of migrant women, there were some limi-

tations in the self-help groups at the multicultural family support centers. Self-help groups have various forms, but the number of members of each group was small. Only married immigrant women were eligible. The self-help group was formed by the support center as a mechanism for quick adaptation to Korean society, rather than by their active participation. In this respect, these groups were formed without reflecting migrant women's perspectives. The formation of the self-help groups run by the multicultural family support center was guided by the idea that the more important issue for migrant women is their quick adaptation to Korean society by accepting Korean family values and culture without critiquing bloodline-centered patriarchal culture in Korea.

Self-formed Migrant Women's Networks

In the next part, different from the organization that centered on migrant network discussed above, the researcher examined the status of migrant women's networks, which are organized voluntarily according to the women's own purposes. As the way to identify such a network, an investigation of the self-help group of foreign residents supported by Seoul City in 2016 was carried out. I selected these groups because the city government of Seoul supported them through the project announcement and selection processes. In order to identify the voluntary migrant women's gathering, Internet research was conducted.

Table 4.

Foreign Residents' Self-help Meeting in 2016 Supported by Seoul City

	Classification	Meeting Name	Number of Member	Country of Member	Year of Formation	Frequency of Meeting per Month	Main Activity
1	Jongro-gu	White Mugweed	10	Japan	2014	2	self-competency development (crafts)
2	Joong-gu	Sakura Joshikai	11	Japan	2013	2	volunteer activities (talent sharing)
3	Yongsan-gu	Integrated Nationality	20	Philippines, Vietnam, Korea	2013	2	culture & art activities (craft)
4	Sungdong-gu	Warm Steps	10	Vietnam	2012	2	culture & art activities (dance)
5	Gwangjin-gu	Dream Sharing	8	China, Vietnam, Japan	2013	2	self-competency development (making)
6	Dongdaemun-gu	Sushine Craft Workshop	9	Mongolia, Japan, China, Indonesia	2009	2	self-competency development (crafts)
7	Jungrang-gu	Noi Von Tay Lon	9	Vietnam	2009	2	culture & art activities (dance, instruments)
8	Gangbuk-gu	NET ViET (Vietnam's Character)	8	Vietnam	2014	2	culture & art activities (dance)
9	Dobong-gu	Hello Korea	10	Vietnam	2015	2	self-competency development (parents education)
10	Nowon-gu	Happy Women in Nowon	10	Vietnam	2014	2	self-competency development (crafts)
11	Eunpeong-gu	Hand-made World	8	Philippines, Cambodia, China	2015	2	self-competency development (crafts)

	Classification	Meeting Name	Number of Member	Country of Member	Year of Formation	Frequency of Meeting per Month	Main Activity
12	Seodaemun-gu	Rainbow Medicine Hand	13	Vietnam, Korea	2012	2	volunteer activities (hand massage)
13	Mapo-gu	English Speaking Meeting	8	Philippines, Cambodia, Taiwan, Ethiopia	2013	2	self-competency development (crafts)
14	Gangseo-gu	Nail Care with the Elderly	8	Vietnam, Philippines	2014	2	volunteer activities (nail & hand massage)
15	Guro-gu	Growing Parents with Infant Child "Do-Dam Do-Dam"	10	China, Vietnam	2013	2	self-competency development (early childhood education)
		Thank You Sister	8	Cambodia	2014	2	voluntary activities
16	Geumcheon-gu	Muse Mom	10	China, Vietnam, Japan	2014	2	culture & art activities (ukulele)
17	Dongjak-gu	Becoming Majestic Parents 2	12	Cambodia, Mongolia China, Philippines, Japan, Vietnam	2015	2	self-competency development (child education)
18	Gwanak-gu	Becoming One Heart	10	Vietnam	2013	2	culture & art activities (dance)
19	Gandong-gu	Happy Migrant Women Star	9	Philippines, China, Vietnam	2015	2	self-competency development (crafts)

Source. Adapted from Yoon et al. (2016, pp. 136-137)

The Table 4 shows the list of self-help groups for foreign residents supported by Seoul City in 2016. There are only two self-help groups that indicate that the meeting is for females. The two networks can be seen as a social network as they are involved in the activities for their own capacity building and volunteer activities. However, if all members are Cambodian like in the group Thank You Sisters, the ethnic culture network tendency is shown to be stronger. On the other hand, the self-help group such as Happy Migrant Female Star can be seen as a social network because it is composed of members with multinational backgrounds and focuses on capacity development activities.

