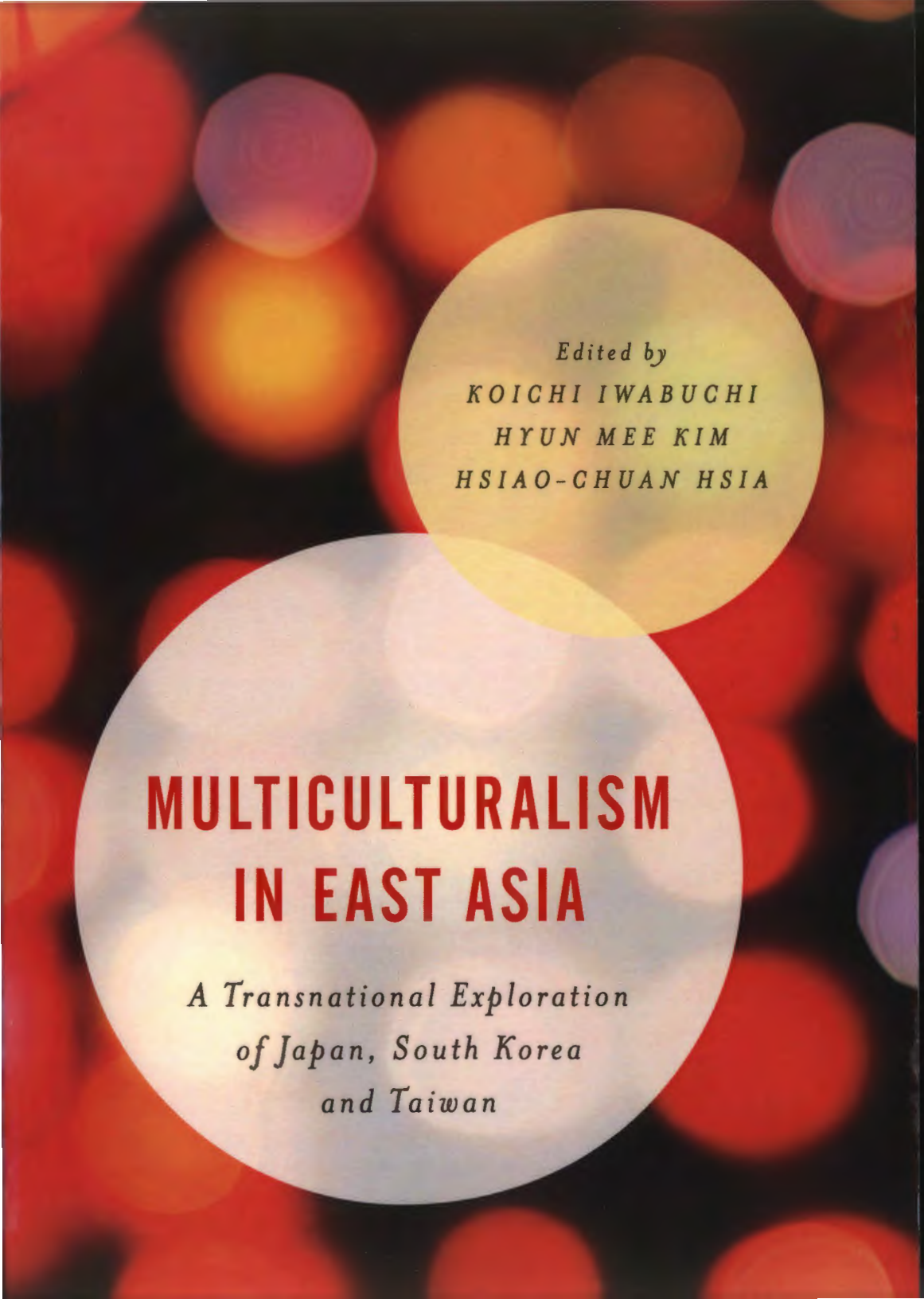
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KOICHI IWABUCHI
HYUN MEE KIM
HSIAO-CHUAN HSIA
MULTICULTURALISM
IN EAST ASIA
A Transnational Exploration
of Japan, South Korea
and Taiwan

