



저작자표시-동일조건변경허락 2.0 대한민국

이용자는 아래의 조건을 따르는 경우에 한하여 자유롭게

- 이 저작물을 복제, 배포, 전송, 전시, 공연 및 방송할 수 있습니다.
- 이차적 저작물을 작성할 수 있습니다.
- 이 저작물을 영리 목적으로 이용할 수 있습니다.

다음과 같은 조건을 따라야 합니다:



저작자표시. 귀하는 원저작자를 표시하여야 합니다.



동일조건변경허락. 귀하가 이 저작물을 개작, 변형 또는 가공했을 경우에는, 이 저작물과 동일한 이용허락조건하에서만 배포할 수 있습니다.

- 귀하는, 이 저작물의 재이용이나 배포의 경우, 이 저작물에 적용된 이용허락조건을 명확하게 나타내어야 합니다.
- 저작권자로부터 별도의 허가를 받으면 이러한 조건들은 적용되지 않습니다.

저작권법에 따른 이용자의 권리는 위의 내용에 의하여 영향을 받지 않습니다.

이것은 [이용허락규약\(Legal Code\)](#)을 이해하기 쉽게 요약한 것입니다.

[Disclaimer](#)

Master's Thesis

**A Study on Guest Worker Settlement in the
Netherlands and Its Implications on Korea**

네덜란드 이주 노동자 정착 및 그 함의에 관한 연구

February 2018

Graduate School of Seoul National University

International Area Studies Major, GSIS

Thomas Emile de Keulenaar

A Study on Guest Worker Settlement in the Netherlands and Its Implication on Korea

네덜란드 이주 노동자 정착 및 그 함의에 관한 연구

A Study on Guest Worker Settlement in the Netherlands and Its Implications on Korea

Academic advisor Han, JeongHun

Submitting a master's thesis of International Area Studies

November 2017

Graduate School of Seoul National University

International Area Studies Major, GSIS

Thomas Emile de Keulenaar

Confirming the master's thesis written by Thomas Emile de Keulenaar

November 2017

Chair Kim, Taekyoon (Seal)

Vice Chair Mobrand, Erik (Seal)

Examiner Han, JeongHun (Seal)

Abstract

A Study on Guest Worker Settlement in the Netherlands and Its Implications on Korea

Thomas Emile de Keulenaar

International Area Studies

Graduate School of International Studies

Seoul National University

This study examines the current case of guest workers in South Korea and its future, including any chances of permanent residence of these residents, by the usage of the historical case of The Netherlands (1949-1980s). Whereas the Western European country of The Netherlands had accepted many guest workers from 1949 until the year 1973, and expected them to return to their respective native countries, a big part of them decided to stay living in The Netherlands and settle themselves permanently. This paper studies the following question: what are the chances that similar developments (i.e. permanent residence of guest worker migrants) might take place in the country as they did in The Netherlands? Furthermore, ideas about multicultural society and the impact on integration policies in both cases are also examined. The first part of the essay compares the Dutch and the Korean cases, whereas the second part looks at the similarities and differences between ideas about multicultural societies. The last part discusses effects of guest migrants in Dutch society and politics of the 2000s, applying this to any future case scenario of South Korea. Major findings were that the Dutch government did not only ignore the fact that guest workers were there to stay in their country, but that also the government's ideas related to multicultural society led to misappropriate policies regarding integration, still causing fierce discussions in contemporary The Netherlands. South Korea and its government are heading in the same direction, and new policies are needed to successfully lead further integration of guest workers and other foreigners in Korean society.

Key terms: South Korea; The Netherlands; guest workers; guest migrants; migration; immigrants; integration; multicultural society

Student number: 2016-25078

국문 초록

본 논문은 현재 대한민국에 살고 있는 이주 노동자를 조사한다. 네덜란드의 역사적 사례를 (1949년~1980년) 사용해서 이 사례와 비슷하게 한국에서도 이주 노동자들이 기간이 만료되어도 더 살 수 있을지 알아본다.

20세기 후반에 네덜란드뿐만 아니라 다른 서유럽 나라에서도 이주 노동자를 받으면서 기간이 만료될 때에 귀국할 것이라는 예상을 했지만, 귀국을 하지 않고 네덜란드에서 자리를 잡았다. 그러므로 이 연구에서 그런 사건들을 조사한다:
네덜란드와 유사고 예상 밖의 전개: 네덜란드처럼 한국에서도 이주 노동자들은 미래에 영주권을 신청할 수 있을 것인가? 또한 네덜란드와 한국 다문화에 대한 발상을 검사한다. 논문의 첫 부분은 두 연구 사례의 초청 노동자 계획을 비교하고 두 번째 부분은 다문화 사회에 대한 발상을 자세히 알아보고 유사점과 차이점을 비교. 마지막 부분은 (1950년~1970년) 네덜란드에 왔던 노동자들의 유산은 21세기 네덜란드 정치에 어떤 영향을 끼쳤는지 조사한다.

네덜란드 정부가 초청 노동자 계획을 세우면서 많은 노동자들이 귀국을 하지 않고 영원히 네덜란드에 지내는 것에 대한 부분을 예상하지 못하여 그에 대한 적절한 정책을 세우지 못했다. 게다가 1970년대와 1980년대에 네덜란드 정부가 다문화에 대한 적절치 않은 정책을 설치했다. 21세기까지 와서 이것에 대한 논의를 하고 있다.

현재 대한민국에서 이주 노동자들을 많이 받아들이고 있는 추세지만 더 나아가 다문화를 위한 노동자들을 위한 정책이 나오지 않고 있다. 이주 노동자 그리고 다른 이유로 한국에 거주하고 있는 외국인들이 한국에 잘 적응할 수 있도록 도움이 되는 정책이 필요하다.

주요 핵심 용어: 이주 노동자; 외국인 노동자; 이주자; 대한민국; 네덜란드; 다문화;
다문화 사회; 통합
학번: 2016-25078

Table of Contents:

LIST OF FIGURES	V
I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
II: KEY TERMS	7
III: METHODOLOGY.....	10
IV: LITERATURE REVIEW	14
1: MIGRANTS, ETHNIC COMMUNITIES AND DEMOCRACY	14
2: THE SUCCESSFULNESS OF INTEGRATION	17
2-1: <i>Integration measured through different generations of immigrants.....</i>	<i>17</i>
2-2: <i>The unsuccessful integration of guest laborers in The Netherlands in the 1970s and the 1980s.....</i>	<i>18</i>
3: LABOR IMMIGRATION IN SOUTH KOREA	21
3-1: <i>Guest workers as a solution for the aging population or other demographic circumstances</i>	<i>21</i>
3-2: <i>Often discussed administrative topics in Korean migration studies.....</i>	<i>30</i>
V: BACKGROUND OF THE DUTCH AND OTHER EUROPEAN GUEST WORKER SCHEMES	32
1: 20 TH CENTURY WESTERN EUROPE AND IMMIGRATION	32
2: IMMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION LAWS IN THE NETHERLANDS BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF GUEST WORKERS.....	35
3: DIFFERENT MIGRANTS IN POST-WWII THE NETHERLANDS.....	37
3-1: <i>The first guest workers from the Mediterranean</i>	<i>39</i>
3-2: <i>Post-colonial immigrants.....</i>	<i>42</i>
3-3: <i>Turkish and Moroccan immigrants, the biggest groups of guest workers that continued to live in the Netherlands.....</i>	<i>43</i>

VI: THE ORIGINS OF BOTH THE DUTCH AND KOREAN GUEST WORKER SCHEMES, THEIR LIMITS AND THEIR PROBLEMS	46
1: SIMILARITIES	46
1-1: <i>Low unemployment and economic circumstances in The Netherlands</i>	46
1-2: <i>Low unemployment and economic circumstances in South Korea.....</i>	48
1-3: <i>Korean Industrial Trainee Scheme and EPS based on Western European guest worker schemes.....</i>	49
1-4: <i>The pitfall of the Western European guest worker schemes.....</i>	49
1-5: <i>Similar difficulties in obtainment of citizenship: jus sanguinis</i>	52
2: LIMITS	53
2-1: <i>A new dependence on guest workers in certain labor sectors.....</i>	53
2-2: <i>3-D types of work (Dirty, Dangerous and Demeaning).....</i>	54
3: CHALLENGES	56
3-1: <i>Chances for permanent residence and the migration industry.....</i>	56
3-2: <i>Institutions and tight communities easing processes of living for guest workers.....</i>	59
3-3: <i>The differentiation of foreign workers (H-2 and E-9 visa).....</i>	65
3-4: <i>Lack of mobility and discrimination</i>	66
 VII: INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS AND THE LIMITATIONS OF FUTURE INTEGRATION OF GUEST WORKERS IN SOUTH KOREA; THE SIMILAR APPROACH OF EMPLOYING MULTICULTURALIST POLITICS IN BOTH HISTORIC THE NETHERLANDS AS WELL AS CURRENT SOUTH KOREA	 69
1: INTEGRATION OF GUEST WORKERS IN 1980'S THE NETHERLANDS AND THE USAGE OF MULTICULTURALIST POLITICS	70
2: INTEGRATION OF GUEST WORKERS IN CURRENT SOUTH KOREA AND THE USAGE OF MULTICULTURALIST POLITICS	75

VIII: POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING GUEST WORKERS IN 21ST CENTURY THE NETHERLANDS, AND THE POSSIBLE FUTURE OF SOUTH KOREA	83
IX: CONCLUSION.....	92
X: BIBLIOGRAPHY	95

List of Figures

Figure 1: Amount of visa provided per year for low-skilled foreign workers, from 2011-2015 (E-9 for general EPS, H-2 for special EPS. Source: Immigration Service, Ministry of Justice, Employment Permit System	28
Figure 2: Amount of migrant workers in South Korea from 1987-2010	29
Figure 3: Background of immigrants in The Netherlands, 1949-2000	37
Figure 4: Unemployment in The Netherlands from 1970 until 2008. The X-bar represents the percentage of unemployment and the Y-bar represents the years (1970-2008).....	46
Figure 5: Unemployment in the Republic of Korea from the year 1990 until 2016	48

I: Introduction

Even though some discussions in The Netherlands would talk about the changes in the country due to the influx of foreigners, mass-migration has been nothing new. For centuries, foreigners have come to the small country in Western Europe to find their new home, due to multiple reasons. The liberal country would have promised freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and several other reasons for which foreigners would come to the country.¹ However, one of the biggest reasons as to why the country changed, has been the arrival of several types of non-Western people, especially during the second half of the twentieth century. A big part of them consist of former guest laborers, their families and descendants, who arrived in the country during the period between 1949 and 1973, when the Dutch economy grew at a fast pace.²

Next to labor migrants, many migrants also arrived from former colonies of The Netherlands, as well as asylum seekers since the 1980s.³ However, two of the most visible and biggest migrant communities in Dutch society would be the Moroccan and Turkish communities, consisting mainly of former guest workers and their families. It

¹ Motley, John Lothrop. 2011. *History of the United Netherlands from the Death of William the Silent to the Twelve Year's Truce, 1585e-86a*. Hamburg: treditio, p. 555.

² Touwen, Jeroen. 2014. *Coordination in transition: the Netherlands and the world economy, 1950-2010*. Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2014-2015, p. 35.

³ Toro-Morn, Maura I., and Marixsa Alicea. 2004. *Migration and immigration: a global view*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, p. 149.

could thus be argued that these guest laborers who continued living in the country permanently, which had not been the plan of the Dutch government beforehand, has changed Dutch society significantly, but have also had a big influence on Dutch politics.

The guest worker scheme in The Netherlands was employed in order to fill in vacant job positions that were left open due to high economic growth. Starting in 1949 for mine working jobs, but really coming to full speed in the early 1960s, the country signed multiple bilateral agreements with countries such as Spain, Turkey and Morocco in order to get low-skilled laborers for factories and other labor positions.⁴ Whereas these schemes ended in 1973, due to multiple reasons such as economic stagnation due to the oil crisis, guest laborers were supposed to go home, not only by law but also by expectations of Dutch policy makers. Nevertheless, a big portion of them stayed in the country. Furthermore, the phenomena of guest workers, their family reunions and their continuous livelihoods in the country still have a big influence on the current political discussions, with notable figures such as Pim Fortuyn, Rita Verdonk or Geert Wilders making use of these sentiments in their often anti-immigrant ideas and speeches.

However, not only Western European countries such as The Netherlands used guest workers actively and on big scale in their economies. The Republic of Korea, or South Korea, has also responded to similar economic circumstances that The

⁴ Moses, Jonathon Wayne. 2011. *Emigration and political development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 135.

Netherlands had experienced, when the economy kept growing during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Not only economic circumstances, but also political circumstances made way for the arrival of new guest workers, with South Korea more focusing on internationalization. The country started accepting a large number of guest laborers since 1991, after which the program and its policies have changed drastically in 2003, with the introduction of the EPS, or Employment Permit System.⁵ These programs have learned much from the already historical cases of Western European guest worker schemes, including the Dutch one, showing similar tendencies and policies.

As much as the topic of guest workers has been important to modern Dutch politics and society, the continuous impact of guest migrants in South Korea still has to be seen, with no policies suggesting permanent residence of those migrants yet. With ideas surrounding multicultural society still focusing much on marriage migration, multicultural families and half-Korean children, a big focus has yet to be put on the integration and the possible permanent migration of mostly male guest workers in Korean society. However, similar ideas had been dominant in Dutch society during the period when many guest migrants arrived, which included thoughts that most guest workers would return home.

⁵ "Introduction of Employment Permit System". Employment Permit System. <https://www.eps.go.kr/ph/index.html> Accessed on October 10, 2017.

Thus, the question that is being asked is, looking at the past case of guest migrants in The Netherlands, from 1949 until 1973 and during the period afterwards stretching out until the 1980s, what are the possibilities that the current case of South Korea might develop similarly (i.e. future permanent residence of guest migrants in South Korea), taking into account the years in between 1991 and 2017? Furthermore, what are the ways in which both states or societies assess the concept of multicultural societies, and how has this had an influence on both the integration of, as well as the policies surrounding guest worker migrants in both cases.

Similar research has not been performed before, whereas general comparisons or application cases of the Western European guest worker schemes onto the Korean ones are lacking. Similar, relatively small, research has been performed in the case of Germany, or by applying the general case of Western European guest worker programs onto the Korean one.^{6,7} However, there is much interest among Korean policy makers from learning from previous cases, even though it would seem odd at first to compare to extremely different societies. Yet, I argue that phenomena linked to economy, democracy and immigration are very similar, despite many cultural differences. Furthermore, even though the Korean case cannot develop exactly the same way as it did in the Dutch case, certain tendencies could be observed and could be taken into

⁶ Lim, Timothy C. 2008. "Will South Korea Follow the German Experience?: Democracy, the Migratory Process, and the Prospects for Permanent Immigration in Korea". *Korean Studies*. 32

⁷ An example of such work could be Kim, Andrew Eungi. 2009. *Demography, Migration and Multiculturalism in South Korea*. *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 6-2-09, or Martin, Philip. 2005. *Towards effective temporary worker programs: issues and challenges in industrial countries*. Geneva: ILO.

account in future policymaking in South Korea. This will be argued through the usage of government data surrounding for example migrants, labor etc., news articles, and already existing literature surrounding migrants and guest worker migrants.

This research consists of several parts, of which the first is the methodology, explaining the ways in which sources have been used for this research. Secondly, the literature review will cover previous research concerning migrants, ethnic communities and democracy and the history of labor migration in mostly The Netherlands, but also in South Korea. In the third part, the Dutch guest labor program will be compared to the South Korean one, covering similarities in the foundations of the guest worker schemes, the impact of guest workers on guest labor sectors and the chances for permanent residence of guest workers. It argues that there are more similarities in both guest worker programs than can be assumed from a quick glance, and that there are certainly chances that guest workers could continue living permanently in South Korea. The fourth part covers differing ideas on multicultural societies in both countries, assessing both the Dutch ideas on multicultural society in the late 1970s and the 1980s, and the ideas in South Korea surrounding multicultural societies and the idea of ‘*Damunwha*’ (*multiculturalism*). It argues that the ideas and concepts of multicultural societies in both cases do not include all migrants that are necessary to form a successful multicultural society, and these ideas lead to problems in further integration of non-native people in the respective societies. The last part discusses the current Dutch political landscape since the year 2000, with the three notable right-wing figures Pim Fortuyn, Rita Verdonk

and Geert Wilders. These political figures have been notable for their comments and discussions surrounding foreigners or non-Native Dutch people in The Netherlands, which is closely linked to the guest migrants and the influence that they have had on both Dutch society, as well as on Dutch politics.

II: Key Terms

1: Gastarbeiders:

Gastarbeiders (Dutch for *workforce immigration*) were mostly foreign workers who moved to the Netherlands, typically during the period after the Second World War. This includes the 1950s, the 1960s and the 1970s. It was not only the Dutch government which employed such a program; other North- and West-European states employed similar programs, among which Belgium, West Germany, Denmark and others.⁸ The goal of *gastarbeiders* was to solve the labor shortage in those countries after their respective economies had recovered from the damaged it had encountered during World War II. The economy had recovered and had grown so fast that laborers from countries with a labor surplus were made to move to the Northwestern European countries. Most laborers in this region came from the former Yugoslavia, Poland, Greece and Italy. The laborers were supposed to fill the vacant gaps for jobs were hard to perform, such as mine working. Whereas there were not many Dutch laborers that wanted to do this type of labor anymore, these *gastarbeiders* were a helpful additive in order to continue economic growth in the 1960s and 1970s.

2: Citizenship:

Citizenship is defined as the status of legally being a citizen of a certain state. In this instance, citizenship thus means that one would either be a legal citizen of The

⁸ Stevens, Rachel. 2016. *Immigration policy from 1970 to the present*. New York: Routledge, p. 176.

Netherlands or of the Republic of Korea. In this position, citizens would receive certain rights by the state, which would be civil, political and social.⁹ However, citizens would also have responsibilities, such as obeying the government and its laws or by paying taxes. Citizenship in both the historical case of The Netherlands, as well as in the case of the Republic of Korea are important, because they are both based on the *jus sanguinis*, defined as the right of soil. This means that children need to have at least one parent carrying the citizenship of the country to give it to their children. This is opposed to the idea of *jus soli*, which would provide citizenship to anyone who is born in their territory, which is custom in countries such as the USA or Canada.¹⁰

3: Integration

This would be the act or process of integrating into a society. This means that new members of society would be included in the already existing community and framework of the country, which would mean that they would not have many disadvantages compared to native members of society. Whereas the most effective method could include education, others would be community projects and others. Integration is strongly linked with governmental policies and is often shown best in the second generation of migrants.¹¹ The successfulness of the second generation in terms of

⁹ Dalton, Russell J. 2008. "Citizenship Norms and the Expansion of Political Participation". *Political Studies*. 56 (1), p. 78.

¹⁰ Gold, Steven J., and Stephanie J. Nawyn. 2014. *Routledge international handbook of migration studies*. London: Routledge, p. 381.

¹¹ Plewa, Piotr, and Laura Caroli. 2013. *Challenges and opportunities in migrant integration*. Brussels: FEPS, p. 22.

education, the job market and their participation in the society that their parents moved to as migrants shows the ways in which families have settled themselves in the country and have adapted.¹² One important note to state is that integration is not one-sided; both the native society with its government and the foreigners or foreign groups new to this society should make effort.¹³

¹² Chamie, Joseph. 2006. *International migration and the global community: a forum of the report of the global commission on international migration*. New York, NY: Center for Migration Studies, p. 164.

¹³ Bartolomeo, Anna Di, Sona Kalantaryan, Justyna Salamońska, and Philippe Fargues. 2017. *Migrant integration between homeland and host society. Volume 2, Volume 2*, p. 152.

III: Methodology

This essay will use a mostly qualitative method of examination to explore empirical grounds of the dimensions of relationship between migration, guest workers, integration and government policies in the context of The Netherlands and South Korea. Given the purpose of this comparison, several types of sources will be used. Firstly, secondary sources in the form of already existing theories and literature surrounding migrants, guest workers, integration and government policies will be employed. Examples would be the theory about migration industry from Castles and Miller.¹⁴ Doing so, this research will add onto the already existing literature regarding migration. Furthermore, direct data from both the Korean government, the Dutch government, as well as others, will be used in order to examine statistics such as the total amount of migration, the number of visa's granted and their categories, the amount of unemployment etc. Examples of these would be data from the OECD, from the immigration service department at the Ministry of Justice in South Korea, or from the office of Statistics Netherlands. These databases were chosen in order to get objective data for the research, which are important in the creation of new arguments. News events and the publications about them in Dutch or Korean newspapers will also be taken into account, providing more coverage about the background of the society in which everything takes places and further events.