Next are the list of networks of migrant women found through an Internet search. The 14 organizations below are found in the search with the keywords "Migrant Women's Organization" and "Migrant Women's Network" on Internet portals such as Daum and Naver in February 2018. The list is as follows: 1) Korean Migrant Women's Human Rights Center, 2) Daul Light Migrant Women's Association, 3) Korea Migrant Women's Association, 4) Community Ieum (Linking) for Married Immigrant Women, 5) Future Road (Migrant Women's Community), 6) Happy Fruit Sharing Association (migrant women self-help group), 7) Seoul Didimteo for Immigrant Women, 8) Water Drop Sharing Association, 9) Multicultural Women's Association, 10) Find Marriage Immigrant Equality, 11) Marriage Immigrant Interpretation Support Communication Room, 12) Migrant Women's Self-Help Group Talk To Me, 13) Daegu Migrant Women Human Rights Center, and 14) Vietnam Women's Cultural Center

These 14 organizations are composed of married immigrant women who formed a self-help group for migrant women (in bold type) and non-profit and NGO organizations that support and support migrant women in Korea. The above networks of migrant women are formed by the immigrant women who met in Korea, or Koreans who gathered together to support migrant women, helping them to form the self-help groups. Therefore, they completely take on the characteristics of social networks.

Korean NGOs began supporting immigrants in the early 1990s, but

the fact that immigrant women were bound to racism and sexism at the same time only began to be taken into consideration through the activities of the Foreign Women's Counseling Center in 1996, which was operated by the Korea Church Association. In order to highlight the issue of migrant women in the Korean Indigenous Women's Movement, the Korean Migration Women's Human Rights Center joined the Korean Women's Alliance in 2003, and then, Korean Women's Movement and migrant women's human rights problems began to be tackled. Since 2013, the Migrant Women's Movement has supported the family-centered migrant women's support system such as the Women's Union, the Korean Sexual Violence Counseling Center, Telephone Calls for Korean Women, and the National Solidarity for Resolving Prostitution Problems (Han, 2017).

Internet search results showed that migrant women's networks formed a social network for successful migration out of the existing family and ethnic cultural network form. Nonetheless, there are a number of voluntary migrant women's organizations that are still centered on married immigrant women. There were few organizations that were formed for the empowerment of migrant women, organizations which would consider the human rights of all migrant women among the voluntary migrant women's networks, not the network of immigrant women formed in partnership with Koreans. The reality of the migrant women

Table 5.

Distribution of the Types of Korean Migrant Women' Network

	Ministry of Justice Immigration Network	Self-help Meeting by Country at the Multicultural Family Support Center	Multinational Self-help Group at the Multicultural Family Support Center Multinational Self-help group	Marriage Migrant Women Family Gathering at the Multicultural Family Support Center	Marriage Migrant Women Couple Meeting at the Multicultural Family Support Center	Self-help Group with Special Purpose at the Multicultural Family Support Center	Self-help Meeting Internet	Seoul Foreigner Self-help Group (Migrant Women's Network)
Family Network				●	●			
Ethnic Culture Network	●	●						●
Social Network	●		●			●	●	●

who are in double or triple burden can be found in the network status as well. Table 5 above summarizes the types of networks in which Korean migrant women's networks are classified, as mentioned above.

Conclusion

This study analyzed the current situation of migrant women in Korea through the examinations of the policy of migrant women's networks in Korean social integration policy. In doing so, the present study focused on the migrant network as it greatly influences the immigrants' adaptation, settlement, and success of immigration. In order to identify the current status of Korean migrant women's networks, the author analyzed the policy and the implementation process for forming a migrant network, which involves diverse human relations and associations among immigrants or immigrants and the indigenous.