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Chapter 1

Rethinking Multiculturalism from a Trans-East-Asian Perspective

Koichi Iwabuchi, Hyun Mee Kim and Hsiao-Chuan Hsia

The first decade of the twenty-first century has witnessed the profusion of multicultural policies and discourses in East Asian countries, including in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, which have been historically identified as more "ethnically homogenous" than most other countries in the world (Castles and Davision 2000). While these three countries have not yet developed a comprehensive, consistent policy on migration and multiculturalism, the increasing number of migrants they have accepted and the intensifying cultural diversity that accompanies have already posed vital social issues they are faced with in this new century. This edited volume examines the growing multicultural encounters, the accompanying policy discussions and racialized discourses on cultural diversity, as well as the processes of political and cultural negotiation that the marginalized newcomers and old-comers are drawn into. In addition to a problematic legacy of the Japanese imperial project, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan share an experience of inter-Asian migration in the process of ethno-cultural globalization since the late 1980s. In these three countries—in addition to their own indigenous or long-term racial and ethnic minorities—the number of foreign-national residents, migrants, and people of mixed heritage has risen notably in the last two to three decades. Although none of the governments welcomed migrants with open arms, the influx of laborers and international marriage migrants has been observed, primarily from China and Southeast Asia. More recently, due to the sharply declining birth rate and the rapidly aging population, with a strong push from domestic industrial sectors, governments in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan have begun to discuss under what conditions migrants should be accepted and what policies should be implemented. In this context, there has been a growing focus on increased multicultural interactions within their borders

and the impacts of cultural diversity on the fabric of their nations in the three countries.

This book adds to the emerging scholarly literature on multiculturalism in East Asia (e.g., Kymlicka and He 2005; Parreñas and Kim 2011; Eng, Collins & Yeoh 2013; Nagy 2014; Kim 2014) and takes a unique trans-East-Asian comparative and collaborative approach to examining emergent multicultural situations in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. In addition to contextualizing the situation in each of the countries represented, the contributors to this volume have been asked to consciously reference and compare domestic situations with other East Asian cases as well as to situate their cases in a wider, transnational context. Our intention was to add relevant voices from East Asia to our understanding of multiculturalism as a set of policies, discourses and practices that manage, negotiate with, and embrace growing human mobility and accompanied cultural diversity—a field that has developed primarily in Euro-American and Australian contexts. Our book also aims to denationalize the discussion of multiculturalism as a policy for managing cultural diversity within the nation-state. A trans-East-Asian perspective is significant as it elucidates the shared-ness and the "similarity-in-difference" when examining multicultural issues in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, as it endows us with fresh insights into the multicultural issues in a more transnationally informed sense. A full understanding of both the possibilities and limitations of multicultural policies, discourses, and practices as they have been addressed by national policy makers, local communities, NGOs, NPOs, civic organizations, and the migrant subjects themselves in the three societies will contribute to a renewed discussion of how one might advance a more multicultural future in domestic contexts as well as through transnational cooperation, dialogue, and mutual empowerment. In the following, we will offer our rationale for the consideration of trans-East-Asian multiculturalism by discussing in more detail the socio-historical backgrounds and the key issues that the three countries share.

CRISIS OF SOCIAL REPRODUCTION AND THE MIGRATION "BOOM"

We have been observing the growing impact of globalization and neoliberalism resulting in domestic and interregional migrations, which in turn has generated a wide range of changes that have deepened interdependency among and mobilities across nation-states in this new "age of migration" (Castles and Davidson 2000). East Asian countries are not exceptions to this trend, though they were latecomers in accepting migrants. Unlike the United States and European countries that encouraged family migration when faced