¹⁴ Castles, Stephen, and Mark J. Miller. 2010. *The age of migration: international population movements in the modern world*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

In this research, there is the possibility that several difficulties could arise, of which two are most noteworthy. Firstly, the application of two seemingly different cases, and secondly the languages that are being employed in the research. Due to the factor that the writer is Dutch and not Korean, his ability of the Korean language is not as good as that of the Dutch language. This has made it easier to search for Dutch literature than it was to search for Korean literature, which is why the Dutch case takes a bigger role in this thesis than the Korean one. However, there are a lot of sources about immigration to South Korea available in English, and much data is easy to search for even with limited abilities of the Korean language. Thus, there were no great difficulties in the finding of appropriate literature for this thesis.

Because The Netherlands and South Korea are two very distant countries, with different cultures and different government policies, it would be easy to understand confusion as to why the Dutch cases of the 1950s-1970s should be applied to contemporary South Korea. Another reason would be that a historical case and a more contemporary case would be too hard to compare. A comparison between the Dutch case of immigration in the years between 1949 and the early 1980s and 2000s South Korea seems striking, not only because of the year differences. Thus, in order to compare, several data must be analyzed in order to see whether indeed an application of the Dutch case to the Korean case can be done successfully. Firstly, migration policy, in order to see whether the type of migration that the government is involved with would be similar. Secondly, the GDP and the stages of economic growth should be compared to assess

whether the countries were at similar levels in their economic growth when they started accepting guest laborers on a big scale. Third, raw data about the amount of immigrants, different types of visa and labor forces are used to compare the scale of the guest migrant schemes. Lastly, the policies surrounding multiculturalism are to be compared to find whether the Korean case is similar to the Dutch one or not. These were found to be more similar than different, which is more clearly explained in the chapter on the comparison case.

Another important aspect in the research is the time frame, and the Dutch case would span mostly from the late 1950s until the 1980s. Whereas there was a shortage of labor in the 3D jobs, which would include the most jobs which would be considered difficult, dangerous and dirty, the Dutch state had accepted many guest laborers. Because of economic recession in the late 1970s due to the oil crisis, and consequent bad economic circumstances in the 1980s, the Dutch economy needed less and less guest laborers after the growth that it had experienced in the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s.¹⁵ The period during the 1980s was the time during which most guest laborers, against all expectations, should have left the country. Instead, they stayed.

The Korean immigration case would also be around 20 years long, starting in the mid-1990s until now. This was the time that South Korea, after its industrialization

¹⁵ Geddes, Andrew, and Peter Scholten. 2016. *The politics of migration and immigration in Europe*. Los Angeles [etc.]: Sage, p. 105.

process, started experiencing labor shortages in certain labor sectors, allowing low-skilled workers from foreign countries to work in some of its labor sectors. The first major solution to labor shortage in several labor sectors was the Industrial Trainee Scheme, which was created in the year 1993.¹⁶ Thus, it could be stated that the Korean case would last from the year 1993 until the year 2017, finalizing with speculations on its future.

¹⁶ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. 2002. Migration and the labour market in Asia: recent trends and policies. Paris: OEC, p. 308.

IV: Literature review

I: Migrants, ethnic communities and democracy

Migration, and specifically motivated in-migration, instead of forced migration, is a social process, according to Castles and Miller.¹⁷ Even though economic factors are mostly seen as the most important reason for labor migration, this could only partly explain the start of in-migration. However, it changes into a multifaceted process afterwards, which is called the *migratory process*. This means that, when migration has started, individual labor migrants start forming communities, and social networks are being tied to their lives in their new countries. Furthermore, after being tied to the country in not only social ways, but also in economic and political ways, many of the migrants end up staying longer than their designated labor periods. Eventually they could finally fly over their families from their homeland to their new countries, or they could marry a native person in the country that they were migrants in, and thus become *permanent* migrants. There are thus many ways in which in fact guest migrants could become permanent members of a new society.

In turn, the new migrants create new social ethnic communities, consequently shaping new businesses or new laws that would shape the needs of the minorities, a

¹⁷ Castles The age of migration: international population movements in the modern world. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

process which is called the *migration industry*. This is even possible in countries where permanent settlement of migrants is not yet possible, but still migrants would consider themselves to be a member of the societies in their new countries, while also sometimes experiencing discrimination, marginalization etc. When these communities turn bigger, and the foreign migrants find themselves more rooted in society, some of the members will start to resist repatriation, whether this would be voluntary or forced. To reach their goal of permanent residence, they will entail different methods in order to try and stay in the country. These groups will, according to Castles and Miller, have an impact on the political institutions of the society, and these processes could furthermore even influence the respective national identities on the long term. Especially in countries or societies where the population was considered to be mostly homogeneous, as was the case in pre-1980s South Korean society, the foreigners will have an important influence on the society. It is important, because they change the assumptions about identity that had been taken for granted before. Thus, it is interesting to find the methods through which migrants try to achieve permanent residence, and the ways in which they change a certain society's identity.

However, why do states or societies then accept migrants if they could threaten the currently existing homogenous identities and consequently create social unrest? Even though maybe society would not desire such changes, or a culture would not be ready to accept migrants in society, political considerations linked to democracy would be most important to start the possibility of migrants entering a country. Thus,

democracy would be one of the most institutions through which migration is made possible, partly explaining the start of migration in the 1990s to South Korea when not considering economic circumstances.¹⁸ This framework of democratic laws would make it furthermore easier for temporary labor migrants to turn into permanent members of society. Not democracy itself would lead to this, but the framework would make it hard for the state to block a permanent stream of migration. This, according to Christian Joppke, would lead to *self-limited sovereignty*.

Self-limited sovereignty would be something shared between all democracies. This would be done in the following way: the state would have relatively exclusionary interests, whereas the migrants would have relatively inclusionary interests, striving for more legal protection and further rights as laborers, but also as residents. In between, the court and its judged would be neutral intermediaries. As neutral as they would be, they would not be “pro-immigrant” by itself. Rather, they behold constitutional laws, consequently making them one of the key figures in the development of further migrant rights. The last crucial factor would be the actors with interest, which would try to exercise this in order to receive more rights, because the migratory process would not always develop by itself.¹⁹ Thus, there are many figures and processes linked to the concept of self-limited sovereignty.

¹⁸ Joppke, Christian. 1998. "Why liberal states accept unwanted immigration". *World Politics: a Quarterly Journal of International Relations*. 50 (2): 266-293.

¹⁹ Lim, Will South Korea Follow the German Experience, p. 32.

2: The successfulness of integration

2-1: Integration measured through different generations of immigrants

In order to study the concept of integration, much research has been done as to how first generation migrants compare to native citizens in their employment. However, since the 2000s, several new research has suggested that not only first generation migrants and their employment should be examined when assessing if migrants have successfully integrated into society, but also their sons and daughters, which form the second generations.²⁰ This would be due to the fact that first generation migrants would naturally have a disadvantage in the labor market compared to native citizens, but that their children, who would be native speakers of the language of the country in which they live, would form a better representation of whether the migrants have successfully integrated or not. Thus, research dedicated to the level of integration of guest workers has recently put an emphasis on not only the first, but also the second generation of migrants.

²⁰ Bosman, Rie, Sietske Waslander, and J. L. Peschar. 2006. Over kansen, competenties en cohesie: kanttekeningen bij dertig jaar onderwijssociologie. Assen: Van Gorcum, p. 54.

2-2: The unsuccessful integration of guest laborers in The Netherlands in the 1970s and the 1980s

Even though the fact that many of the foreigners merely came to The Netherlands as guest laborers, which are supposed to return to their mother land after one or several years, some of them decided to stay in The Netherlands and make a living here. This was something that the Dutch government did not account for, and which would change the way that the government would approach the concept of migrants in its country, or even foreigners living in The Netherlands in general.²¹ It should be noted that this mostly concerns non-Western foreigners, because the approach to foreigners from nearby countries and from far away countries was different in The Netherlands.²² The way in which immigrants should try and make a living in a certain society, in this case, would be best defined by the concept of ‘adaptation’, in which there would be two factors most important for the ways through which foreigners would adapt in a certain society: firstly the amount to which the foreigners try to keep their own cultural practices and secondly the amount of contact with original (Dutch) people that the immigrants try to have.²³

Berry ea. described four ways through which migrants could adapt themselves in their new country. Firstly, integration, through which a new member of a society

²¹ Arnold, Peri E. 2010. National approaches to the administration of international migration. Amsterdam: IOS Press, p. 134.

²² Morano-Foadi, Sonia, and Micaela Malena. 2013. Integration for Third-Country Nationals in the European Union: the Equality Challenge. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Pub, p. 328.

²³ Berry, John W. 1997. Handbook of cross-cultural psychology. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, p. 28.

thinks that it is important to hold contact with the members of the new society. Secondly assimilation, which would be mostly similar to integration, but the migrant would also not find it important to hold on to its own culture. Thirdly separation, in which the migrant does not care to have contact with the native group in its society, but still prefers to cling on to its own culture. And lastly marginalization, in which a migrant would not need to have contact with the dominant group in a society, nor would he feel the need to hold on to his own culture.²⁴ Needless to say, many of the guest laborers from for example Morocco or Turkey did not receive the means to successfully integrate in society, through a lack of education or because they thought that they would return to their motherland nonetheless.²⁵ Thus, there are many different ways in which migrants are able to settle themselves in a new society.

Even though much could be stated about the migrants that came to The Netherlands right or almost right after the Second World War, it would be hard to state something similar about the guest laborers that decided to settle themselves permanently in The Netherlands. Some groups of originally foreign migrants are seen to behave

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Giesen, Peter. 2007. Land van lafaards?: geschiedenis van de angst in Nederland. Wormer: Inmerc, p. 158.

themselves like Dutch in its society would be for example migrants from the former Dutch Indies²⁶, Eastern European migrants²⁷ or migrants from Suriname.²⁸

When analyzing the migrants that came to The Netherlands as guest laborers originally, or their children, it is harder to assess if they would have integrated in The Netherlands or not. However, it was found that the first generation of migrants would be part of the *separation* group, in which the members of the group would not have much contact with the native group of Dutch members in society, but would still hold on to their own culture. Examples of this kind of migrants would be the first generations of Turkish migrants or the first generation of Moroccan migrants.^{29,30} However, there would also be some people among the migrant groups, especially second generations, who would not feel affiliated with either Dutch society or the native society of their parents, which would make them become a member of the group of *marginalization* (Barry). Consequently, this has a potential to make them an alien in both migrant groups as well as native Dutch society. Thus, there would be differences between the first and second generations of migrants.

²⁶ Ellemers, Jo, and R.E.F. Vaillant. 1985. Indische Nederlanders en gerepatrieerden. Muiderberg: Coutinho, p. 33.

²⁷ Brassé, Paul, and Willem van Schelven. 1980. Assimilatie van vooroorlogse immigranten: drie generaties Polen, Slovenen, Italianen in Heerlen. 's-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, p. 213.

²⁸ Niekerk, M. 1994. Zorg en hoop: Surinamers in Nederland nu. In: H. Vermeulen & R. Penninx (Red.), Het democratisch ongeduld: De emancipatie en integratie van zes doelgroepen van het minderhedenbeleid. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, pp. 45-80

²⁹ Böcker, A.G.M. 1994. Op weg naar een beter bestaan : de ontwikkeling van de maatschappelijke positie van Turken in Nederland. Amsterdam : Het Spinhuis, pp. 145-176.

³⁰ Buijs, F.J., and C. Nelissen. 1994. Tussen continuïteit en verandering, Marokkanen in Nederland. In: H. Vermeulen & R. Penninx (red.) Het democratisch ongeduld. De emancipatie en integratie van zes doelgroepen van het minderhedenbeleid.

So why was the integration of some guest laborers who decided to settle in The Netherlands not successful? According to some authors, there are multiple reasons. One of the reasons would be that the Dutch government had actually thought that the foreign guest laborers would return home again. The Netherlands would not be a country of migrants, and consequently, integration would not be necessary.³¹ This meant that the Dutch government did not have any solutions as to what to do with the foreign migrants who decided to live in the country instead of going back to their native ones.³² Another problem was that some of the groups of migrants had already integrated during the 1970s, but other groups had not. Many Italian or Spanish migrants, as well as migrants from the former Dutch Indies, found no challenges in integrating in The Netherlands. Thus, the Dutch government was not prepared enough for the integration of guest migrants.

3: Labor immigration in South Korea

3-1: Guest workers as a solution for the aging population or other demographic circumstances

In research on labor migration in Korea, one reason that is often named for the Korean government to slowly start considering immigration is for example the demographic

³¹ Scholten, P.W.A. and Erik Snel. 2005. Van gastarbeiders tot het multiculturele drama: integratie als hardnekkig beleidsprobleem. Moderniteit en Overheidsbeleid; hardnekkige beleidsproblemen en hun oorzaken. Publisher: Coutinho, Bussum, Editors: Arentsen and Trommel, p. 12.

³² Family life in an age of migration and mobility: global perspectives through the life course. 2016, p. 316.

circumstances, or sometimes called crisis, surrounding the aging population and low fertility rate. Another would be the extremely high education rate of Korean students who graduate from universities, keeping many job vacancies in factories and in the agricultural sector left open. This is due to the fact that most graduates in South Korea strive to become a white-collar worker or to have another professional occupation.³³ However, there are also different reasons as to why the Korean government is currently thinking about immigrants and immigration in general.

South Korea was mostly known to be a country of emigration, due to luck that its own citizens tried to find elsewhere. First struck by the Japanese occupation of the country from 1910 until 1945, and afterwards experiencing the Korean War, it took the country several decades to restore and rebuild the country and to create an innovative economy of its own again.³⁴ Furthermore, the high fertility rate in the decades after the war meant that there was a continuous source of new labor supply, which created circumstances in which foreign labor was not really necessary. Emigration grew to such great heights that in 2015, 1,120,000 South Koreans were living in the USA.³⁵ Other main countries for emigration were Japan (520,000), China (190,000), and Canada (150,000).³⁶ Koreans had also experienced a form of temporary migration of their own

³³ Grant, Carl A., and Elisabeth Zwier. 2014. *Intersectionality and urban education: identities, policies, spaces & power*. Charlotte, North Carolina: Information Age Publishing Inc, p. 216.

³⁴ Kleiner, Jürgen. 2001. *Korea: a century of change*. River Edge, N.J. [u.a.]: World Scientific, p. 254.

³⁵ Zong, Jie and Jeanne Batalova. *Korean immigrants in the USA* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, April 2016). <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/korean-immigrants-united-states> Viewed on October 6, 2017.

³⁶ Ibid.

when many Koreans left to work in the Middle East to become construction workers in the 1970s and early 1980s, but most laborers came back after their period of labor finished.³⁷

However, being one of the highest ranked countries considering education among all OECD countries, while also experiencing relatively low unemployment and steady economic growth, the government of South Korea realized that there were many vacant jobs for low-skilled workers that some native workers did not want to perform.³⁸ Therefore, one of the discussions that was being held during the early 1990s, which was the time that the South Korean government was considering a change in policies regarding foreign working migrants, was labor migration. During this time, there were not many legal ways for employers to let foreign workers work at their companies legally.³⁹ However, one of the main questions was if this need for foreign migrants was a phenomenon which would be either structural or would be only short-lived. During the period after the IMF crisis in South Korea, it was determined that foreign laborers were a much needed force for further growth in the Korean economy. Thus, guest labor became an important theme in Korean economics and politics since the 1990s.

³⁷ Chiswick, Barry R., and Paul W. Miller. 2015. Handbook of the economics of international migration. Volume 1B, Volume 1B, p. 754.

³⁸ Pohlmann, Markus. 2013. Citizenship and migration in the era of globalization: the flow of migrants and the perception of citizenship in Asia and Europe. Citizenship and Migration in the Era of Globalization. Berlin [u.a.]: Springer, p. 149.

³⁹ Macura, Miroslav, and D. A. Coleman. 1994. International migration: regional processes and responses. New York: United Nations, p. 130-131.

The first official scheme was the Industrial Training Program for Joint Ventures in 1991, which was created in order to help non-Koreans working for Korean companies abroad to be trained in South Korea.⁴⁰ The government considered this a form of skill and technology transfer, but it was more often perceived as a way of recruiting cheap labor for Korean companies overseas.⁴¹ The other policy was the Industrial and Technical Training Program from 1993, which similarly to the 1991 policy, was meant for employers to bring in foreign workers in order to receive training in the country.⁴² These trainees were provided with an official trainee status and the corresponding visa of D-3, but there were many problems surrounding the way in which foreign workers were brought in the country. One example is that employers brought in foreign workers in order to train them, but the workers were in reality used for work which many Korean native workers refused to do themselves, most of which were 3D jobs.

Furthermore, this was the time during which another problem was becoming apparent: there was a big number of illegal immigrants in the country, which grew much stronger during and after the IMF crisis. While there were around 100,000 illegal immigrants in Korea in the year 1998, this almost three-doubled to 289,000 in the year 2002.⁴³ One thing that should be noted is that it is always hard to measure exactly how

⁴⁰ Frank, Rüdiger, and Charles Armstrong. 2011. *Korea 2011: politics, economy and society*. Leiden: Brill, p. 183.

⁴¹ Ginsburg, Tom. 2012. *Legal reform in Korea*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, p.155-156.

⁴² Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. 2002. *Migration and the labour market in Asia: recent trends and policies*. Paris: OECD, p. 308.

⁴³ OECD, and OCDE. 2004. *Trends in International Migration 2003*. OECD Publishing; Éditions OCDE, p. 226.

many illegal foreigners are residing in a country, because they are not registered. Thus, the amount is only an estimate, and it could very well be that even more illegal workers resided in the country. The very much increasing numbers of illegal workers thus motivated the government to come up with new policies since and after the year 2002.

Since 2002, the government of Korea has made sure to loosen control on immigration into the country, and has tried to respond to the needs of the labor market. Doing so, it was made easier for skilled workers to enter the country, which meant that scholars, (English) language teachers or entertainers could enter the country and obtain a visa in an easier way than before.⁴⁴ Furthermore, considering low-skilled foreign workers, there were also new policies created in the same year. Until that year, the previously explained industrial trainee scheme had still been in use. However, this scheme was meant to improve the abilities of foreign workers abroad, and did not specify any policies for foreign workers who were already in the country, even though it was often used in such ways. Thus, a new system for the management of guest workers in South Korea became in use since 2003.

The Employment Management System was created in order to create more chances for low-skilled foreign workers, which was needed during a time of decreasing fertility rates and the new challenges that arose after the Asian financial crisis had left

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 227.

it's trail in the South Korean economy.⁴⁵ However, this policy was mainly tailored towards temporary workers who were already from Korean ancestry, which mostly included the Korean speaking Chinese nationals. These people are also sometimes called Choseon-Jok in Korean society.⁴⁶ However, because the guest worker scheme was very limited, only around 150 visas had been issued in the beginning. Because of these limitations, another program was introduced: the Employment Permit System (EPS), which was the first grand guest worker scheme.⁴⁷ The government tried to make it possible for foreigner workers who had been living in Korea illegally for less than four years to become registered and be able to work, which almost doubled the foreign workers who were both registered and working in the country from around 320,000 in 2002 to a little bit more than 500,000 in the year 2003.⁴⁸ Thus, the country started actively tackling the problems surrounding illegal foreign labor forces in the country, while also expanding possibilities for foreign low-skilled workers to work in the Korean economy.

Furthermore, the not properly functioning trainee scheme from the early 1990s, which existed parallel to the EPS one, was merged into the latter in 2007.⁴⁹ The EPS,

⁴⁵ Chan, Raymond K. H., Jens Zinn, and Lih-rong Wang. 2016. New life-courses, social risks and social policy in East Asia, p. 120.