The research on the status of migrant women's networks is important due to migrant women's vulnerable social status. Migrant women in our society are responsible for reproductive and care work by the division of labor in the area of migration, and this increase in labor demand causes the increase of women's migration, but at the same time places them still in a double burden along with the racial and gender discrimination. Migrant women in these positions have also been excluded and alienated from the formation of migration networks that allow them to acquire resources for migration. Interestingly, they could be under the governmental consideration influenced by the cultural tendency that stresses Korean lineage and patriarchal thought, which was the driving force behind the establishment of the policy for married immigrant women and their families. Migrant women with the purpose of general labor who have joined the formal market area are becoming the victims of wage disparity, occupational isolation, workplace sexual harassment, and sexual violence. In addition, it is highly likely for those who work in the unofficial areas of care, reproductive and sex work are to be placed in the blind spot of human rights than those working in the official area.

As a result, they tend to be excluded in the women's welfare benefits such as medical insurance and industrial accident insurance. In this situation, the temporal and financial burdens they have make it more difficult for them to access the migrant network to acquire social capital. Therefore, migrant women are in a vulnerable position with a double or triple burden due to their being women in addition to their race and ethnicity.

As shown in Table 5 above, it was found that the network activities that married immigrant women with relatively easier access to the migrant network are engaged in are also concentrated on activities of the family and ethnic culture. Even if they constructed social networks, they mostly organized gatherings for hobbies, friendship, children's education, or volunteer activities with similar marriage immigrants. In such a network, it is difficult to expect creation of social capital that can help migrant women independently live, promote human rights, and empower them through network activities.

They participate in activities through NGOs that are led by women's organizations or immigrant women. Until now, the activities have been focusing on the solidarity among individual migrants. Migrant women have their own problems, but they lack resources, including a lack of information, difficulty in communicating languages, and short stays in Korea. Currently, the NGOs working for domestic women's human rights are helping migrant women, encouraging them to form self-help organizations through the recognition of their subjectivity.

Migrant women's networks are necessary for migrant women who are living with us in that they can enable them to be equipped with the capacity to help each other from a gender responsive perspective and to settle in Korean society successfully. The remaining tasks are to expanding the multicultural and migration policies of Korea from the policies for marriage migrant women and their families to those embracing other groups of migrants. There is an urgent need to establish a policy that supports all migrants, and especially the one that can meet the needs of the vulnerable migrant women.

1) The statistics of the Ministry of Justice in Korea classifies long-term stay foreigners as those who stay in Korea for more than 90 days, holding alien registration cards. However, foreign residents, according to the Ministry of Public Administration and Security, include long-term foreign residents with alien registration cards, Korean naturalized persons, and children born in Korea.

2) The transnational diaspora phenomenon is "a series of political, economic, social and cultural phenomenon centering on recent diaspora movements taking place in the transnational environment in which as the labor, capital and social relations have moved freely across borders, the development of rapid voluntary population movements was accelerated by the advancement of transportation and communication technology" (Jeon, 2008. p. 260).

3) There are two ways of sharing the benefits of social capital. One is that the profits are shared exclusively with the members who have a relationship through social capital, and the other is the case where the members who are not included in the relationship also benefit. For example, in the case of securing nighttime policing through trust, the benefits go to everyone in the region. Likewise, the macro approaches emphasize the nature of social capital as a public good (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2003; Yoo et al., 2003). Therefore, mutual cooperation and cooperation among people are absolutely necessary to establish such a social capital of public nature, and if such a trust and cooperative relationship is betrayed, social capital disappears instantly. Therefore, publicly owned social capital is particularly vulnerable to the "tragedy of the commons" (Adler & Kwon, 2000; Yu et al., 2003).

4) In the early 1990s, roughly one-third of LA Korean employees were hired by Koreans, and according to those who migrated to Spain and Italy from Turkey, Morocco, Egypt, Ghana and Senegal, they obtained direct information from local people or from families in their homeland (Jeon, 2008). In the case of Vietnamese immigrants to the United States, the manicure and fetish area of the beauty industry, which is the representative occupation of this ethnic group, is occupied by the Vietnamese (Bankston & Carl, 2014).