⁴⁶ Schwegendiek, Daniel J. 2017. South Korea: a socioeconomic overview from the past to present, p. 93.

⁴⁷ Lee, Seokwoo, and Hee Eun Lee. 2016. The making of international law in Korea: from colony to Asian power. Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, p. 287.

⁴⁸ Park, Young-bum. South Korea: Balancing Labor Demand with Strict Controls. (Washington, DC; Migration Information Source, December 2004). (<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/south-korea-balancing-labor-demand-strict-controls>) Accessed on October 6, 2017.

⁴⁹ Chang, Kyung-Sup. 2017. South Korea in Transition: Politics and Culture of Citizenship, p. 135.

which is the main program for low-skilled labour migrants, was the main way through which guest laborers could come to Korea. It is divided into two parts: the General EPS program and the Special Case EPS.⁵⁰ The special program is mostly used for foreign migrants who are of Korean ancestry, which could include Choseon-Jok Chinese who previously needed to use the EMS system to be able to work in Korea. It was, however, still much easier for low skilled Chinese workers of Korean heritage to receive a visa to work in Korea than for non-Korean heritage low-skilled workers. These workers were provided with a H-2 visa, which has more possibilities than the E-9 visa for low-skilled workers who are not of Korean heritage. Thus, there is a clear difference in the treatment of low-skilled foreign labor forces in the Korean economy.

Laborers with a general EPS visa are meant to work for mostly small or midsized companies with less than 300 employees, which needs to be a company in either the manufacturing, fisheries, agriculture, construction or service sector.⁵¹ The fact that the general EPS scheme was only meant for small and middle-sized companies limited the amount of companies that could hire foreigners, but there were more limitations: an example would be that most companies need to show that they at least attempted to hire a Korean worker, but failed. This would be due to the reason that a foreign worker needs to be the second option to the native Korean worker, and the employers need to show

⁵⁰ Kim, Junmo, and Yong-Soo Kwon. 2012. "Economic development, the evolution of foreign labor and immigration policy, and the shift to multiculturalism in South Korea". *Philippine Political Science Journal*. 33 (2), p. 186.

⁵¹ Recruiting immigrant workers. 2013. Paris: OECD.
<http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=1140119>, p. 144.

ample information about as to why they really need to hire a foreign worker and not a native one. When workers are hired, they receive the E-9 visa.

	E-9 Visa Holders	Sincere Workers with E-9 Visa	H-2 Visa Holders	Total Registered Foreign Population
2011	234,295	--	303,368	1,117,481
2012	230,237	1,853	238,765	1,120,599
2013	246,695	7,021	240,178	1,219,192
2014	270,569	8,834	282,670	1,377,965
2015	276,042	12,090	285,342	1,467,873

Figure 1: Amount of visa provided per year for low-skilled foreign workers, from 2011-2015 (E-9 for general EPS, H-2 for special EPS. Source: Immigration Service, Ministry of Justice, Employment Permit System⁵²

One rule for both types of visa holders is that, in general, they are not allowed to bring their family members to Korea.⁵³ This rule was made to demotivate foreign workers from bringing their family to the country and to withhold them from being able to settle in the country permanently. This is similar to early policies of the Dutch government. Furthermore, there is a clear distinction made between foreigners of Korean decent and Koreans of non-Korean decent.⁵⁴ One of those is that, while E-9 visa holders are only allowed to work in specific sectors such as construction, the service sector etc., H-2 visa holders are allowed to work in wholesale, retail, hotels, restaurants etc. Thus, the guest worker scheme seems very similar to the historical guest worker scheme of

⁵² Park, Young-bum. 2017. "South Korea Carefully Tests the Waters on Immigration, With a Focus on Temporary Workers". MPI: Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/south-korea-carefully-tests-waters-immigration-focus-temporary-workers>. Accessed on September 27, 2017.

⁵³ Castles, Stephen. 2015. Social transformation and migration: national and local experiences in South Korea, Turkey, Mexico and Australia, p. 85.

⁵⁴ Kim, Hyöng-nae. 2013. State-centric to contested social governance in South Korea: shifting power. London: Routledge, p. 131.

The Netherlands, and the differences between the different visas and their possibilities are striking.

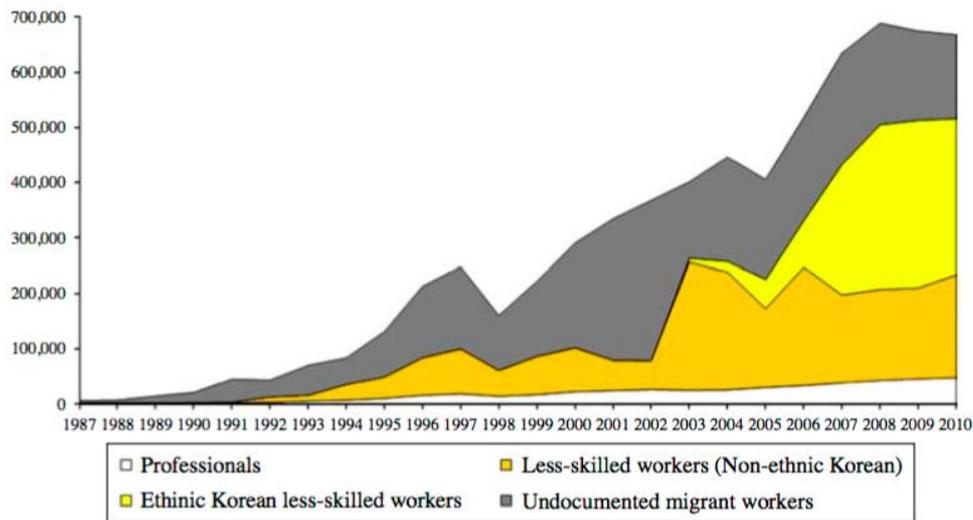


Figure 2: Amount of migrant workers in South Korea from 1987-2010⁵⁵

As can be seen in figure 2 the white group represents professional workers in South Korea, the orange group low-skilled workers who have no Korean background, and the yellow group represents low-skilled workers with an ethnic Korean background. The last group, represented as the grey color, would be the group of undocumented migrant workers, which would represent the illegal workers. This group was at its largest during the period before 2003, after which it was made easier for them to register themselves and live legally in the country through the new Employment Permit System (EPS), which started in 2003. A clear change is visible in the graph is visible. After 2002,

⁵⁵ Seol, Dong-Hoon. 2012. "The citizenship of foreign workers in South Korea". *Citizenship Studies*. 16 (1), p. 124.

a big chunk of the group of migrant workers change from undocumented migrant workers into registered, less-skilled workers, while the total group of foreign migrants grows steadily in the same rate as before. Furthermore, the growth of foreign migrant workers started growing since the mid 90's, but experienced a dip during the years 1998 and 1999; this was due to the Asian financial crisis and the economic difficulties that South Korea experienced during this time. The new EPS system thus brought more transparency to the labor market in Korea considering foreign workers and has opened up more ways for foreign migrants to be able to work legally in the country. Furthermore, it has resolved some of the challenges that the Korean labor market was facing regarding unemployment in smaller sized companies with less than 300 employees.

3-2: Often discussed administrative topics in Korean migration studies

Traditionally, much research in Korea considering migrant workers had been dedicated to administrative topics, for example as to how employing procedures could be improved, or as to how dislocation of foreign unskilled workers could be stopped. Examples of research would be one in which foreign low skilled migrants' status and trends are being discussed, while also comparing the merits of either the employment permit system, or the industrial trainee system.⁵⁶ Other works highlighted problems such as discrimination or the unjust treatment of foreign workers compared to native Korean

⁵⁶ Yoo, Gilsang and Kyuyung Lee. 2002. On the Employment Conditions of Foreign Workers and Future Policy Agenda, Korea Labor Institute.

workers.⁵⁷ Further topics that were discussed, were about the trainee system for migrant workers who would come to work in factories was also examined, or the economic effect that foreign labor would have on the Korean economy.⁵⁸ Results were that South Korea has been accepting more and more laborers from the area of East-Asia, including many Southeast Asian countries such as Indonesia, Vietnam etc. More international cooperation would be needed in order to improve current Korean foreign labor policy. Whereas multiculturalism was a popular idea before the 1990s in for example many Western European countries, it had not gained much attention until the 1990s in South Korea. Because the amount of guest workers had increased only during the 1990s in Korea, the interest to accommodate the new migrants into society came later than in other areas of the world. Thus, there has been a lot of research in Korea regarding guest workers or the topic of multiculturalism, but there are still areas in which there could be additions, such as an application of a Western country and its guest worker scheme on the Korean one.

⁵⁷ Seul, Donghoon, 1999, *Foreign Workers and the Korean Society*, Seoul National University Press

⁵⁸ Kang Soodol, 1995, *On the Employment of Foreign Workers and its Management*, Korea Labor Institute

V: Background of the Dutch and other European guest worker schemes

1: 20th century Western Europe and immigration

Migration of laborers has been a significant topic for a much longer time than during the post-war period. For centuries, many people moved to different countries in order to find more work than in their native countries. Sometimes this was done voluntarily, but sometimes also involuntarily, as was the case for slaves who were for example shipped from several African countries to the Americas.⁵⁹ Even though a big part of voluntary migration for the sake of work happened without many restrictions, there have been restrictions by some countries already since the late nineteenth century. For example in France, Germany and Switzerland, there had been several systems in place through which only temporary recruitment was made possible. In addition, workers were prevented from really settling down in the countries.⁶⁰ One of the worst and most exploitative systems that was used to move around migrants internally was during Nazi Germany, when many non-German workers were employed in order to stimulate the war economy of the country.⁶¹ There had thus been already many systems and processes globally that could be argued to be seen as labor migration.

⁵⁹ Griffin, Farah Jasmine. 1996. *Who Set You Flowin'?: the African-American Migration Narrative*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 184.

⁶⁰ Hoerder, Dirk, and Leslie Page Moch. 1996. *European migrants global and local perspectives*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, p. 127.

⁶¹ Homze, Edward L. 2016. *Foreign labor in nazi germany*. [Place of publication not identified]: Princeton University Pres, p. 276.

One of the first European labor migrant systems that was put in place was the European Voluntary Worker scheme, which was a system in which almost 100,000 workers were recruited from refugee camps.⁶² These laborers were merely considered as temporary workers, and were not motivated to really settle down in the country. However, this system only lasted until the year 1951. This was due to a very simple reason: after the British Empire started disintegrating, many of the former British Empire citizens started moving to the country and other programs were seen as redundant.⁶³ Not only the British government started doing such a program, also the Belgian government had made similar arrangements almost immediately after the Second World War, which was named the *contingentsystem*.⁶⁴ This was done in cooperation with some Southern European countries, but especially with Italy. These temporary migrant workers were mostly recruited for the coal mines and other industry in the southern part of the country, where around 60.000 workers from Italy were put to labour.⁶⁵ However, the Belgian government was more liberal towards the guest migrants than the British government, as can be seen in their openness towards family members of the workers. This in comparison to the British rules, which entailed that all workers should be single and that absolutely no permanent residency could be expected after finishing the term of labour. The Belgian system was one of the first guest labor migrant programs in Western Europe,

⁶² Cohen, Robin. 1995. *The Cambridge survey of world migration*. Cambridge: University Press, p. 125.

⁶³ Jackson, Ashley. 2008. *The British Empire and the Second World War*. London: Hambledon Continuum, p. 229.

⁶⁴ Gundara, Jagdish S. 2007. *Interculturalism, education and inclusion*. Enskede: TPB, p. 109.

⁶⁵ Fauri, Francesca. 2014. *The History of Migration in Europe: Perspectives from Economics, Politics and Sociology*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, p. 113.

lasted fairly long until the year 1963. However, even after this year, it was not made too hard for migrants who came as tourists to find jobs in the country itself, meeting the big surplus of jobs compared to the amount of workers that resided in the country.⁶⁶ This liberal style of governance stopped in the year 1974, when the government decided to prohibit entry on any style of labor migration which was not from a person from within the European Community.⁶⁷ There have thus been many different forms of labor migration next to the one of The Netherlands.

The phenomenon of guest laborers was a unique phenomenon in Western Europe during the period after the Second World War, strongly linked to the economic and political circumstances that countries such as The Netherlands, Belgium or (West-)Germany.⁶⁸ They were hired in order to strengthen attempts in the reconstruction of the economies after the destructions of the War. They were one of the most important foreign workers in The Netherlands, next to the colonial migrants, which were repatriates that were entering from mostly the former Dutch East Indies. This had been the biggest and most important colony of The Netherlands from the 17th century until up to when the Second World War ended.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Kaya, Ayhan. 2012. *Islam, migration and integration: the age of securitization*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 99.

⁶⁷ The European Community was a predecessor of the European Union and during the year 1974 consisted of the countries of Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Denmark and Ireland.

⁶⁸ Castles, Stephen. 1986. "The guest-worker in Western Europe: an obituary". *International Migration Review*, p. 761.

⁶⁹ Gouda, Frances. 2008. *Dutch culture overseas: colonial practice in the Netherlands Indies, 1900-1942*. Jakarta: Equinox Pub, p. 1.

2: Immigration and immigration laws in the Netherlands before the arrival of guest workers

It is important to understand the background of the history of immigration law in The Netherlands before the Second World War when examining the new immigration that came to the Netherlands in the period from the late 1940s until the late 1970s, including the guest laborers. The first law was created in 1849, which was the first time that a certain national document decided which foreigner was allowed to enter the country and who was not.⁷⁰ This formed the base for immigration law until the year 1969.⁷¹ This document stated that anyone who would have a passport with a visa and enough means to live, would be accepted into the country to live. However, even people who would not have a passport or who would not have any possessions did not need to be sent away by default. This shows the relative easiness with which foreign nationals could go and live in The Netherlands. Even though most foreigners were accepted relatively easily, there were groups such as gipsy's or other similar groups of foreigners who did not live at one place but rather moved around the European continent, that were often not permitted to settle themselves in The Netherlands.⁷² These types of groups were often considered dangerous for the public order.

⁷⁰Vreemdelingenwet, no. 39. Staatsblad van het koninkrijk der Nederlanden, 1849.

⁷¹ Eijl, Corrie van. 2012. Tussenland: illegaal in Nederland, 1945-2000. Hilversum: Verloren. 27.

⁷² Liégeois, Jean-Pierre. 2008. Roma in Europe. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publ, p. 23.

In the beginning of the 20th century, the law from 1849 was still being used to manage foreigners coming into the country, but there had been new rules for the entrance of foreign nationals, as well as for their labor circumstances. This happened during the same time as that the bureaucratic system of The Netherlands started to expand, with more civil servants and police keeping track of what happened.⁷³ The only people for whom it was not necessary to have a visa in order to enter the country were some foreign nationals from nearby Western European countries, such as for German citizens. This thus represents the bias that the Dutch government would have in which some foreign nationals would be preferred over others.

The most important pre-WWII foreign laborers law was called the '*Vreemdelingenarbeidswet*' from 1934, in which was decided which types of jobs could be performed by foreign nationals.⁷⁴ This law has been very important until this day: since 1934, it has always been and stayed mandatory for foreigners to obtain a work permit in order to be able to work in The Netherlands. Therefore, from around this time, the control on foreign nationals and the registration of this type of people has ever increased. Furthermore, this forms a basis in which bias for certain countries and societies is apparent, which could also be seen in the later guest worker scheme of South Korea.

⁷³ State, Paul F. 2008. A brief history of the Netherlands. New York: Facts on File, p. 167.

⁷⁴ *Vreemdelingenarbeidswet*, no. 257. Staatsblad van het koninkrijk der Nederlanden, 1934.

3: Different migrants in post-WWII the Netherlands

Before the 1940s, most migrants that came to the Netherlands found their origins in nearby countries, especially Germany, situated to the east of The Netherlands. However, this changed since the year 1949, from when The Netherlands actively started signing labor treaties with different states in mostly Southern Europe and Northern Africa. The changes can be seen in Graph 1.

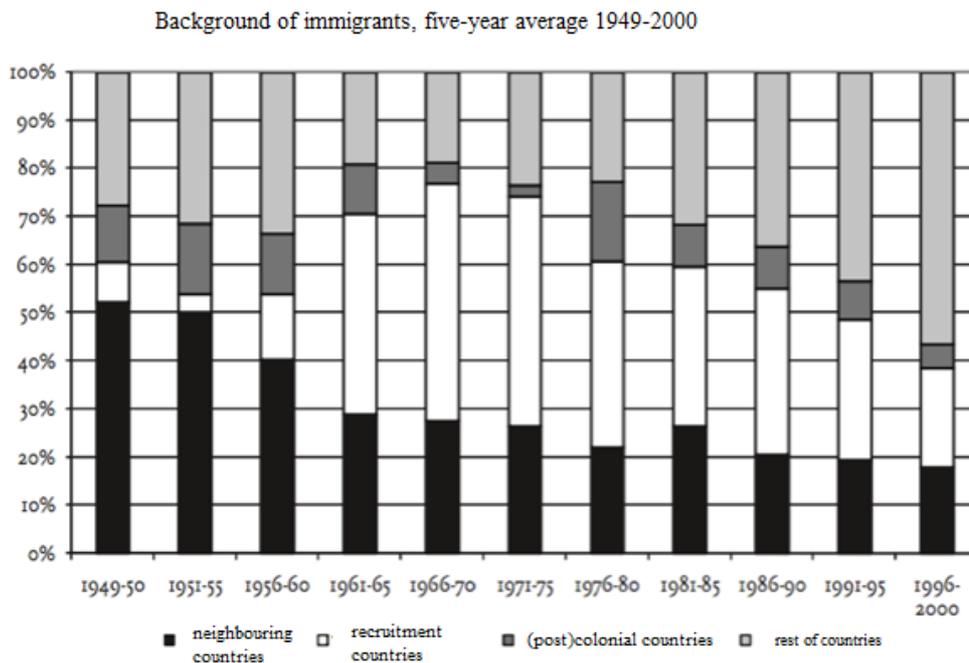


Figure 3: Background of immigrants in The Netherlands, 1949-2000⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Van Eijl, Corrie. 2009. "Migranten in Nederland, 1948-2000. Een kwantitatieve analyse van sekseverschillen". *Tijdschrift Voor Sociale En Economische Geschiedenis/ The Low Countries Journal of*

In figure 3, it is apparent that during the period between 1949 and 1955, only a small part of all the immigrants came as migrants through guest laborer programs. However, this increased dramatically during the years 1956 and 1970, whereas the highest rate is visible during the 5 years between 1966 and 1970. In that timeframe, around half of all immigrants settled themselves in The Netherlands as participants of guest labor programs, the highest rate among all the time periods between 1949 and 2000. The period between 1971 and 1975 shows a similar amount of foreigners who came as guest laborers, relatively to all immigrants who came to The Netherlands as migrants. It decreased again during the period between 1967 and 1980, and shrank ever since in every time period. In the period between 1976 and 1980, this would be due to the economic recession linked to the oil crisis, which was apparent in most Western European countries and also in other countries during the late 1970s.⁷⁶

However, in the period after 1980, a question could be asked as to why there were still many immigrants from the former guest laborer countries who settled themselves in The Netherlands. There could be several arguments for this, as to which the most apparent one would be the reunion of family.⁷⁷ Many of the laborers did not have plans to return to their homelands when some of them realized that they would have

Social and Economic History. 6 (2), p. 13. (Translated to English by: Thomas de Keulenaar on September 29, 2017)

⁷⁶ Cox, Andrew. 1982. *Politics, policy and the European recession*. London: Macmillan, p. 28.

⁷⁷ Yerden, Ibrahim. 2000. *Zorgen over zorg: traditie, verwantschapsrelaties, migratie en verzorging van Turkse ouderen in Nederland*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, p 14.

more opportunities in The Netherlands than in their native countries. This was also combined with the fact that they had built up some social security and had received social rights in The Netherlands, which they would lose when they would return. Thus, the 1980s forms a turning point, when the majority of labor migration turns into family migration. However, because the people still originated in the countries where formerly guest laborers came from, they are still mentioned as migrants who came from territories where they were recruited from to come to The Netherlands.⁷⁸ There are thus several ways through which ‘guest workers’ could settle in The Netherlands after the agreements with the guest worker countries had ended in 1973.

3-1: The first guest workers from the Mediterranean

In the case of the Netherlands, the first laborers came from Italy. Italian laborers had come during the period between 1949 and 1975.⁷⁹ Most of them came from the lesser developed regions in the South, which were mostly the southern provinces as well as the island of Sardinia, which were regions that had experienced massive unemployment since the period after the Second World War.⁸⁰ This made them leave for Western Europe, of which they heard that there would be a labor shortage. Even though most Italians left for the neighboring country Switzerland and the more northern Germany,

⁷⁸ Liempt, Ilse van. 2007. *Navigating borders inside perspectives on the process of human smuggling into the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 21.

⁷⁹ “Gastarbeiders uit Italië”. *Vijf Eeuwen Migratie*. <http://www.vijfeeuwenmigratie.nl/term/gastarbeiders%20uit%20itali%C3%AB#60-inhetkort> Accessed on October 30, 2016.

⁸⁰ Durlauf, Steven N., and Lawrence E Blume. 2008. *The new Palgrave dictionary of economics*. New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 64.

the Dutch government also tried to place Italians in their own labor sector. Most of them worked in the mines in the southern province of Limburg, but other Dutch companies also tried to receive workers from the year 1955.⁸¹

The way through which Italians were able to arrive in The Netherlands was through the new recruitment treaty, which was created between the Netherlands and Italy in 1949.⁸² This was the first of the in total 6 recruitment treaties that The Netherlands had made with six different countries. This treaty firstly only targeted Italian men who could work in the Dutch mines, having many prerequisites. For example, the Italian men could not be married, and there was also no place for women or children.⁸³ The expected period during which Italian men were to live and work in The Netherlands, was around one or two years. Because the Dutch economy had grown during the 1950s, non-mining companies were also allowed to recruit Italian laborers since the year 1955. Thus, the first guest workers in the country came from Italy.

The second country from which The Netherlands received guest laborers was Spain. Many Spanish laborers, mostly from the provinces of Andalusia and Extremadura, left their countries to work in The Netherlands. They could work in The Netherlands

⁸¹ Langeweg, Serge. 2011. *Mijnbouw en arbeidsmarkt in Nederlands-Limburg: herkomst, werving, mobiliteit en binding van mijnwerkers tussen 1900 en 1965*. Hilversum: Verloren, p 186.

⁸² Elteren, Mel C. M. 1986. *Staal en arbeid: een sociaal-historische studie naar industriële accommodatieprocessen onder arbeiders en het desbetreffend bedrijfsbeleid bij Hoogovens IJmuiden, 1924-1966*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, p. 774.

⁸³ Eijl, Corrie van. 2012. *Tussenland: illegaal in Nederland, 1945-2000*. Hilversum: Verloren, p. 62.

through a labor agreement made between the Dutch and the Spanish governments in April 1961.⁸⁴ There were several reasons for Spanish laborers to relocate and become a temporary guest laborer in The Netherlands. Firstly, the rural areas were experiencing poverty, but secondly, the country had been politically divided due to the dictatorship of Francisco Franco. The Netherlands thus not only represented economic opportunity, but also political freedom.⁸⁵ Whereas the first guest laborers came from Spain and Italy, later guest workers would come from non-European countries. Thus, the reactions about the first and the later guest worker agreements could be different, with Spanish and Italian guest workers having more of a European identity.

The most important aspect about the Mediterranean workers from Italy and Spain, who were the first of the many guest labor work agreements to come and work in The Netherlands, was that they were used as a buffer against economic variability's.⁸⁶ This meant that during economic shortage, such as the small economic recession in 1967, the amount of foreign workers would fall again. Not only annual fluctuations were important when analyzing guest laborers, but attention must also be put towards seasonal fluctuations. This is due to the important role of foreign workers in two important sectors, which are under influence of seasonal change. Firstly in the building sector and secondly in the agricultural sector, two sectors in which workers find it hard to find jobs outside

⁸⁴ Twist, Kees van. 1977. *Gastarbeid ongewenst: de gevestigde organisaties en buitenlandse arbeiders in Nederland*. Baarn: In den Toren, p. 16.

⁸⁵ Gunther, Richard, Giacomo Sani, and Goldie Shabad. 1988. *Spain after Franco: the making of competitive party system*. Berkeley u.a: Univ. of California Pr., p. 62.

⁸⁶ Castles, The guest-worker, p. 765.

of the periods in which work would be mostly offered.⁸⁷ This signifies the importance of distinguishing between not only the economic effect on different years, but also in different seasons.

3-2: Post-colonial immigrants

Other guest laborers or migrants came from the (then) Portuguese territory of Cape Verde or the previous Dutch colony of Indonesia, that stayed colony until 1945.⁸⁸ Many migrants came from Indonesia, which was a territory from Dutch or Indonesian-Dutch mixed people migrated to their “homeland”. Some of them had been born in Indonesia with Dutch heritage, but had never lived in their homeland of The Netherlands. Yet others had lived in Indonesia for an extensive period of time, or even others had changed their citizenship to that of Indonesia, but regretted and wanted to return to The Netherlands. All in all, this group of migrants was different than other migrant groups during that time, because they were ethnically Dutch and mostly high-educated persons, who actually formed part of the middle or high classes in The Netherlands.⁸⁹ The group of migrants from Cape Verde was special, because of the fact that they did not work in the many new factories in The Netherlands, but in the fast growing harbor of

⁸⁷ Verhaeren, Raphaël-Emmanuel. 1986. "The role of foreign workers in the seasonal fluctuations of the French economy". *International Migration Review*, p. 2.

⁸⁸ Dumberry, Patrick. 2007. *State succession to international responsibility*. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, p. 183.

⁸⁹ Schissler, Hanna, and Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal. 2005. *The nation, Europe, and the world: textbooks and curricula in transition*. New York: Berghahn Books, p 49.

Rotterdam.⁹⁰ Because Dutch harbors were known worldwide for their good labor circumstances, many sea workers moved to The Netherlands without the Dutch government asking, but rather from their own initiative. There were thus many different guest workers from different countries.

3-3: Turkish and Moroccan immigrants, the biggest groups of guest workers that continued to live in the Netherlands

One of the most important groups of guest laborers that came to The Netherlands was the group of Turkish migrants. The Netherlands started actively recruiting lowly educated Turkish people who could be used as cheap laborers, accordingly to the methods that had been employed in (especially West-) Germany.⁹¹ There had been many motives for Turkish migrants to move to The Netherlands or other Western European countries. Examples were the massive unemployment problems after the Second World War in not only rural areas, but also in urban areas in their own country. Consequently, most laborers came from the middle and southeastern parts of Turkey, where there was most unemployment.⁹² The total number of Turkish migrants that had come to The Netherlands was 65,000 between the years 1960 and 1973, the year when the country

⁹⁰ Batalha, Luís, and Jørgen Carling. 2008. *Transnational Archipelago Perspectives on Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora*. Amsterdam University Press, p. 22.

⁹¹ Leal, David L., and Nestor P. Rodríguez. 2016. *Migration in an Era of Restriction and Recession: Sending and Receiving Nations in a Changing Global Environment*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, p. 267.

⁹² Reuschke, Darja, Monika Salzbrunn, Korinna Schönhärl, 2013. *The Economies of Urban Diversity: Ruhr Area and Istanbul*. Palgrave Macmillan Ltd, p. 86.

officially stopped recruiting laborers from Turkey.⁹³ Turkish guest migrants became one of the biggest group of guest workers, as well as one of the most visible groups that also continued living in the country.

The last important group of labor migrants that came to The Netherlands was the group of Moroccan laborers. Even though there had been an official labor agreement between the Dutch and the Moroccan governments, that started in 1969 and ended in 1973, most laborers came here by their own will instead of through the official ways that had thus been created between the respective two countries.⁹⁴ They had either come through another guest laborer country, such as Germany, or they could have heard about the Dutch labor market from fellow Moroccans. Most of them came from the Rif-area in Morocco, which was situated in the North-eastern part of the country, next to the Mediterranean Sea.⁹⁵ The Moroccan guest laborers formed, together with the Turkish group, the most visible of all guest laborers. This was due to a few reasons. Firstly, whereas many Spanish or Italian migrants returned to their home countries, there was a relatively bigger group of migrants among the Turkish and Moroccan ones that decided to stay and settle in The Netherlands.⁹⁶ Secondly, among the biggest non-Western groups in The Netherlands, the group of Moroccans is depending most on state welfare, with

⁹³ Tubergen, Frank van. 2006. *Allochtonen in Nederland in internationaal perspectief*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam Univ. Press, p. 21.

⁹⁴ Horst, Johannes J. van der. 2009. *Een bijzonder land: het grote verhaal van de vaderlandse geschiedenis*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, p. 653.

⁹⁵ Gazzah, Miriam. 2008. *Rhythms and rhymes of life: music and identification processes of Dutch-Moroccan youth*. Leiden: ISIM, p. 252.

⁹⁶ Giesen, Peter. 2007. *Land van lafaards?: geschiedenis van de angst in Nederland*. Wormer: Inmerc, p 160.

around 22% of Moroccans in the age category of 15-64 years old depending on Dutch unemployment benefit in 2007. This was, compared to a rate of around 10% among the native Dutch.⁹⁷ This means that there have been problems with especially the Moroccan migrants, and the second generation (i.e. the migrant's children) in terms of integration, compared to the other non-Western migrant groups living in The Netherlands. Eventually, the Turkish and the Moroccan groups of migrants became the most important and visible groups of guest laborers in the country.

⁹⁷ "Persbericht: Jaarrapport integratie 2007." Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau. February 5, 2009. https://www.scp.nl/Publicaties/Alle_publicaties/Publicaties_2007/Jaarrapport_Integratie_2007/Persbericht_Jaarrapport_integratie_2007 Accessed on October 31, 2017.

VI: The origins of both the Dutch and Korean guest worker schemes, their limits and their problems

1: Similarities

Both countries, The Netherlands as well as Korea, started the guest laborer programs as a response to the need for new labor force during a time of high economic growth. Because the economies had grown substantially and unemployment was low, this meant that the native supply of laborers in both countries were both relatively low.

1-1: Low unemployment and economic circumstances in The Netherlands

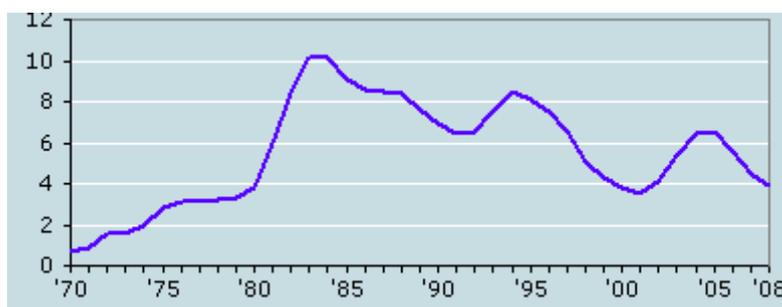


Figure 4: Unemployment in the Netherlands from 1970 until 2008. The X-bar represents the percentage of unemployment and the Y-bar represents the years (1970-2008)⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Den Bakker, Gert, Bas van den Elshout and Michiel Vergeer. 2009. "Werkloosheid Jaren dertig hoogste ooit". Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek (Statistics Netherlands). <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2009/12/werkloosheid-jaren-dertig-hoogste-ooit> Accessed on September 28, 2017.

In the figure, it is visible that the unemployment was very low during the 1950s until the early 1970s in The Netherlands. This, compared with the high economic growth, meant that there were more jobs than there were Dutch native applicants available, which was similar with the situation in South Korea during the late 1980s and early 1990s. In the graph, the unemployment rises after the first oil crisis in 1973, which was exactly the period during which the official recruitment of labor migrants came to an end. This was due to several reasons. Firstly, the economic environment changed during the 1970s, whereas economic activity and growth seemed to be of a less grand scale than in the previous two decades. Secondly, the oil crisis from 1973 formed a more direct reason. The first oil crisis of 1973 (whereas this was different from the oil crisis in 1979) was caused by several Middle Eastern oil-exporting states, who deliberately raised the price of oil of which most industry in Western countries, among which The Netherlands, were heavily dependent.⁹⁹ These factors were deciding to end the guest worker scheme in The Netherlands.

⁹⁹ Hellema, Duco, Cees Wiebes, Gerardus Tobias Witte, and Murray Pearson. 2004. *The Netherlands and the oil crisis business as usual*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 99.

1-2: Low unemployment and economic circumstances in South Korea

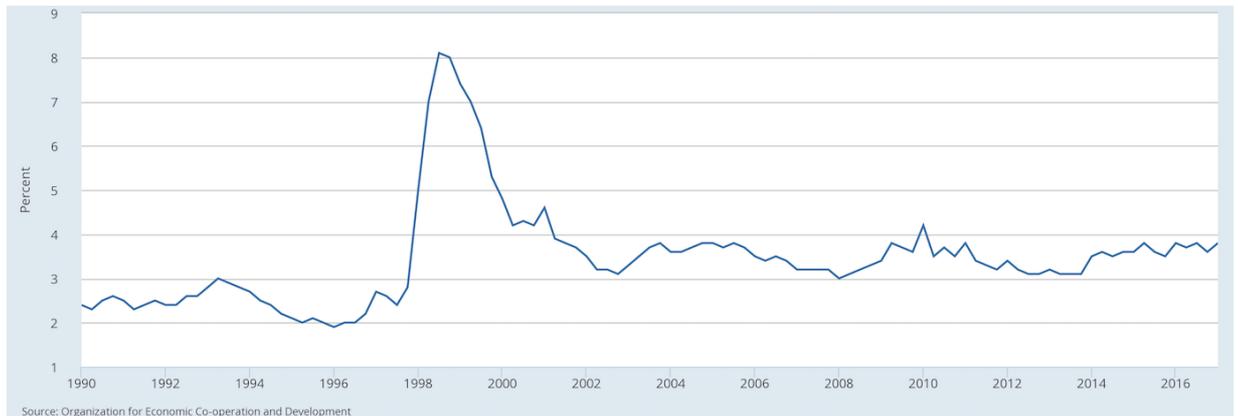


Figure 5: *Unemployment in the Republic of Korea from the year 1990 until 2016*¹⁰⁰

In the graph, it is visible that unemployment was very low during the early 1990s before the IMF crisis in South Korea. This suggests that there would have been a shortage of labor, which would be similar to the Dutch circumstances in the 1960s. Therefore, both countries shared similar economic circumstances in order to certify for the need of non-native, external labor in order to continue economic growth and to prevent labor shortages in the country.¹⁰¹ The economic circumstances in both countries were similar, and they both led to similar results; the demand for foreign, low-skilled workers.

¹⁰⁰ "Main Economic Indicators - complete database", Main Economic Indicators (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00052-en> (Accessed on October 5). Copyright, 2016, OECD. Reprinted with permission.

¹⁰¹ Ruhs, Martin. 2011. Who needs migrant workers?: labour shortages, immigration, and public policy. *Who Needs Migrant Workers?*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Pr., p. 3.

1-3: Korean Industrial Trainee Scheme and EPS based on Western European guest worker schemes

The Korean EPS resembles the Dutch guest labor program in many ways. This was no coincidence; Korean government officials had studied previous guest worker programs from especially Western Europe, such as the Dutch one, for a long time before implementing their own.¹⁰² Another example would be the similarity between the Korean ITS (Industrial Trainee Scheme) from 1993 and the previous Japanese foreign migrant program. In the case of South Korea, ethnic Koreans would be given different treatment from non-Ethnic Koreans. Similarly in Japan, ethnic Japanese from for example South America had been given different treatment from non-Japanese ethnic foreign migrants in their labor programs too.¹⁰³ Another example of South Korean policy makers taking inspiration from other countries would be the pardoning of illegal immigrants, which was inspired by an American policy.¹⁰⁴ Thus, Korean policy makers have been inspired by other guest worker schemes and their effects for a long period of time.

1-4: The pitfall of the Western European guest worker schemes

This means that, when the Korean officials studied the West-European guest worker schemes, and especially the most well-known German one, they could have

¹⁰² Korean Studies, Volumes 31-33. University Press of Hawaii, 2007, p. 37.

¹⁰³ Aleinikoff, T. Alexander, and Douglas Klusmeyer. 2013. From Migrants to Citizens Membership in a Changing World. New York, NY: Brookings Institution Press, p. 453.

¹⁰⁴ Munck, Ronaldo. 2015. Globalisation and migration: new issues, new politics, p. 156.

noticed one big pitfall. Whereas most Western European guest labor programs only employed short-term labor programs for foreign migrants, with the intention of eventually sending them back to their own countries, most guest laborers stayed and even sent their families over.¹⁰⁵ In the 1990s, two biggest groups of foreigners in The Netherlands originated in Turkey and Morocco, which were two of the countries which provided most guest workers to The Netherlands in the 1960s and early 1970s.¹⁰⁶ Even though there were other European countries among the guest labor countries, for example Spain and Italy, many of them returned to their home countries after their labor periods were over.¹⁰⁷ The biggest groups were thus non-European groups, which were also culturally most different from the native Dutch population. Korean government officials could have found this problematic; when the biggest groups of foreigners would be from culturally very different groups, it would be naturally difficult to integrate them into society.¹⁰⁸ Thus, Korean policy makers have been heavily inspired by Western European guest programs and the disadvantages that they experienced before the policy makers could create their own guest worker scheme.

¹⁰⁵ Pauly, Robert J. 2016. *Islam in Europe: integration or marginalization?* London: Routledge. <http://www.tandfebooks.com/isbn/9781315589961>, p. 79.

¹⁰⁶ Noort, R.B.J.C. van, Otto Swertz, and Pieter Duimelaar. 2003. *Allochtonen in Nederland 2003*. Voorburg: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS), pp. 19-30.

¹⁰⁷ Bucerius, Sandra M., and Michael H. Tonry. 2014. *The Oxford handbook of ethnicity, crime, and immigration*, p. 769.

¹⁰⁸ Caballero-Anthony, Mely, Toshihiro Menju, and Mely Caballero Anthony. 2015. *Asia on the move: regional migration and the role of civil society*. [Place of publication not identified]: Brookings Institution Press, p. 48.

However, it needs to be stated that the permanent residence of the Turkish or Moroccan former guest laborers was not intended by either the host country of the Netherlands, and neither by the former guest workers themselves. The Dutch state formerly strongly opposed family reunion of the guest workers in their territory, as the current Korean government does currently.¹⁰⁹ However, it would have been a difficult task to send back all guest workers at once in 1973 when The Netherlands stopped employing foreign guest workers for their programs. The phenomena in which many guest workers did not return to their home countries was due to multiple reasons, but one of them was that the guest worker had realized that they were economically much better off in The Netherlands than in their original home countries.¹¹⁰ Many of them thought that the economic gains that they could gain in The Netherlands would be worth more than any future racism or discrimination that they could receive when they would become permanent members of Dutch society.¹¹¹ Therefore, many guest workers from especially Morocco and Turkey decided to stay, in contrast to former expectations of the Dutch government.

¹⁰⁹ Nijkamp, Peter, Jacques Poot, and Jessie Bakens. 2015. *The economics of cultural diversity*, p. 403.

¹¹⁰ Schiek, Dagmar, Ulrike Liebert, and Hildegard Schneider. 2011. *European economic and social constitutionalism after the Treaty of Lisbon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p 128.

¹¹¹ Wrench, John, Andrea Rea, and Nouria Ouali. 2002. *Migrants, ethnic minorities and the labour market: integration and exclusion in Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, p. 94.

1-5: Similar difficulties in obtainment of citizenship: jus sanguinis

Another issue would be that of citizenship; it was made difficult for former guest workers to obtain citizenship, similar to the current ways that it is hard to obtain in Korea.¹¹² This could be due to one reason, which is that Dutch nationality is mostly based on *jus sanguinis* (Latin for right of blood), which means that at least one of the parents must be Dutch in order to receive Dutch citizenship. This was also the case during the 1970s, which meant that it was not easy for foreign migrants who did not marry to Dutch citizens to receive citizenship. Furthermore, the Dutch state had not made plans for the provision of citizenship to former guest laborers, which meant that near plans had to be made for the former guest workers to give them new chances to live in the country.¹¹³ The fact that the right of citizenship in Korea is linked to *jus sanguinis* is thus no reason for people to expect guest laborers to not stay living in the country.¹¹⁴

In conclusion, Korean policy makers have been inspired by not only the Dutch guest worker scheme, but also by other Western European guest worker schemes when they decide their own program for foreign low-skilled laborers. They could analyze the plans and their advantages and disadvantages, and consequently employ them in their

¹¹² Sorensen, Clark W. 2013. The journal of Korean studies. Volume 18, number 1 (Spring 2013) Volume 18, number 1 (Spring 2013). <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=1133240>, p. 21.