5) The Seoul Metropolitan City data are based on the data obtained through the Foreign Policy Committee (2017b), "Plan for the Implementation of the 2017 Local Government Foreign Policy I."

References

Adler, P. S., & Kwon, S. W. (2000). Social capital: The good, the bad and the ugly. In E. L. Lesser (Ed.), *Knowledge and Social Capital: Foundation and Application* (pp. 89-115). Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Asis, M. M. B. (2004). When men and women migrate: Comparing gendered migration in Asia. CM/MMW/2003/EP.1 United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW).

Bankston, C. L. III. (2014). *Immigrant networks and social capital.* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Batrum, D., Poros, M. V., & Monforte, P. (2017). *International migration and multicultural society through reading the concepts* (Y. M. Lee, Trans.). Seoul: Purun Gil. (In Korean)

Choi, B. D., & Jeong, Y. (2015). A study on the social network change in the migration and settlement process of marriage migrants. *Modern Society and Multiculturalization, 5*(1), 20-57. (In Korean)

Cohen, R. (1997). *Global diasporas: An introduction.* London: UCL Press.

Foreign Policy Committee. (2017a). *2017 central government agency foreign policy implementation plan.* Seoul: Ministry of Justice. (In Korean)

Foreign Policy Committee. (2017b). *2017 implementation plan for local governments foreign policy book 1.* Seoul: Ministry of Justice. (In Korean)

Han, K. (2017, October 10). 30 years of women's movement: A record of bravery and solidarity - Migrant women are our neighbors. *Women's Newspaper*, Retrieved from http://www.womennews.co.kr/news/117426 (In Korean)

Jeon, H. (2008). Theoretical review of international migration: An approach to the diaspora phenomenon and integration model. *Korea Northeast Asian Journal*, 49, 26-47. (In Korean)

Lee, S. (2013). *A study on women's marriage immigrant network and multicultural citizen rights* (Doctoral thesis). Chonnam National University. (In Korean)

Lee, Y. (2007). A Study on the characteristics of socio-cultural networks of female marriage migrant: The case of Boeun and Yangpyeong, *Journal of the Korean Urban Geographical Society, 10*(2), 35-51. (In Korean)

Local Administration & Development Office in the Ministry of the Public Administration and Security. (2017). *2016 status of foreign residents in the local governments.* (In Korean)

Massey, D. S., Arango, Joaquin, Hugo, Graeme, Pellegrino, Adela, Taylor, J. Edward. (1993). Theory of international migration: A review and appraisal. *Population and Development Review, 19*(3), 431-466.

Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. (2017). *2017 healthy family multi-cultural family support center integrated service project (1).* Ministry of Gender Equality and Family of Korea. (In Korean)

Ministry of Justice. (2018). *Monthly immigration statistics*, February 2018: Korea immigration Services. Ministry of Justice of Korea. (In Korean)

National Statistical Office. (2017). *2016 Employment survey on foreigners*. National Statistical Office of Korea. (In Korean)

Parrenas, R. S. (2001). *Servants of globalization: Women, migration and domestic work*. Standford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Putnam, R. D. (1993). The prosperous community: Social capital and public life. *American Prospects*, *4*(13), 35-42.

Song, H. J. (2014). An exploratory study on migrant women: Focusing on classification of types and government response, *Public Administration Bulletin*, *52*(4), 191-231. (In Korean)

Stoker, P. (2004). *International migration* (B. Kim, Trans.). Seoul: Iso Publisher. (In Korean)

UN. (2017). *International migration report 2017*. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2017.pdf

Yoo, S., Chang, M, Jeong, B., & Bae, Y. (2003). *Social capital theory and issues*. Seoul: Green Book Publishing.

Biographical Note

Hyun Sook Kim received her Ph.D. in Political Science from Sookmyung Women's University. She is currently a Research Professor at the Research Institute of Asian Women, Sookmyung Women's University. Her research interests include migrant issues, multiculturalism, gender studies, official development assistance (ODA), and human rights. Email: k9402011@sookmyung.ac.kr