¹¹³ Brug, Wouter van der. 2015. The politicisation of migration. London; New York: Routledge, p. 98.

¹¹⁴ Sorensen, The journal of Korean studies, p. 10.

new policies. Furthermore, the permanent residence of guest laborers is unwanted by these policy makers in modern Korean society, but was also unwanted in the historical case of The Netherlands. However, citizenship was hard to obtain, due to the concept of *jus sanguinis*, which meant that either one of the parents should be Dutch in order to receive Dutch citizenship.

2: Limits

2-1: A new dependence on guest workers in certain labor sectors

A problem that has already been experienced by both The Netherlands and South Korea is the arrangements of some sectors where almost specifically guest laborers came to work, and which continued to be sectors in which former guest laborers or new migrants would find work. The low-skilled guest workers would find jobs in sectors such as clothing, manufacturing, and construction, in which mostly foreigners started to become employed.¹¹⁵ This would be linked to the economic phenomena of supply and demand, because employers in The Netherlands would have had a need for cheap, low-skilled laborers, which would come from other countries.

However, the effect was that on the long term, a very big chunk of the sectors that consisted of low-skilled jobs would be filled with foreign migrants, in turn marking

¹¹⁵ Foner, Nancy. 2016. New York and Amsterdam: immigration and the new urban landscape. New York University Press, p. 69.

those sectors or specific jobs as work which would only be done by foreigners. One great example would be cleaning jobs; many of those jobs started to be done by foreign migrants, which demotivated native Dutch people to perform the same job.¹¹⁶ A stigma had been formed, and this would be hard to break again. Even though there would be higher unemployment in The Netherlands, these stigmatized sorts of jobs would make it socially difficult for native workers to take them on. Thus, even though low-skilled jobs were first taken on by foreign migrants due to the process of the supply and demand of labor, they started social processes in society which are now highly ingrained, making those sorts of jobs being known as jobs performed only by migrants.

2-2: 3-D types of work (Dirty, Dangerous and Demeaning)

Similar processes have already taken place in Korea. Known in most East Asian countries as 3-D types of work (Dirty, Dangerous and Demeaning), these would include factory or agricultural work that would not be popular among local people.¹¹⁷ Whereas these processes were visible in Korean society before the Asian crisis hit Korea in the late 1990s, things changed when the crisis started and consequently, many Koreans lost their jobs. With around 200.000-300.000 foreign laborers in the country, it was more than understandable when the president during that time, Kim Dae-Jung, stated that he

¹¹⁶ Melser, Chantal, Jo Cruchten, and Leo Toor. 2004. "Waar zijn allochtone werknemers in dienst?" *Sociaal-Economische Trends*. (2), p. 40.

¹¹⁷ Boese, Martina, and Vince Marotta. 2017. *Critical Reflections on Migration, 'Race' and Multiculturalism: Australia in a Global Context*. Florence: Taylor and Francis, p. 24.

found it important that foreign labor should be further limited during those times.¹¹⁸ Whereas there were many unemployed Koreans, there will still a great amount of foreigners that were performing low-skilled jobs. Thus, similar processes in which migrants perform low-skilled jobs in society started in South Korea in the 1990s.

Even though some Koreans lost their jobs during the financial crisis, they did not want to start a job in a sector which came to be seen as foreigner sectors.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, the number of legal trainees working in Korea under the ITS scheme did decrease as a result to the crisis; from around 81,000 workers in 1997 to around 47,000 in 1998, but this quickly increased to a number of around 105,000 workers in the year 2000 again; thus, the crisis was only a temporary period of change regarding foreign workers under the trainee scheme in Korea, and did not have major impacts on the amount. In fact, the amount of foreign low-skilled workers has only grown afterwards.

In conclusion, certain jobs or labor sectors in both the historical case of The Netherlands as well as the modern case of South Korea have become known as jobs for foreigners. This is why many Korean laborers do not want to perform such jobs anymore, which are seen as jobs for low-skilled workers instead of the highly educated Korean

¹¹⁸ Ku, Samuel C. Y., and Kristina Kironka. 2017. *Migration in East and Southeast Asia*. New Jersey: World Scientific, p 140.

¹¹⁹ Hugo, Graeme, and Soogil Young. 2008. *Labour Mobility in the Asia-Pacific Region: Dynamics, Issues and a New APEC Agenda*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, p. 99.

workers. Expectations after the Asian crisis were that the amount of foreigners, however, would decrease. Against these expectations, the amount only grew.

3: Challenges

3-1: Chances for permanent residence and the migration industry

So what then were the chances for foreign workers in Korea to be able to live permanently in Korea in the future? Would Korea, just like The Netherlands has shown before, provide permanent settlement for its current guest workers? This is one question of which the future answers can only be speculated, especially considering the historic cases of Western European countries and their guest worker programs. In the case of The Netherlands, government policy makers had believed until the very end of the guest worker programs, even during the period afterwards, that the guest workers would ultimately all go home. These thoughts that guest workers would eventually return were always represented in the policies surrounding guest workers, in which they were motivated to keep their own cultures, languages and customs.¹²⁰

However, in this case, the extent to which migrants would have kept on living even after the guest worker programs was only visible many years after these schemes were over, many years after 1973. It was only since the 1980s that the government had changed their integration policy toward more permanent settlers, and it was only since

¹²⁰ Faist, Thomas. 2007. *Dual citizenship in Europe from nationhood to societal integration*. Aldershot, England [u.a.]: Ashgate, p. 79.

the late 1980s or even the 1990s that the government had fully realized the permanent settlement and full migration that had happened after the guest worker programs had ended.¹²¹ Therefore, the permanent residence of guest workers will only become visible after the current EPS program or any of its succeeding programs will have ended. However, there are signs which could be similar to The Netherlands in previous years, that are now visible in the Korean case. This would be the migration industry, according to Castles and Miller.¹²²

This migration industry, which would be a specialized industry that would begin only after the phenomena linked to migration have started in a country, is a very big industry. There would be other important processes in a society rather than the policies made by the government itself. An example of migration industry would be brokers, who would facilitate the process between prospect industry workers and are one of the most important ages in the process of transnational unskilled labor migration.¹²³ Even though there would be agents such as brokers, there also need to be important ties to the Korean government to have a successful migration industry. In the case of Korea, there are important connections between for example the KFSB (Korea Federation of Small Business) and the migration brokers. Furthermore, according to Castles and Mirrer, continuation would also be necessary. This is due to the fact that continuation is crucial

¹²¹Giesen, Land van lafaards, p. 161.

¹²² Castles, The age of migration, Ibid.

¹²³ Ali, Syed, and Douglas Hartmann. 2015. *Migration, incorporation, and change in an interconnected world*. New York: Routledge, p. 40.

for the migration industry to be settled, whereas it will also respond to changes in migration policy due to the fact that it will strive to keep the transaction market alive. This migration industry is important, because it would have the interests of both the migrants and the employers, as well as the Korean government in mind.

Furthermore, because of the fact that the migration industry would consist of a community that would help foreign unskilled laborers to come to Korea, it would become a continuing network of foreign laborers and brokers, even though consequently, exploitation is a side-issue because of this. The Korea Times had described that the Korea International Training Cooperation Corps and the KFSB earned around 58 million US dollars from the migrant market during a 6 year period, which could be even much bigger today. This would have been earned through multiple sources, such as commissions from agents or from deposits paid by companies who are looking for foreign workers.¹²⁴ Furthermore, foreign laborers would pay a huge sum of money to brokers in their respective countries when they would try to move to Korea in order to find work. However, not only brokers would be part of this problem. There would also be a huge problem surrounding human trafficking and smuggling. This has become such an issue that organizations such as Amnesty have also taken notice of this, publishing an advocate to end the abuse of migrant agricultural workers in South Korea. They stated that there would be a “*shameful system that allows trafficking for exploitation and forced labor...*”,

¹²⁴ Guild, Elspeth, and Sandra Mantu. 2016. *Constructing and imagining labour migration: perspectives of control from five continents*. London: Routledge, p. 92.

which, according to them, would not be stopped with proper means by the Korean government.¹²⁵ Thus, the migration industry is very big, and has both negative as well as positive sides attached to it.

3-2: Institutions and tight communities easing processes of living for guest workers

Other institutions have also joined the migration industry. Places such as several banks have started to open special facilities for migrants; examples would be foreign services that cater in Chinese, Indonesian and Vietnamese at the Industrial Bank of Korea.¹²⁶ Another example would be, as the Korea Times has covered, the news that since 2015, all banks have been ordered by the Financial Supervisory Service to customize their services to help foreign workers better.¹²⁷ This would be to prevent illegal financial procedures, which were already executed in order to meet the demand of the foreign migrants living in Seoul. Thus, these type of events show that there are already many illegal practices in the migrant industry, which the official instances in Korea are picking up and which they are turning into the legal industry. Furthermore, several NGO's are specifically tailored towards helping foreign migrants that have come to South Korea in

¹²⁵ Amnesty International. 2014. *South Korea: End rampant abuse of migrant agricultural workers*. © Amnesty International 2014. <https://www.amnesty.nl/actueel/south-korea-end-rampant-abuse-of-migrant-agricultural-workers> Accessed on October 20th, 2017.

¹²⁶ *Products and Services for Foreigners*. Industrial Bank of Korea. <http://eng.ibk.co.kr/lang/en/ps/forForeigners.jsp> Accessed on September 27, 2017.

¹²⁷ Kim, Jae Won. 2015. *Banks to offer customized services for foreign workers*. Korea Times, Economy. http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/biz/2015/09/488_187262.html Accessed on October 19th, 2017.

order to work.¹²⁸ Thus, the government is very much involved in this migration industry, and is turning some negative aspects of it into a more legal and more lucrative industry.

Another example of the way in which the migration industry has already taken its position in the country is the ways in which migration communities have already settled themselves in the country in different neighborhoods. The best example of this would be the Korean-Chinese migrants, who have settled themselves in many areas in Seoul and also in other areas of the country, whereas one of the most notable areas would be the area around Daerim. In this area, many signs are already written in Chinese, and there are many services catered especially towards the residents.¹²⁹ There are community centers, financial organizations, restaurants and bars, and many more services from which the Chinese immigrants can make use when they are in the area. The degree to which the people are settled in such neighborhoods makes it seem unlikely that those residents will move away anytime quick. One thing to note is that in the specific Chinatown in Daerim-dong, both Korean-Chinese immigrants as well as Han Chinese immigrants are living together, showing the bond that even Chinese of a cultural Korean origin have with other Chinese people.¹³⁰ Whereas their language or customs might differ, they still form a community together. Thus, a migration industry enlarges when the migrants form really strong communities inside their new society.

¹²⁸ Caballero-Anthony, Mely, Toshihiro Menju, and Mely Caballero Anthony. 2015. *Asia on the move: regional migration and the role of civil society*. Brookings Institution Press, p. 54.

¹²⁹ Zhou, Min. 2017. *Contemporary Chinese diasporas*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 139.

¹³⁰ Wong, Tai-Chee. 2013. *Asian Cities, Migrant Labor and Contested Spaces*. Routledge, p. 146.

However, even though there is the fact that there are big foreign communities, while NGO's are helping foreigners, and while there is a big industry surrounding the immigrants, we can still not know exactly how these processes will unfold themselves in the future and how the Korean government will respond to the ever enlarging foreign communities on its territory. By law, the Republic of Korea could force all non-Korean citizens living in the country to return back to their home countries, but this has been already for some years a development which would be unlikely to happen. Considering the current processes, and comparing those to the case of The Netherlands, it is clear that there are still many illegal immigrants currently living in South Korea, even though it was made easier in 2003 to change to a registered worker more easily than before.¹³¹ The Justice Ministry of Korea stated in 2016 that around 11.3% of all foreigners living in Korea were residing there illegally, which is still quite large considering the new policies that took into effect in 2003.¹³² But, especially because they are undocumented workers, there could only be estimates and there are no real data about how many foreigners are illegally residing in the country. Furthermore, the policies against illegal immigration are mostly focused on migrant arriving through airplanes, whereas there are still ships arriving in its ports, coming from for example Japan or China.¹³³ Thus, illegal

¹³¹ Park, South Korea, Ibid.

¹³² Ock,Hyunju. 2016, *Korea takes aim at illegal immigration*. The Korea Herald, April 4 2016. <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20160404000876> Accessed on October 22, 2017.

¹³³ An example could be found in: Thanh Nien News. 2016. *3 Koreans arrested for scheme to smuggle Vietnamese into Busan: report*. February 25, 2016. <http://www.thanhniennews.com/society/3-koreans-arrested-for-scheme-to-smuggle-100-vietnamese-into-busan-report-59636.html> Accessed on October 20, 2017.

immigrants remain a problem for the Korean government, even though they tried to tackle this through the new EPS worker scheme.

Similar cases have occurred in The Netherlands, where there were many illegal workers in the country since the late 1960s.¹³⁴ Like South Korea in 2003, when the state made it easier for illegal workers who were then in the country to change their status into a legal and registered worker, the Netherlands had made it possible for illegal immigrants to apply for legal residence in 1975. Before this period, even though it was illegal for employers to hire an employee without a labor permit, regulation was not very strict and once caught, the punishment for employers was not so bad that they would not hire other employees illegally again. Thus, there had been similar processes in South Korea and The Netherlands regarding legal and illegal labor in the country.

There have been more decisions and policies during the 1990s and 2000s which have been in favor of the rights of immigrant workers. These kinds of legal changes have made the prospect for permanent residence of guest workers much more likely. Examples of these would be when a special court was set up in 1995 with the goal to handle questions or problems surrounding migrant workers in South Korea.¹³⁵ Furthermore, important victories have been achieved at both the Seoul Supreme Court,

¹³⁴ Meyers, E. 2016. *International immigration policy: a theoretical and comparative analysis*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 85-88.

¹³⁵ Tsuda, Takeyuki. 2006. *Local citizenship in recent countries of immigration: Japan in comparative perspective*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, p. 247.

expanding the rights of undocumented, or illegal, foreign workers, who were from 1998 even covered by the Labor Standards Act.¹³⁶ This signifies the court as a fairly neutral mediator, consequently demonstrating the possibilities for further extending the rights of migrant workers in Korea.

However, this does not mean that all processes concerning guest workers develop similarly in the modern case of South Korea and the historic case of The Netherlands. For example, it is extremely difficult for a guest worker in Korea to bring over its family, which means that family reunification on Korean soil is hard to achieve. However, in the case of The Netherlands, the Dutch government needed to abide Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights. This Article promised the right to family life, stretching out to family reunification.¹³⁷ This type of article or law is one that is part of any legitimate frameworks that exist globally, and which have only expanded since the late 1960s. Thus, at one time or another, it could happen that the Korean government will need to adhere to new laws surrounding family reunification, or labor rights in general. Another option would be that those types of rights would be achieved through cooperated actions of several groups consisting of foreign workers, of which one could be the Seoul-Gyeonggi-Incheon Migrants' Trade Union (MTU).¹³⁸ This union has already made several victories, including one through which even undocumented

¹³⁶ Tsuda, Local citizenship in recent countries of immigration, p.248.

¹³⁷ Drzemczewski, Andrew. 1995. *Le droit au respect de la vie privée et familiale, du domicile et de la correspondance: tel que le garantit l'article 8 de la Convention Européenne des Droits de l'Homme*. Strasbourg: Conseil de l'Europe.

¹³⁸ Migrants' Trade Union, *이주노동자노동조합*. <http://www.mtu.or.kr> Accessed on October 26, 2017.

foreign workers could either create or join labor unions in Korea.¹³⁹ This case had continued at the Supreme Court for 8 years, which means that indeed, effort could pay off in favor of foreign migrants. Thus, even though there are differences in the developments of rights and prospects for permanent residence for guest workers in the cases of The Netherlands and South Korea, there are still many positive developments hinting at a similar path for South Korea in the future.

In conclusion, the migration industry is a very important concept when analyzing future prospects for permanent residence of guest workers in South Korea. This is a very big industry, including things such as migrant communities, brokers who are trying to get migrants towards South Korea, services especially made for labor migrants at for example banks, etc. Even though this migration industry has developed similarly in South Korea as it has done in The Netherlands in the past, there are still some differences. However, because of some recent positive developments in favor of labor migrants, such as victories in the Supreme Court, there are signs that new positive laws or agreements could be developed in the future. Furthermore, the longer that migrants will reside in South Korea, the more there will be for them to create stronger communities, which will become harder and harder to send back to their homelands.

¹³⁹ Yoon, Min Sik. "Korea authorizes first migrant workers' union". *The Korea Herald*. August 20, 2015. <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20150820001130> Accessed on October 26, 2017.

3-3: The differentiation of foreign workers (H-2 and E-9 visa)

There are many challenges regarding the labor market currently. One of those is that almost all of the work that foreigners do in the general EPS sector, which consists of E-9 visa holders, is manufacturing.¹⁴⁰ This means that there still need to be ways in which those foreigners could be employed in sectors such as services, in which only 0.2% of E-9 visa holders work.¹⁴¹ This is in contrast to foreigners who are H-2 visa holders, coming from a Korean background (Choseon-jok). These workers have a much bigger share in the services sector; 34.1% of all jobs of H-2 holders are performed in this sector. This could be explained by language, because H-2 visa holders mostly share a similar culture, history and the same language as native Korean laborers, consequently making it easier for them to integrate in society and have no language difficulties in day-to-day life.¹⁴² Thus, it will be easier to provide face-to-face services with customers, instead of manufacturing jobs, in which Korean language is not always needed in order to successfully fulfill the job. However, what about the foreigners that are ready to learn Korean language in order to not work in manufacturing, but to move on to services? In a survey among factory workers in the mostly industrial town of Ansan, a majority of respondents answered that they were willing to learn the language by for example

¹⁴⁰ 2015 data. Ministry of Employment and Labour, Republic of Korea.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Kong, Dongsung, Kiwoong Yoon, and Soyung Yu. 2010. "The Social Dimensions of Immigration in Korea". *Journal of Contemporary Asia*. 40 (2): 252-274.

attending a Korean language school.¹⁴³ Thus, whereas most foreign workers who are not considered Korean

3-4: Lack of mobility and discrimination

Another challenge would be surrounding the changing of workplaces. Currently, foreign laborers who participate in the EPS scheme are only allowed to change workplaces when under inevitable conditions.¹⁴⁴ While this is meant to secure the employer from having foreign employees coming and going, it essentially means that the employees have less right than employers and could be discriminated against. Furthermore, the freedom of movement is discouraged, disrespecting the freedom that foreign migrants should have. This in contrast to foreign laborers of a Korean background, who are in fact able to look for other jobs when they would like to and are more freely able to change workplaces.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, it seems that foreign low-skill laborers do not receive the same rights as native workers, or as workers from a Korean background.

Furthermore, it is also very hard for foreign workers to stay in Korea after they finished their period of labor in Korea through the EPS scheme.¹⁴⁶ This means that, even though the foreign labourer could have learned Korean language, accustomed to the

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Kim, State-centric to contested social governance, p. 131.

¹⁴⁵ Kalliola, Satu. 2014. Evaluation as a tool for research, learning and making things better, p. 188.

¹⁴⁶ You, Soo-sun. "Migrant workers can't stay over 10 years". The Korea Times. September 21, 2017.

country and society, and even though the employer would wish to continue employing the foreign employee, they are not allowed to continue living in the country and need to repatriate. This means that there could be a need for more long-term plans surrounding foreign labourers and their contract periods, instead of generalizing all workers with similar rules. Lastly, because only smaller sized companies are eligible to employ foreign workers, some sort of dependency has been created on these type of employees among these business. Even though there is a high youth unemployment in the country, and still many more men than women are working, this could refrain the Korean economy from growing healthily with its own, native workers.

Thus, whereas most foreign workers who are not considered to be from a Korean background are working in the manufacturing sector, which mostly includes factory work, many Choseon-jok foreigners are working in the service sector, creating further divisions amongst the different groups of foreign laborers in society. In addition, the workers from a non-Korean background also find more difficulties in changing their job, because it is very difficult to change their workplace, even compared to low-skilled workers from a Korean background. The low chances that these workers of a non-Korean background have in permanent residence in South Korea adds to the discrimination that they face.

**VII: Integration of migrants and the limitations of
future integration of guest workers in South Korea; the
similar approach of employing multiculturalist politics
in both historic the Netherlands as well as current South
Korea**

In this section, the ways in which problems surrounding integration were taken on by both the Dutch and the Korean governments will be compared. This is done to understand the similar processes through which both governments went through after they realized that the patterns of guest laborers could be different in the future, irrelevant of the current laws regarding permanent residence of foreigners in the country. This is important due to multiple reasons. Whereas laws and rules in a country regarding foreigners represent the official stance of the government on the current situation regarding foreign citizens in their country, it does not fully represent the attitude of the government as a whole. This non-official attitude would even differ among politicians inside a certain country. Arguing so, this paper stays in line with scholars such as Wendt, who argues that social behavior is a core aspect of state behavior.¹⁴⁷ This would mean

¹⁴⁷ Wendt, Alexander. 1999. *Social theory of international politics*. Cambridge: University Press, p. 1-20.

that the usage of terms and corresponding social behavior would have a direct influence on the types of policies that are created by the government.

1: Integration of guest workers in 1980's the Netherlands and the usage of multiculturalist politics

The Dutch ideas linked to the integration of foreign minorities in the country have led to policies, which in one term were called 'Multiculturalism' during the 1980s. This period and its timing were linked to the government realizing that some of the guest workers who were supposed to stay for a limited amount of time, most of which were Turkish or Moroccan, needed new policies or programs in order to be successfully integrated into society.¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, the government felt the need to streamline society in a way that it could successfully cope with these new 'permanent guest workers'. The ways through which the government tried to achieve this was through the adaptation of the 'minorities policy', which was passed in 1979.

However, when the first migrants came, Dutch society was still divided by the concept of 'pillarization' (Dutch: *verzuiling*), which separated Dutch society into three main pillars. This separation first came into being to prevent violence between the two

¹⁴⁸ Pellikaan, H., Trappenburg, M., and Trappenburg, M.J. 2003. *Had het anders gekund? Over het Nederlandse integratiebeleid*. Boom, p. 7.

major religious groups of Protestants and Catholics.¹⁴⁹ Even though these two were the biggest and most important social groups in The Netherlands, the third pillar was the socialist one, and the final pillar was a neutral one, mainly encompassing all other social groups which were not included in the first three pillars. All groups had their own hospitals, newspapers, political parties and schools.¹⁵⁰ This system continued until around the mid-1960s, from when these pillars slowly, but never completely, disappeared. Thus, the time period in which most guest workers came, which would be the late 1950s and 1960s, was a period in which these four pillars were not yet broken down completely. Consequently, this had been another reason as to why the government did not need to think about the integration of foreigners in society; the society had already been fragmented, and there had been existing social cleavages of which the foreign migrants would yet become another one.

Yet, since this system of pillarization gradually disappeared since the 1960s, and because of the reason that many guest workers decided to stay permanently in the 1970s, the government needed to come up with new ideas in order to successfully manage Dutch society and to not create disadvantages for non-native Dutch citizens. The type of integration that the government saw fit was to let foreigners keep their own identity, while trying to successfully integrate them in society. It was especially targeting migrants who did not only have problems to keep up in Dutch society, but who were

¹⁴⁹ Vasta, Ellie. 2006. *From ethnic minorities to ethnic majority policy: changing identities and the shift to assimilationism in the Netherlands*. [Oxford]: COMPAS, p. 4.

¹⁵⁰ Mak, Geert, Jan Bank, and Gijsbert van Es. 2016. *Verleden van Nederland*. [Amsterdam]: Olympus, p. 408.

also of a lower social position.¹⁵¹ The most important policy that was thus created in this time was the 1983 Ethnic Minorities Policy, which was mostly created for these segregated groups; people from Turkey, Morocco, Maluku Islands (from Indonesia), Suriname, Antilles, etc. Some minority groups such as the Chinese were not included, a choice for which the argument would have been that this was because “they were not big minorities” (yet).¹⁵²

Nevertheless, this policy was not successful because it mirrored the pillarization that had just faded away; instead of fully integrating foreigners into society, they were carved off in their own communities, mostly still carrying on their own identities from their previous countries. The consequence was that this actually made it harder for them to adapt to the new country’s culture and language. However, in addition to these negative phenomena, there had also been several successes during the 1980s. Examples would be new anti-discrimination laws, or the new voting rights at local government levels for people who were not yet fully Dutch citizens. Furthermore, it was made easier to naturalize, and there were new consultations to give certain groups a voice and listen to their ideas concerning their positions in Dutch society.¹⁵³

Following these policies, foreigners were provided aid in certain aspects of living, such as unemployment, housing or education. One example would be education

¹⁵¹ Ruiter, Dieneke de. 2008. *The Merry-go-round of disadvantage: educational policy and integration in segregated schools*. Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers, p. 50.

¹⁵² Vasta, From Ethnic Minorities, p. 5.

¹⁵³ Justino, Patricia, Tilman Brück, and Philip Verwimp. 2014. *A micro-level perspective on the dynamics of conflict, violence, and development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 131.

programs in which people with ethnic minorities would be helped in their training in order to find jobs.¹⁵⁴ However, these were the only areas in which foreigners would receive much help; in the areas of culture, language or religion, they were free to choose what they wanted and they were not offered much chances to develop themselves or fully integrate in society. Therefore, even though foreigners of low-economic backgrounds were offered help to find jobs or to receive education in order to be hired, they were still seen as a different type of sub-group in society. Many were not living side to side with Dutch native citizens, but were living apart, which gave the idea that separatism was kept alive through the policies of the Dutch government.

Even though language was not one of the fields in which foreigners were helped, there were some Dutch language courses offered. This originated from the time that guest workers were considered to have no benefit from learning Dutch language or culture; there was still the dominant thought that they would eventually return to their own countries anyway. This thought was kept alive in discussions in the 1980s. Consequently, this also showed through in policies; even though the policy makers tried to integrate foreigners into Dutch society, they still did not realize in which aspects they should be helped, leaving out important facets such as culture and language. Furthermore, not integrating them in society but keeping them outside of it would only create more problems in the future, in which several societal groups would live segregated from each

¹⁵⁴ Catarci, Marco, and Massimiliano Fiorucci. 2016. *Intercultural education in the European context: theories, experiences, challenges*. Oxon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, p. 209.

other in the same cities or provinces. Thus, it seems as if policy makers from this time did not realize the effects which these types of non-integrating policies would have.

Furthermore, even though the policies promised equality for both native as well as non-native people in The Netherlands, this did not work out in reality. Because of the fact that foreigners were not culturally or linguistically integrated into society, many of them still kept their own customs and religion, of which the biggest religion was the Islam.¹⁵⁵ Even though these people were promised freedom of religion on paper, it turned out to be extremely difficult to start Islamic schools, which would be against the integration and would only lead to segregation. These types of arguments were used, even though there were both Catholic as well as Protestant schools in the whole country.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, the establishment of non-Christian religious places, such as a mosque, was made extremely difficult; not only funds needed to be raised by the people themselves, but they were also often sabotaged in the selection of a suitable location. In addition, many local urban renewal policies did not allow people to establish a mosque, even after they would have had suitable funds or would have chosen their location already. Thus, there was no full equality, even though this had been promised on paper.

¹⁵⁵ Foblets, Marie-Claire, Jogchum Vrielink, and Jaak Billiet. 2006. *Multiculturalisme ontleed: een staalkaart van onderzoek aan de K.U. Leuven*. Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, p. 188.

¹⁵⁶ Boekholt, P.Th.F.M., and E.P. de Booy. 1987. *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland vanaf de middeleeuwen tot aan de huidige tijd*. Assen [etc.]: Van Gorcum, p. 224.

To sum it up, Dutch multiculturalism in the 1980s had both positive as well as negative aspects, but the most important idea was that it concentrated on separatism and the continuation of non-Dutch identities in foreign migrants who settled in The Netherlands. Policy makers in the country did not exactly know in which facets foreign workers should be helped to integrate, and there was a certain selection among foreigners; only certain groups could receive help, while others did not. All in all, multiculturalism in 1980s The Netherlands was not successful, and created new social cleavages which would only grow further.

2: Integration of guest workers in current South Korea and the usage of multiculturalist politics

In Korea, current policies related to multiculturalism are known as ideas related to “Damunhwa” (다문화, Korean for multicultural). However, multiculturalism in Korea could be understood in two different ways: firstly, there is the common idea about multicultural society that is often employed in discussions and in the media. Secondly, there would be the concept of multiculturalism that is used in official policies and political discussions.¹⁵⁷ These two terms mean something different, and cannot be used

¹⁵⁷ Kim, Andrew Eungi. *Increasing ethnic diversity in Korea: multiculturalism as a reality, ideology and policy*. Korea University,

interchangeably. The term ‘Damunhwa’ was most often used since the year 2000, when Korean media started to use the word to explain the new phenomena in Korean society related to the ever increasing number of foreign workers. Even though it was not used very frequently during the 1990s, it was due to a great stress on globalization (*segehwa* in Korea) since the Kim Young-sam administration (’93-’98) that the media had introduced the term. That political administration had tried to implement globalization as one of its most important strategies in order to bring about changes in education and the economy.¹⁵⁸ By doing so, the administration had hoped to make Korea compete more successfully internationally. Thus, multiculturalism came about during the 1990s, for a different goal than for what it is being employed today.

The usage of the term Damunha in 1990s Korea was different than before, when it had been only a term which was applied to other societies, such as the United States, in order to describe for example a melting pot of cultures.¹⁵⁹ However, the term started being very frequently used since the mid-2000s in Korea, mostly applied to situations related to guest workers and foreign brides.¹⁶⁰ Thus, the term was used differently in Korean society before the mid-2000s and after this period. From around the mid-2000s, there have been many books written about this topic, and many foreign books containing

¹⁵⁸ Gray, Kevin. 2013. *Korean Workers and Neoliberal Globalisation*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, p. 37.

¹⁵⁹ Bhattacharya, U., and P. Groznik. 2008. "Melting pot or salad bowl: Some evidence from U.S. investments abroad". *JOURNAL OF FINANCIAL MARKETS*. 11 (3), p. 229.

¹⁶⁰ Han, Gil-Soo. 2016. *Nouveau-riche nationalism and multiculturalism in Korea: a media narrative analysis*. Abingdon: Routledge, p. 57.

case studies from other countries about multiculturalism have also been translated, containing case studies from other countries. Therefore, Korean society did not only take an interest in the globalization of its own society and the multiculturalist aspects that this would bring with it, but also in the previous cases of different countries. One of the reasons that could explain this would be that Korean policy makers in this way could learn from other cases, before they would implement similar policies on their own.

The ways in which the usage of the term ‘Damunhwa’ was used, is in direct relation to the ways in which policies regarding foreigners were created in South Korea. As examined in the chapter on the comparisons of the Dutch and the Korean guest worker programs, there had not been any sufficient or adequate policies regarding guest workers before the start of the EPS system in 2003, even though the country already hosted more than 100,000 foreign migrant workers during the mid-1990s.¹⁶¹ Roh Moo-hyun was the first president under which its administration had changed the migration policy significantly. Before his term, the terms multiculturalism or globalization had been used interchangeably and without care, which had an effect on the policies before the mid-2000s; the existing training programs were not adequate, not inclusive and not fair towards foreign workers. They could not have family reunions, labor terms were short, and foreign workers had much less rights than native, Korean workers.¹⁶² Furthermore, a big part of them had been affected by bad working conditions, abuse

¹⁶¹ See image 2, page 29.

¹⁶² D’Costa, Anthony P. 2015. *After-development dynamics South Korea's contemporary engagement with Asia*. discrim [u.a.]: Oxford Univ. Press, p. 203.

which was both physically as well as verbally, and sometimes even delays in payment.¹⁶³ Thus, migration policy saw positive changes under president Roh Moo-hyun's term.

The emphasis of the Roh administration on the concept of 'Damunhwa' meant that the government tried to improve the circumstances of migrant workers and multicultural families. These multicultural families mostly consisted of a Korean husband and a non-Korean wife, who often originated in Southeast Asian countries such as Vietnam, Cambodia or the Philippines.¹⁶⁴ Thus, it focused specifically on marriage and labor migrants, and mostly disregarded other groups of migrants in society, such as foreign language teachers or foreign students. Hence, only a select group of foreigners was offered help, which does not mean that the program was effectively helping the goal to achieve a multicultural society in Korea. The same had been done in 1980s The Netherlands, where only people from minority groups which were thought to have low socio-economic backgrounds were targeted to be helped in achieving more equality and integration in the fields of labor and labor schooling. Thus, a big similarity that can be found in both 'integration' or 'multicultural' programs, in the Netherlands from the 1980s and South Korea from the 2000s, was that they both only targeted a small group of foreigners and thus did not accommodate all foreigners living in the country. Consequently, they only further strengthened social cleavages between minorities in the two respective societies. Policy makers should have realized that in order to integrate

¹⁶³ Han, *Nouveau-riche nationalism*, p. 69.

¹⁶⁴ Kinukawa, Hisako. 2014. *Migration and Diaspora Exegetical Voices of Women in Northeast Asian Countries*. Atlanta: SBL Press, p. 4.

certain groups into society, not only a few of them could be picked. A multicultural society would first and foremost need to include all social groups, including the 'native, ethnic group'. Even if they were to be omitted, all 'non-native' or migrant groups should at least be included in any integration policy to create a successful approach towards a fairer and more inclusive society.

One of the most important programs that was realized in relation to integration in South Korea, was the Grand Plan in 2006. This plan was created in order to help multicultural families, focusing on families that would consist of one Korean and one marriage migrant.¹⁶⁵ There were important and necessary parts on the agenda of this program, which was to be executed by firstly the Korean ministry of gender Equality and family, secondly the ministry of labor, thirdly the ministry of justice and lastly the ministry of health and welfare. An example of this scheme would be that for example, foreign women should be protected from brokers in countries where they try to get workers to Korea. Other examples would be that domestic violence and its victims should be provided more aid, and it would be made easier for foreign wives to naturalize in the case of a divorce.¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, foreign women were also to be included in the national social welfare system if they were married to a poor Korean man, social awareness about multiculturalism should be provided further in Korean society, and it should be easier to provide support to mothers of mixed children to receive help in the

¹⁶⁵ Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoğlu. 2016. *Transnational trajectories in East Asia: nation, citizenship, and region*. New York: Routledge, p. 142.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

case of culture or language problems. All in all, the grand plan was one of the first positive ideas regarding integration that was created by several Korean ministries in 2006.

However, the program regarding integration only tackles foreign wives of Korean husbands and their children. It does not cater to all foreign groups in Korea, not even all groups with low socio-economic positions. As seen in the policies, the usage of the term 'Damunhwa', while meaning multicultural, would only include a select few of foreign migrants and would not include all foreign minorities in the country. This was done in a same manner as in 1980s The Netherlands, where the term multiculturalism was applied to policies related to the problems of certain groups of foreigners. By only mentioning and picking certain groups of migrants, the government is selective in the way that they apply terms, which in fact should be all-inclusive. These examples show that similar mistakes in integration and migration policies have been made in South Korea in the 200s, as they had been made in The Netherlands in the 1980s.

This raises questions as to why the government selects only a few groups and labels them as part of this 'multicultural society', and why they would not label all foreigners on its territory as such. There could be possible explanations. Firstly, the foreigners that they choose to create integration policies for are the ones most visible in society or in the media. For example, female wives of Korean migrants are a very visible phenomenon in Korean society, especially because of the fact that they intermingle so

much with Korean husbands themselves. Furthermore, the fail rate of foreign marriages and the problems in families with foreign brides, even including domestic violence, are a well-known problem for the Korean government.¹⁶⁷ However, groups of factory workers, which are not included in the Grand Plan from 2006, do not have as many direct meetings with Korean people themselves. Consequently, these groups are not highly visible in Korean society. This would mean that the policies would only include the socially visible foreign migrants in Korea, mislabeling policies that try to provide aid as 'policies related to multiculturalism'. The Korean government thus seems to include only relatively well socially visible foreigners, or the ones that are most often in direct contact with everyday Koreans.

New policies need to be created to ensure the successfulness of the integration of foreign migrants in Korea. In a period in which the amount of foreigners living in Korea is increasing at a fast rate, the government has helped certain groups such as multicultural families in their difficulties in Korean society. However, the Korean government cannot look away from the reality that now, there are already many different foreign communities living not only in Seoul, but also in different areas of the country.¹⁶⁸ Whereas the Netherland was not effective in its integration politics during the 1980s, this had led to long-term problems surrounding non-Western migrants in Dutch society,

¹⁶⁷ Kim, Choong Soon. 2011. *Voices of foreign brides: the roots and development of multiculturalism in Korea*. Lanham, Md: AltaMira Press, p. 56.

¹⁶⁸ ZHOU, MIN, and SUSAN KIM. 2006. "Community Forces, Social Capital, and Educational Achievement: The Case of Supplementary Education in the Chinese and Korean Immigrant Communities". *Harvard Educational Review*. 76 (1), p. 5.

which gave those groups significant disadvantages and has led to continuing social cleavages. The Korean government should not only look at the successes and failures of policies surrounding the guest labor programs, but should also take into account the successes and failures surrounding the integration of foreign migrants into society. By not acknowledging the possibility that certain ethnic minorities will permanently live here, they seem to ignore some problems that could develop further in the future.

In conclusion, the Korean government has also used ideas surrounding multiculturalism in their approach to integrate certain groups of foreigners into Korean society, but they have not been very successful. Whereas it has started since the Kim Young-sam administration as a means to improve Korea's position in the world, interest in the concept has transformed it into one that mostly focuses on international families, half Korean children and marriage migration. New policies, such as the Grand Plan in 2006, have had the aim to improve the integration and the social position of several foreigners into Korean society. However, the mistakes that the Dutch government has made in the 1980s by merely choosing some groups of foreigners and aid them in their integration and to ignore others is mirrored in modern-day policies of the Korean government, which is currently exactly doing the same. Further improvements need to be made to create an all-inclusive scope, aiming to help not only multicultural families or foreign brides, but also guest workers and other migrants, in order to prevent any further social cleavages in the future.

VIII: Political discussions concerning guest workers in

21st century the Netherlands, and the possible future of

South Korea

In recent times, there have been many discussions in The Netherlands surrounding ideas about a multicultural society. These discussions have been one of the results of the mismanagement of the Dutch government relating the guest workers that continued living in the country, which the policy makers did not account for. Not all migrants living in The Netherlands are former guest laborers or family of guest laborers. In the country, there are roughly three main groups of non-Western foreigners who have moved to the country during the period after the Second World War. The first group would have been people who had previously lived in Dutch colonies, which were people from for example the former Dutch Indies (Indonesia), Curacao, Suriname etc., who mainly came to the country during the years after the Second World War.¹⁶⁹ The second group would have consisted of labor migrants, who came from the late 1940s until the early 1970s. The third and last group would consist of refugees, who came to the country mostly since the 1980s.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Toro-Morn, Migration and immigration:p. 149.

¹⁷⁰ Meyers, International immigration policy, p. 113.

It could be argued that The Netherlands had become much more of a multi-ethnic country during the period after the Second World War than it had been before, especially considering the larger amount of non-Western people who had then settled themselves in the country. Most discussions about multicultural societies, however, started since the 1990s, when it was clear that most of the groups of non-Western people were there to stay. This does not mean that there were no discussions before this period about for example the usage of non-Western low-skilled labor forces or about the ways in which the government should manage the new influx of foreigners in the country. This section includes several discussions about foreigners in Dutch society. Whereas one is from the early 1970s, the other three are from after 2000.

Thus, whereas most discussions in both society as well as parliament were held since the 1990s, they had also been held in the early 1970s. Whereas many socialist parties in the Dutch parliament did not oppose more migration of guest laborers to the country, several Christian parties were the first ones to speak out their minds about it. An example would be Mr. Verbrugh from the party of G.P.V. (Reformed Political League, an orthodox Christian center-right party that existed from 1948 until 2003), who stated in a debate in the parliament in 1971 that he supported new limitations on the amount of foreign laborers that would move to The Netherlands.¹⁷¹ He provided the example of Denmark, which would have had an absolute stop on any foreign migrant

¹⁷¹ As presented on *Staten-General Digitaal*, presenting the parliamentary meetings from the years 1814 until 1995.

for a couple of years (*before 1971*). He furthermore stated that an increase of foreigners in The Netherlands would cause new problems, such as cultural alienation, loneliness due to broken family relations, cultural clashes due to migrants with an Islamic background which would not fit well with Dutch culture and new social conflicts with neighbors.

These discussions related to multicultural societies during the 1970s seem to indicate that debates about clashes of Western civilization and an *Islamic way of living* were not new discussions that came up after integration failed, such as by politicians as Pim Fortuyn. He was one of the leading politicians that argued during the late 1990s and early 2000s that Islamic migrants did not fit well into Dutch culture.¹⁷² Other examples would be Rita Verdonk or Geert Wilders, former party members of the VVD, who both had strong sentiments against the influx of Islamic migrants in The Netherlands.¹⁷³

Mr. Verbrugh, in his political debate in 1971, was also one of the first to discuss problems surrounding the difference in the types of jobs that foreign migrants would perform compared to native Dutch workers. He argued that a new hierarchy was about to exist, in which native Dutch people would perform jobs which would require well-educated employees, and in which foreign migrant workers would take the left over jobs which would consist of mostly 3D jobs (dirty, dangerous and demeaning) for which high

¹⁷² AKKERMAN, TJITSKE. 2005. "Anti-immigration parties and the defence of liberal values: The exceptional case of the List Pim Fortuyn". *Journal of Political Ideologies*. 10 (3), p. 339.

¹⁷³Vossen, Koen. 2009. "Deel 1 - Wetenschappelijke artikels - Hoe populistisch zijn Geert Wilders en Rita Verdonk? Verschillen en overeenkomsten in optreden en discours van twee politici". *Res Publica*. 51 (4): 437.

education was not necessary.¹⁷⁴ This type of hierarchy would be a danger to society, because it could create social unrest. In one way, he foresaw the impact that foreign guest laborers would have on certain sectors, as explained in the chapter about the comparison of the Dutch and the Korean guest worker systems.

Pim Fortuyn (1948) was one of the first figures in Dutch politics who openly spoke about his ideas about a multicultural society. His first book with which he became famous was titled ‘Tegen de islamisering van onze cultuur’ (Dutch for: against the Islamization of our culture).¹⁷⁵ In this book, he argued that Western norms and values would have been threatened by Islamic, fundamentalist ideas, which would form a threat to Dutch society in a whole. Whether one would agree with him or not, many people applauded him for him speaking out about his opinion, which shows that it was a very important discussion during that time.

However, in the opinion of others, he created fragmentation in Dutch society by setting up different ethnic groups against each other, and furthermore by generalizing several ethnic groups, cultures and people into one. He was one of the first figures in Dutch politics who discussed topics that had been non-discussable before due to political correctness, such as problems with ethnic minorities in The Netherlands. Fortuyn created

¹⁷⁴ Kondō, Kenji. 2017. The economics of international immigration: environment, unemployment, the wage gap, and economic welfare, p. 8.

¹⁷⁵ Fortuyn, Pim. 1997. *Tegen de islamisering van onze cultuur: Nederlandse identiteit als fundament*. Utrecht: Bruna.

the political party ‘Leefbaar Nederland’ (Liveable Netherlands) in 2001, which would compete in the Dutch parliamentary elections in May 2002. In his short political career, he made many famous speeches, among which he for example stated that “*The Netherlands is full*”, meaning that no more foreigners would be welcomed in the country, or that “*The Islam is a retarded religion*”.¹⁷⁶ Even though his notions were questionable, he did change Dutch politics in the way that more and more Dutch politicians started openly discussing problems related to the multicultural society since he entered politics. He was murdered just several days before his first parliamentary elections in 2002 by a left-wing radical native Dutch person, which proved that he was indeed discussing very sensitive topics in Dutch society.¹⁷⁷

Another notable figure in the discussion about integration, Rita Verdonk (1955), had been minister of Justice during the years 2003-2006. This period had been an especially sensitive period in The Netherlands due to the feelings in Dutch society after 9/11. Her roles as minister included cases that were related to foreigners living in the country, as well as integration. She became one of the most well-known and even infamous politicians after Fortuyn had passed away a year before. As a politician of the VVD, a liberal party which was situated center-right, she was fairly harsh on the case of

¹⁷⁶ “Fortuyn: grens dicht voor islamiet”. De Volkskrant. February 9, 2002.

<https://www.volkskrant.nl/archief/fortuyn-grens-dicht-voor-islamiet~a622083/> Accessed on October 26.

¹⁷⁷ “Pim Fortuyn vermoord”. De Telegraaf. Nieuwsporaal. May 7th, 2002.

<http://krant.telegraaf.nl/krant/archief/20020507/teksten/bin.fortuyn.pim.man.verkiezingen.html> Accessed on October 30, 2017.

refugees which tried to seek refuge in The Netherlands.¹⁷⁸ An example of this could be found in her policies, which included one in which she tried to make refugees, who were not fully accepted yet in The Netherlands, to leave the country. Because of these kinds of methods, she was accused of ‘deportation tactics’.¹⁷⁹ Verdonk also made her own political party in 2007, which was called ‘Trots op Nederland’ (*Proud of the Netherlands*), which employed many similar techniques that Fortuyn had used in his political career. The political platform created differences between native Dutch people and foreign people, gaining popularity from people who saw tensions between non-Western ethnic groups and the native Dutch population.

The most important figure in current Dutch politics, who openly stated his opposition to non-Western ethnicities supporting Islamic beliefs in the Netherlands, would be Geert Wilders (1963).¹⁸⁰ Like Verdonk, he had been a former member of the liberal VVD party. He had been openly critical of Muslim communities in The Netherlands since after the events of 9/11, but did not receive much support when he was merely a VVD member. Wilders created his own party in 2006 which he called the Partij voor de Vrijheid or PVV, which stands for the Party for Freedom. The ideas on which the party is based, however, are not liberal or linked to freedom. Examples of this

¹⁷⁸ Chorus, Jutta. “Uitgeproduceerd (Gerectificeerd)”. NRC Handelsblad. February 5, 2005. <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2005/02/05/uitgeproduceerd-gerectificeerd-3436437-a1122401> Accessed on October 30, 2017.

¹⁷⁹ “Deportatie: het is maar welke Van Dale je erop naslaat”. Trouw. March 16, 2004. <https://www.trouw.nl/home/deportatie-het-is-maar-welke-van-dale-je-erop-naslaat~a80ca5b4/> Accessed on October 28, 2017.

¹⁸⁰ Geert Wilders. Tweede Kamerfractie, Partij Voor De Vrijheid. <https://www.pvv.nl/fracties/tweede-kamer/geert-wilders.html?view=fjrelated&layout=blog&id=2096> Accessed on October 15, 2017.

would be that he propagated ideas about The Netherlands being a “Jewish-Christian Culture with a humane tradition”.¹⁸¹ This means that he tried to make Dutch society merely liberal for the majority, which would consist of the native Dutch, of which many would not even be Christian. He tried to put these sorts of ideas in the Dutch constitution.

The PVV is one of the most important political parties related to the legacy of the guest workers in modern, Dutch political history, because this party is one of the only political organizations that is represented in the parliament that is still openly criticizing the guest labor program of the 1950s-1970s. The PVV has constantly been trying to rewrite history and problematize the history of labor migration stating that the ‘leftist elites’ would have started this problem.¹⁸² With this type of criticism, the party has been constantly showing its attitude against foreigners and consequently, it’s populist thinking. What the party is trying to do is gain votes through the anger of different groups in Dutch society regarding foreigners, stating that the current politics regarding migration would be the same as during the 1960s and 1970s when the highest amount of guest workers entered The Netherlands. The party has stated again and again that the migrants from eastern EU countries, such as Poland, Bulgaria or Romania, are no different, and will cause further social cleavages in Dutch society. The Netherlands has let many Eastern European migrants enter the country and has provided many of

¹⁸¹ *AO grondwet*. Tweede Kamerfractie, Partij Voor De Vrijheid. <https://pvv.nl/index.php/component/content/article.html?id=5516> Accessed on October 15, 2017.

¹⁸² *De SP jaagt op de PVV-stem*. 2017. Nieuwsuur, NOS. <https://nos.nl/nieuwsuur/artikel/2159196-de-sp-jaagt-op-de-pvv-stem.html> Accessed on October 16, 2017.

them with labor permits.¹⁸³ Thus, the party has shown that the influence of the labor migrant history is still very much alive in not only Dutch society, but also in Dutch politics.

Whereas the PVV could be classified as a populist party, it could be said that a populist party is using emotions from within society and using it to a disadvantage of other people in politics, which mean that there were in fact some left over, negative feelings in native Dutch society regarding the guest migrants. These feelings were used by the political party and modified into an essay against 1950s-1970s labor migrants.¹⁸⁴ The PVV party has used these types of sentiment about both the history of migrants as well as the current problems surrounding migrants from Eastern Europe, and has created this into an anti-migrant program in general, especially advocating more rules against immigration of non-Western migrants into The Netherlands.¹⁸⁵ This sentiment was again used when the PVV created a new ‘Hotline for Middle-, and Eastern-Europeans’ in March 2012.¹⁸⁶ Whereas most labor migrants in the 1950s until the 1970s came from Turkey, Morocco or Southern Europe, most labor migrants since 2007 came from

¹⁸³ *Aantal Oost-Europeaanen in Nederland groeit*. 2017. NRC Handelsblad, NRC.nl. <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/02/03/arbeidsmigratie-aantal-oost-europeaanen-in-nederland-groeit-6535620-a1544376> Accessed on October 16, 2017.

¹⁸⁴ Vossen, K.P.S.S. 2016. *The Power of Populism. Geert Wilders and the Party for Freedom in the Netherlands*. Oxford: Routledge/Taylor & Francis, p. 40.

¹⁸⁵ Odmalm, Pontus, and Eve Hepburn. 2017. *The European Mainstream and the Populist Radical Right*. Milton: Taylor and Francis, p. 117.

¹⁸⁶ Seegers, Jules. “PVV komt opnieuw met meldpunt, nu tegen overlast Oost-Europeaanen – Poolse ambassade boos”. *NRC Handelsblad*. February 8th, 2012. <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2012/02/08/pvv-komt-opnieuw-met-meldpunt-nu-tegen-overlast-euro-immigranten-a1447897> Accessed on October 26, 2017.

Middle or Eastern European countries, from which people could easily access The Netherlands due to the open borders of the European Union.¹⁸⁷ The Hotline had been internationally criticized by the Polish government, as well as by the European Parliament.¹⁸⁸ However, this problem and the nationalist or populist type of politics that the PVV is basing its style of debate on, demonstrates that there are still negative feelings about the earlier labor migrants in current Dutch society, which are being used by modern political parties and politicians in modern Dutch politics.

In conclusion, the processes earlier described about guest workers in The Netherlands have not only been criticized during the period in which there were in effect, but also afterwards. The guest workers have had such an impact on the relatively small population of The Netherlands, that even thirty or forty years later, its legacy is still felt in the politics of Pim Fortuyn, Rita Verdonk and Geert Wilders. It cannot be stated that these are based on empty facts. Indeed, the Dutch government has made many mistakes regarding guest workers, both while the program was active as well as after the guest worker agreements had ended. The integration processes have not been successful immediately, and it is exactly these types of challenges that modern day politicians are still criticizing. This only further highlights the need for Korean politicians to handle the current situation regarding guest workers and their integration in South Korean society.

¹⁸⁷ Szczerbiak, Aleks. 2012. *Poland Within the European Union: New Awkward Partner or New Heart of Europe?* Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, p. 116.

¹⁸⁸ "Europaparlement: Resolutie tegen Nederland om 'Polen-meldpunt'". *Het Parool*. March 12, 2012. <https://www.parool.nl/binnenland/europarlement-resolutie-tegen-nederland-om-polen-meldpunt~a3224218/> Accessed on October 26, 2017.

IX: Conclusion

This work has been a supplement to the already existing studies on migrants, guest workers and multiculturalist policies in South Korea, through the application of the historic case of The Netherlands from 1949 until the 1980s. It has been written due to new interest in the future of Korea, which is currently experiencing significant changes in demographics and also a high rate of migration since the 1990s. This study has suggested that, whereas a comparison between a Western European historical case and a modern East Asian case seems far-stretched, there are several demographical, economic, political and societal phenomena which are argued to be similar enough to apply the Dutch case to the Korean one in order to provide several conclusions. Doing so, the conclusion has been drawn that the Dutch government has failed on multiple facets in their long-term policies surrounding not only guest workers in general, but also their integration, and had not sufficiently anticipated the permanent migration of many guest workers to their country. The consequences could be seen in Dutch society and politics since the 1990s, leading to fierce debates about not only the phenomena of guest migrants and its legacy, but also about migrants or foreigners in The Netherlands in general in the 2000s. This was exemplified by discussions surrounding three notable figures Pim Fortuyn, Rita Verdonk and Geert Wilders.

Neglecting these phenomena, which would result in similar consequences as The Netherlands has experienced before, could lead to negative results. Whereas Korean

policy makers are known to learn from historical policies and choices of other governments and of historical cases, there should be a stronger emphasis on the need for more long-term and effective policies for not only the work environment of guest workers, but also for their integration. Furthermore, the notion that guest workers will go home to their home countries eventually, especially if they would not be properly integrated, is one that should be omitted in future discussions and policies surrounding guest workers. Integration should not be something only available for marriage migrants or multicultural families with half-Korean children, but to all groups of foreigners currently living in Korean society, even though they do not yet have the chance for permanent residence in modern day Korean law. These results were found through the usage of not only government data and policies, but also through the usage of news coverage and already existing literature surrounding guest workers and migrants in The Netherlands, Western Europe and the Republic of Korea.

Further recommendations should include a higher public awareness of guest workers in Korea, with most social awareness created for cross-cultural families, couples and half-Korean children in Korean news or entertainment. Because of the lack of visibility of these workers, who mostly stay in dormitories and work together with similar people, further social awareness could highlight the need for further integration and better policies surrounding these people. In addition, a new board could be founded with the goal of further adding to the improvements of current living conditions of foreign migrants in Korea who perform factory or agricultural work.

A further increase in foreigners, and the related chances that they have to live in the country for a longer period of time, means that there are a lot of chances that there will be new societal conflicts surrounding which will be at least partly caused by these societal changes. Furthermore, it would be expected that foreign migrants will fight for more rights, and also for the right to permanently live in the country. It would be only natural for some to live in a state with a higher developed economy than in their home country, which is only one of the pull-factors to keep living in South Korea. If society continues changing in this way, new conflicts will be related to ethnic and societal ones, which is the reason why it is so important for the current Korean government to make long-term plans surrounding migrants and integration that will have positive and beneficent effects on not only current migrants, but also for future migrants. Doing so will prevent political conflicts that are currently seen in The Netherlands and also in other Western-European countries, with (extreme) right-wing and/or populist parties gaining popularity fast. These parties and their main politicians have started discussions in Dutch society surrounding guest workers and foreigners in general. Thus, the need for the Korean government to think deeply about how the future policies concerning foreigners, guest migrants and integration should look like, is more clear than ever.

X: Bibliography

- Aantal Oost-Europeanen in Nederland groeit*. 2017. NRC Handelsblad, NRC.nl.
<https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/02/03/arbeidsmigratie-aantal-oost-europeanen-in-nederland-groeit-6535620-a1544376> Accessed on October 16, 2017.
- Akkerman, Tjitske. 2005. "Anti-immigration parties and the defence of liberal values: The exceptional case of the List Pim Fortuyn". *Journal of Political Ideologies*. 10 (3).
- Aleinikoff, T. Alexander, and Douglas Klusmeyer. 2013. *From Migrants to Citizens Membership in a Changing World*. New York, NY: Brookings Institution Press.
- Ali, Syed, and Douglas Hartmann. 2015. *Migration, incorporation, and change in an interconnected world*. New York: Routledge.
- Amnesty International. 2014. *South Korea: End rampant abuse of migrant agricultural workers*. © Amnesty International 2014. <https://www.amnesty.nl/actueel/south-korea-end-rampant-abuse-of-migrant-agricultural-workers> Accessed on October 20th, 2017.
- AO grondwet*. Tweede Kamerfractie, Partij Voor De Vrijheid.
<https://pvv.nl/index.php/component/content/article.html?id=5516> Accessed on October 15, 2017.
- Arnold, Peri E. 2010. *National approaches to the administration of international migration*. Amsterdam: IOS Press.
- Bartolomeo, Anna Di, Sona Kalantaryan, Justyna Salamońska, and Philippe Fargues. 2017. *Migrant integration between homeland and host society. Volume 2, Volume 2*.
- Berry, John W. 1997. *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Bhattacharya, U., and P. Groznik. 2008. "Melting pot or salad bowl: Some evidence from U.S. investments abroad". *JOURNAL OF FINANCIAL MARKETS*. 11 (3).
- Böcker, A.G.M. 1994. *Op weg naar een beter bestaan: de ontwikkeling van de maatschappelijke positie van Turken in Nederland*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
- Böcker, Anita. 1998. *Regulation of migration: international experiences*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

- Boese, Martina, and Vince Marotta. 2017. *Critical Reflections on Migration, 'Race' and Multiculturalism: Australia in a Global Context*. Florence: Taylor and Francis.
- Bosman, Rie, Sietske Waslander, and J. L. Peschar. 2006. *Over kansen, competenties en cohesie: kanttekeningen bij dertig jaar onderwijssociologie*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Brassé, Paul, and Willem van Schelven. 1980. *Assimilatie van vooroorlogse immigranten: drie generaties Polen, Slovenen, Italianen in Heerlen*. 's-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij.
- Brug, Wouter van der. 2015. *The politicization of migration*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Bucerius, Sandra M., and Michael H. Tonry. 2014. *The Oxford handbook of ethnicity, crime, and immigration*.
- Buijs, F.J., and C. Nelissen. 1994. *Tussen continuïteit en verandering, Marokkanen in Nederland*. In: H. Vermeulen & R. Penninx (red.) *Het democratisch ongeduld. De emancipatie en integratie van zes doelgroepen van het minderhedenbeleid*.
- Caballero-Anthony, Mely, Toshihiro Menju, and Mely Caballero Anthony. 2015. *Asia on the move: regional migration and the role of civil society*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Caballero-Anthony, Mely, Toshihiro Menju, and Mely Caballero Anthony. 2015. *Asia on the move: regional migration and the role of civil society*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Castles, Stephen, and Mark J. Miller. 2010. *The age of migration: international population movements in the modern world*. Basingstoke [u.a.]: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Castles, Stephen. 1986. "The guest-worker in Western Europe: an obituary". *International Migration Review*.
- Castles, Stephen. 2015. *Social transformation and migration: national and local experiences in South Korea, Turkey, Mexico and Australia*.
- Catarci, Marco, and Massimiliano Fiorucci. 2016. *Intercultural education in the European context: theories, experiences, challenges*. Oxon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS). 2003. *Voorburg*

- Chamie, Joseph. 2006. *International migration and the global community: a forum of the report of the global commission on international migration*. New York, NY: Center for Migration Studies.
- Chan, Raymond K. H., Jens Zinn, and Lih-rong Wang. 2016. New life-courses, social risks and social policy in East Asia.
- Chang, Kyung-Sup. 2017. *South Korea in Transition: Politics and Culture of Citizenship*.
- Chiswick, Barry R., and Paul W. Miller. 2015. *Handbook of the economics of international migration*. Volume 1B, Volume 1B.
- Chorus, Jutta. "Uitgeproduceerd (Gerectificeerd)". NRC Handelsblad. February 5, 2005. <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2005/02/05/uitgeprocedeerd-gerectificeerd-3436437-a1122401> Accessed on October 30, 2017.
- Cohen, Robin. 1995. *The Cambridge survey of world migration*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Cox, Andrew. 1982. *Politics, policy and the European recession*. London: Macmillan.
- Dalton, Russell J. 2008. "Citizenship Norms and the Expansion of Political Participation". *Political Studies*. 56 (1): 76-98.
- D'Costa, Anthony P. 2015. *After-development dynamics South Korea's contemporary engagement with Asia*. discrim: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Den Bakker, Gert, Bas van den Elshout and Michiel Vergeer. 2009. "Werkloosheid Jaren dertig hoogste ooit". Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek (Statistics Netherlands). <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2009/12/werkloosheid-jaren-dertig-hoogste-ooit> Accessed on September 28, 2017.
- Deportatie: het is maar welke Van Dale je erop naslaat". Trouw. March 16, 2004. <https://www.trouw.nl/home/deportatie-het-is-maar-welke-van-dale-je-erop-naslaat~a80ca5b4/> Accessed on October 28, 2017.
- Drzemczewski, Andrew. 1995. *Le droit au respect de la vie privée et familiale, du domicile et de la correspondance: tel que le garantit l'article 8 de la Convention Européenne des Droits de l'Homme*. Strasbourg: Conseil de l'Europe.
- Dumberry, Patrick. 2007. *State succession to international responsibility*. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff.

- Durlauf, Steven N., and Lawrence E Blume. 2008. *The new Palgrave dictionary of economics*. New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Eijl, Corrie van. 2012. *Tussenland: illegaal in Nederland, 1945-2000*. Hilversum: Verloren.
- Eijl, Corrie van. 2012. *Tussenland: illegaal in Nederland, 1945-2000*. Hilversum: Verloren.
- Twist, Kees van. 1977. *Gastarbeid ongewenst: de gevestigde organisaties en buitenlandse arbeiders in Nederland*. Baarn: In den Toren.
- Ellemers, Jo, and R.E.F. Vaillant. 1985. *Indische Nederlanders en gerepatrieerden*. Muiderberg: Coutinho.
- Elteren, Mel C. M. 1986. *Staal en arbeid: een sociaal-historische studie naar industriële accommodatieprocessen onder arbeiders en het desbetreffend bedrijfsbeleid bij Hoogovens IJmuiden, 1924-1966*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Europaparlament: Resolutie tegen Nederland om ‘Polen-meldpunt’”. *Het Parool*. March 12, 2012. <https://www.parool.nl/binnenland/europarlement-resolutie-tegen-nederland-om-polen-meldpunt~a3224218/> Accessed on October 26, 2017.
- Faist, Thomas. 2007. *Dual citizenship in Europe from nationhood to societal integration*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate.
- Family life in an age of migration and mobility: global perspectives through the life course. 2016. Basingstoke Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fauri, Francesca. 2014. *The History of Migration in Europe: Perspectives from Economics, Politics and Sociology*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis.
- Foblets, Marie-Claire, Jogchum Vrielink, and Jaak Billiet. 2006. *Multiculturalisme ontleed: een staalkaart van onderzoek aan de K.U. Leuven*. Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven.
- Foner, Nancy. 2016. *New York and Amsterdam: immigration and the new urban landscape*. New York University Press.
- Fortuyn, Pim. 1997. *Tegen de islamisering van onze cultuur: Nederlandse identiteit als fundament*. Utrecht: Bruna.
- Fortuyn: grens dicht voor islamiet”. *De Volkskrant*. February 9, 2002. <https://www.volkskrant.nl/archief/fortuyn-grens-dicht-voor-islamiet~a622083/> Accessed on October 26.

- Frank, Rüdiger, and Charles Armstrong. 2011. *Korea 2011: politics, economy and society*. Leiden: Brill.
- Gastarbeiders uit Italië. Vijf Eeuwen Migratie.***
<http://www.vijfeeuwenmigratie.nl/term/gastarbeiders%20uit%20itali%C3%AB#60-inhetkort> Accessed on October 30, 2016.
- Gazzah, Miriam. 2008. *Rhythms and rhymes of life: music and identification processes of Dutch-Moroccan youth*. Leiden: ISIM.
- Geddes, Andrew, and Peter Scholten. 2016. *The politics of migration and immigration in Europe*. Los Angeles [etc.]: Sage.
- Geert Wilders*. Tweede Kamerfractie, Partij Voor De Vrijheid.
<https://www.pvv.nl/fracties/tweede-kamer/geert-wilders.html?view=fjrelated&layout=blog&id=2096> Accessed on October 15, 2017.
- Giesen, Peter. 2007. *Land van lafaards?: geschiedenis van de angst in Nederland*. Wormer: Inmerc.
- Ginsburg, Tom. 2012. *Legal reform in Korea*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Gold, Steven J., and Stephanie J. Nawyn. 2014. *Routledge international handbook of migration studies*. London: Routledge,
- Gouda, Frances. 2008. *Dutch culture overseas: colonial practice in the Netherlands Indies, 1900-1942*. Jakarta: Equinox Pub.
- Grant, Carl A., and Elisabeth Zwiier. 2014. *Intersectionality and urban education: identities, policies, spaces & power*. Charlotte, North Carolina: Information Age Publishing Inc.
- Gray, Kevin. 2013. *Korean Workers and Neoliberal Globalisation*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis.
- Griffin, Farah Jasmine. 1996. *Who Set You Flowin'?: the African-American Migration Narrative*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Guild, Elspeth, and Sandra Mantu. 2016. *Constructing and imagining labour migration: perspectives of control from five continents*. London: Routledge.
- Gundara, Jagdish S. 2007. *Interculturalism, education and inclusion*. Enschede: TPB.

- Gunther, Richard, Giacomo Sani, and Goldie Shabad. 1988. *Spain after Franco: the making of competitive party system*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Pr.
- Han, Gil-Soo 2016. *Nouveau-riche nationalism and multiculturalism in Korea: a media narrative analysis*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Hellema, Duco, Cees Wiebes, Gerardus Tobias Witte, and Murray Pearson. 2004. *The Netherlands and the oil crisis business as usual*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Hoerder, Dirk, and Leslie Page Moch. 1996. *European migrants global and local perspectives*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Homze, Edward L. 2016. *Foreign labor in nazi germany*. Princeton University Pres.
- Horst, Johannes J. van der. 2009. *Een bijzonder land: het grote verhaal van de vaderlandse geschiedenis*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
- Hugo, Graeme, and Soogil Young. 2008. *Labour Mobility in the Asia-Pacific Region: Dynamics, Issues and a New APEC Agenda*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Introduction of Employment Permit System. Employment Permit System. <https://www.eps.go.kr/ph/index.html> Accessed on October 10, 2017.
- Jackson, Ashley. 2008. *The British Empire and the Second World War*. London: Hambledon Continuum.
- Joppke, Christian. 1998. "Why liberal states accept unwanted immigration". *World Politics: a Quarterly Journal of International Relations*. 50 (2).
- Justino, Patricia, Tilman Brück, and Philip Verwimp. 2014. *A micro-level perspective on the dynamics of conflict, violence, and development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kalliola, Satu. 2014. *Evaluation as a tool for research, learning and making things better*.
- Kang Soodol, 1995, *On the Employment of Foreign Workers and its Management*, Korea Labor Institute
- Kaya, Ayhan. 2012. *Islam, migration and integration: the age of securitization*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Kim, Andrew Eungi. 2009. *Demography, Migration and Multiculturalism in South Korea*. The Asia-Pacific Journal, Vol. 6-2-09.
- Kim, Andrew Eungi. *Increasing ethnic diversity in Korea: multiculturalism as a reality, ideology and policy*. Korea University,
- Kim, Choong Soon. 2011. *Voices of foreign brides: the roots and development of multiculturalism in Korea*. Lanham, Md: AltaMira Press.
- Kim, Hyöng-nae. 2013. *State-centric to contested social governance in South Korea: shifting power*. London: Routledge.
- Kim, Jae Won. 2015. *Banks to offer customized services for foreign workers*. Korea Times, Economy.
http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/biz/2015/09/488_187262.html Accessed on October 19th, 2017.
- Kim, Junmo, and Yong-Soo Kwon. 2012. "Economic development, the evolution of foreign labor and immigration policy, and the shift to multiculturalism in South Korea". *Philippine Political Science Journal*. 33 (2).
- Kinukawa, Hisako. 2014. *Migration and Diaspora Exegetical Voices of Women in Northeast Asian Countries*. Atlanta: SBL Press.
- Kleiner, Jürgen. 2001. *Korea: a century of change*. River Edge, N.J.: World Scientific.
- Kondō, Kenji. 2017. *The economics of international immigration: environment, unemployment, the wage gap, and economic welfare*.
- Kong, Dongsung, Kiwoong Yoon, and Soyung Yu. 2010. "The Social Dimensions of Immigration in Korea". *Journal of Contemporary Asia*. 40 (2).
- Korean Studies, Volumes 31-33. University Press of Hawaii, 2007.
- Ku, Samuel C. Y., and Kristina Kironka. 2017. *Migration in East and Southeast Asia*. New Jersey: World Scientific.
- Langeweg, Serge. 2011. *Mijnbouw en arbeidsmarkt in Nederlands-Limburg: herkomst, werving, mobiliteit en binding van mijnwerkers tussen 1900 en 1965*. Hilversum: Verloren.
- Leal, David L., and Nestor P. Rodríguez. 2016. *Migration in an Era of Restriction and Recession: Sending and Receiving Nations in a Changing Global Environment*. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

- Lee, Seokwoo, and Hee Eun Lee. 2016. *The making of international law in Korea: from colony to Asian power*. Leiden: Brill Nijhoff.
- Leenders, Marij. 1993. *Ongenode gasten: van traditioneel asielrecht naar immigratiebeleid, 1815-1938*. Hilversum: Verloren.
- Liégeois, Jean-Pierre. 2008. *Roma in Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publ.
- Liempt, Ilse van. 2007. *Navigating borders inside perspectives on the process of human smuggling into the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Lim, Timothy C. 2008. "Will South Korea Follow the German Experience?: Democracy, the Migratory Process, and the Prospects for Permanent Immigration in Korea". *Korean Studies*.
- Macura, Miroslav, and D. A. Coleman. 1994. *International migration: regional processes and responses*. New York: United Nations.
- Main Economic Indicators - complete database*. Main Economic Indicators (database), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/data-00052-en> (Accessed on October 5). Copyright, 2016, OECD. Reprinted with permission.
- Mak, Geert, Jan Bank, and Gijsbert van Es. 2016. *Verleden van Nederland*. [Amsterdam]: Olympus.
- Martin, Philip. 2005. *Towards effective temporary worker programs: issues and challenges in industrial countries*. Geneva: ILO.
- Melser, Chantal, Jo Cruchten, and Leo Toor. 2004. "Waar zijn allochtone werknemers in dienst?" *Sociaal-Economische Trends*. (2).
- Meyers, E. 2016. *International immigration policy: a theoretical and comparative analysis*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Migrants' Trade Union, *이주노동자노동조합*. <http://www.mtu.or.kr> Accessed on October 26, 2017.
- Morano-Foadi, Sonia, and Micaela Malena. 2013. *Integration for Third-Country Nationals in the European Union: the Equality Challenge*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Pub.
- Moses, Jonathon Wayne. 2011. *Emigration and political development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Motley, John Lothrop. 2011. *History of the United Netherlands from the Death of William the Silent to the Twelve Year's Truce, 1585e-86a*. Hamburg: tredition
- Munck, Ronaldo. 2015. Globalisation and migration: new issues, new politics.
- Niekerk, M. 1994. Zorg en hoop: Surinamers in Nederland nu. In: H. Vermeulen & R. Penninx (Red.), *Het democratisch ongeduld: De emancipatie en integratie van zes doelgroepen van het minderhedenbeleid*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
- Nijkamp, Peter, Jacques Poot, and Jessie Bakens. 2015. The economics of cultural diversity.
- Noort, R.B.J.C. van, Otto Swertz, and Pieter Duimelaar. 2003. Allochtonen in Nederland OECD, and OCDE. 2004. Trends in International Migration 2003. OECD Publishing; Éditions OCDE.
- Ock,Hyunju. 2016, *Korea takes aim at illegal immigration*. The Korea Herald, April 4 2016. <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20160404000876> Accessed on October 22, 2017.
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. 2002. Migration and the labour market in Asia: recent trends and policies. Paris: OECD.
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. 2002. Migration and the labour market in Asia: recent trends and policies. Paris: OEC.
- Park, Young-bum. 2017. "South Korea Carefully Tests the Waters on Immigration, With a Focus on Temporary Workers". MPI: Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/south-korea-carefully-tests-waters-immigration-focus-temporary-workers> Accessed on September 27, 2017.
- Park, Young-bum. South Korea: Balancing Labor Demand with Strict Controls. (Washington, DC; Migration Information Source, December 2004). (<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/south-korea-balancing-labor-demand-strict-controls>) Accessed on October 6, 2017.
- Pauly, Robert J. 2016. *Islam in Europe: integration or marginalization?* London: Routledge.
- Pellikaan, H., Trappenburg, M., and Trappenburg, M.J. 2003. *Had het anders gekund? Over het Nederlandse integratiebeleid*. Boom.

- Persbericht: Jaarrapport integratie 2007. Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau. February 5, 2009.
[https://www.scp.nl/Publicaties/Alle_publicaties/Publicaties_2007/Jaarrapport Integratie_2007/Persbericht_Jaarrapport_integratie_2007](https://www.scp.nl/Publicaties/Alle_publicaties/Publicaties_2007/Jaarrapport_Integratie_2007/Persbericht_Jaarrapport_integratie_2007) Accessed on October 31, 2017.
- Pim Fortuyn vermoord. De Telegraaf. Nieuwsportaal. May 7th, 2002.
<http://krant.telegraaf.nl/krant/archief/20020507/teksten/bin.fortuyn.pim.man.verkiezingen.html> Accessed on October 30, 2017.
- Plewa, Piotr, and Laura Caroli. 2013. *Challenges and opportunities in migrant integration*. Brussels: FEPS.
- Pohlmann, Markus. 2013. Citizenship and migration in the era of globalization: the flow of migrants and the perception of citizenship in Asia and Europe. *Citizenship and Migration in the Era of Globalization*. Berlin: Springer.
- Products and Services for Foreigners*. Industrial Bank of Korea.
<http://eng.ibk.co.kr/lang/en/ps/forForeigners.jsp> Accessed on September 27, 2017.
- Recruiting immigrant workers. 2013. Paris: OECD.
<http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=1140119>.
- Reuschke, Darja, Monika Salzbrunn, Korinna Schönhärl, 2013. *The Economies of Urban Diversity: Ruhr Area and Istanbul*. Palgrave Macmillan Ltd.
- Ruhs, Martin. 2011. Who needs migrant workers?: labour shortages, immigration, and public policy. *Who Needs Migrant Workers?*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Pr.
- Ruiter, Dienneke de. 2008. *The Merry-go-round of disadvantage: educational policy and integration in segregated schools*. Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers.
- Schiek, Dagmar, Ulrike Liebert, and Hildegard Schneider. 2011. *European economic and social constitutionalism after the Treaty of Lisbon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schissler, Hanna, and Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal. 2005. *The nation, Europe, and the world: textbooks and curricula in transition*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Scholten, P.W.A. and Erik Snel. 2005. *Van gastarbeiders tot het multiculturele drama: integratie als hardnekkig beleidsprobleem. Moderniteit en Overheidsbeleid; hardnekkige beleidsproblemen en hun oorzaken*. Publisher: Coutinho, Bussum, Editors: Arentsen and Trommel.

- Schwekendiek, Daniel J. 2017. *South Korea: a socioeconomic overview from the past to present*.
- Seol, Dong-Hoon. 2012. "The citizenship of foreign workers in South Korea". *Citizenship Studies*. 16 (1).
- Seul, Donghoon. 1999. *Foreign Workers and the Korean Society*, Seoul National University Press.
- Sorensen, Clark W. 2013. *The journal of Korean studies*. Volume 18, number 1 (Spring 2013) Volume 18, number 1 (Spring 2013).
- Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoğlu. 2016. *Transnational trajectories in East Asia: nation, citizenship, and region*. New York: Routledge.
- State, Paul F. 2008. *A brief history of the Netherlands*. New York: Facts on File.
- Stevens, Rachel. 2016. *Immigration policy from 1970 to the present*. New York: Routledge
- Szczerbiak, Aleks. 2012. *Poland Within the European Union: New Awkward Partner or New Heart of Europe?* Hoboken: Taylor & Francis.
- Thanh Nien News. 2016. *3 Koreans arrested for scheme to smuggle Vietnamese into Busan: report*. February 25, 2016. <http://www.thanhniennews.com/society/3-koreans-arrested-for-scheme-to-smuggle-100-vietnamese-into-busan-report-59636.html> Accessed on October 20, 2017.
- Toro-Morn, Maura I., and Marixsa Alicea. 2004. *Migration and immigration: a global view*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press.
- Touwen, Jeroen. 2014. *Coordination in transition: The Netherlands and the world economy, 1950-2010*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2014-2015.
- Tsuda, Takeyuki. 2006. *Local citizenship in recent countries of immigration: Japan in comparative perspective*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Tubergen, Frank van. 2006. *Allochtonen in Nederland in internationaal perspectief*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam Univ. Press.

- Van Eijl, Corrie. 2009. "Migranten in Nederland, 1948-2000. Een kwantitatieve analyse van sekseverschillen". *Tijdschrift Voor Sociale En Economische Geschiedenis/ The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History*. 6 (2).
- Vasta, Ellie. 2006. *From ethnic minorities to ethnic majority policy: changing identities and the shift to assimilationism in the Netherlands*. [Oxford]: COMPAS.
- Verhaeren, Raphaël-Emmanuel. 1986. "The role of foreign workers in the seasonal fluctuations of the French economy". *International Migration Review*.
- Vossen, K.P.S.S. 2016. *The Power of Populism. Geert Wilders and the Party for Freedom in the Netherlands*. Oxford : Routledge/Taylor & Francis.
- Vossen, Koen. 2009. "Deel 1 - Wetenschappelijke artikels - Hoe populistisch zijn Geert Wilders en Rita Verdonk? Verschillen en overeenkomsten in optreden en discours van twee politici". *Res Publica*. 51 (4).
- Vreemdelingenarbeidswet 1934*. Vijf eeuwen migratie. December 7, 2009. Accessed on September 16, 2017.
<http://www.vijfeeuwenmigratie.nl/foto/vreemdelingenarbeidswet-1934>.
- Vreemdelingenarbeidswet, no. 257. Staatsblad van het koninkrijk der Nederlanden, 1934.
- Vreemdelingenwet, no. 39. Staatsblad van het koninkrijk der Nederlanden, 1849.
- Vreemdelingenwet, Staatsblad.
- Wendt, Alexander. 1999. *Social theory of international politics*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Wong, Tai-Chee. 2013. *Asian Cities, Migrant Labor and Contested Spaces*. Routledge.
- Wrench, John, Andrea Rea, and Nouria Ouali. 2002. *Migrants, ethnic minorities and the labour market: integration and exclusion in Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Yerden, Ibrahim. 2000. *Zorgen over zorg: traditie, verwantschapsrelaties, migratie en verzorging van Turkse ouderen in Nederland*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
- Yoo, Gilsang and Kyuyung Lee. 2002. *On the Employment Conditions of Foreign Workers and Future Policy Agenda*, Korea Labor Institute.

- Yoon, Min Sik. "Korea authorizes first migrant workers' union". *The Korea Herald*. August 20, 2015. <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20150820001130> Accessed on October 26, 2017.
- You, Soo-sun. "Migrant workers can't stay over 10 years". *The Korea Times*. September 21, 2017.
- Zanden, J. L. van. 1991. *Arbeid tijdens het handelskapitalisme: opkomst en neergang van de Hollandse economie, 1350-1850*. Bergen: Octavo.
- Zanden, J. L. van. 2015. *The economic history of the Netherlands 1914-1995: a small open economy in the 'long' twentieth century*. London: Routledge.
- Zhou, Min, and Susan Kim. 2006. "Community Forces, Social Capital, and Educational Achievement: The Case of Supplementary Education in the Chinese and Korean Immigrant Communities". *Harvard Educational Review*. 76 (1).
- Zhou, Min. 2017. *Contemporary Chinese diasporas*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Zong, Jie and Jeanne Batalova. *Korean immigrants in the USA* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, April 2016). <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/korean-immigrants-united-states> Accessed on October 6, 2017.