with labor shortages after the 1960s, the three nations of East Asia—Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan—managed to achieve rapid economic development relying on their own ample domestic labor and, thus, did not actively accept migrants. However, these nation-states have been facing a demographic crisis of considerable proportion since the 1980s due to low fertility rates, a rapidly aging population, and a decline in able-bodied workers. In 2013, the birth rates in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan were 1.39, 1.24, and 1.11 respectively. According to the United Nation's International Migration 2014, the percentage of the population over 65 years in Japan stood at 24.8%, South Korea at 12.3%, and Taiwan at 11.6%.[1] In Japan, the number of foreign-national residents (except short-time visitors) as of 2015 was 2,232,189 according to the Japanese Ministry of Justice, which is nearly 1.8% of the total registered population.[2] In South Korea, at the end of 2014, there were 1,797,618 foreign residents, who accounted for 3.1% of the total registered population of 51,141,463. That means that 1 out of 32 persons is a foreign resident.[3] In Taiwan, as of February 2016, the number of foreign-national residents was 642,991 (excluding those who were married to Taiwanese nationals and who entered with temporary visas)[4] and the population of non-Taiwanese married to Taiwanese nationals (including those who are already naturalized) was 511,623, which is 4.9% of the total registered population.[5] Of these foreign residents, 53.0%, 55.3%, and 71.73% were female in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, respectively. All the three countries sought to tackle these demographic changes to secure workforces through interventions in marriage and family structures, but were faced with challenges. This was mainly due to the significant increase in the tuition fees with the marketization of education and the lack of welfare benefits to support care for children and the elderly population, which have brought substantial financial burdens on families, and hence have thwarted the expectations for a better quality of life through having a family.

All three countries eventually turned to recruiting temporary labor from abroad to supplement their labor force since the late 1980s, when they faced serious labor shortages—particularly in the low-paying and low-technology jobs. Japan was the first to adopt such policy measures, the Industrial Training System, in 1990. Taiwan followed in 1992 with its Employment Services Act, and South Korea followed soon after with the Industrial Trainee Program in 1993. The three programs bore similarities; unless they were skilled migrants, most foreigners were admitted as workers only who, upon completion of their employment contracts, were forbidden from remaining and settling in the country and seeking permanent residency or naturalization. These restrictions have much to do with the three countries preserving *jus sanguinis* citizenship, which accords citizenship on the basis of a blood relationship with the dominant ethnic group in each nation-state, conventionally determined by the male

line of kinship. Furthermore, the "guest" workers were not allowed to bring close family members (e.g., spouses or children) with them during their period of legal sojourn. Thus, from the start, these countries introduced an explicit system to control the number of temporary migrants within their borders.

Because of historical ties with their expatriate populations, Japan and South Korea gave preference to people with the same "ethnic" root when recruiting migrants—a system we can term "co-ethnic" migration. Thus, Japan turned first to the "Nikkeijin"—its out-migrants resident in Brazil, Peru, and other Central and South American countries, encouraging "return migration" under specific conditions in the 1990s. Differentiating these Nikkei from other migrants, the government issued a special visa that allowed them to stay in Japan for a long term, eventually permanently. South Korea, upon adoption of its Employment Permit System (EPS) in 2003 to replace the much abused and maligned "guest worker" system, began to accept workers from 15 Asian nations to work in small- and medium-scale labor-intensive industries. However, much like Japan, rather than opening the doors to all Asian citizens equally, they adopted rules that were skewed toward their own "co-ethnic" populations from Northeast China (called "Chosôn-jok" in Korean) and from Central Asia (the "Koryô-in"), which gave particular advantages through what they called the "work and visit system." On the other hand, due to political reasons, despite requests from many employers who would prefer to hire migrants from the same linguistic and cultural background, Taiwanese policy has strictly forbidden the entry of Chinese migrants from the People's Republic of China (PRC). PRC workers are permitted to work only as crewmen and not allowed to set "foot" on Taiwan's land (Tseng 2004). Taiwan looked instead to migrants from Southeast Asian countries, including Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, and Vietnam, for human resources.

Another important point that the three nations have in common is the feminization of migration. While migrants used to be predominantly male from less developed countries in Asia to supplement the domestic labor force, the most prominent feature of the new age of migration in East Asia is the drastic rise of female migrants from Asian countries for international marriage, working in the caring professions and light industry. The number of Asian female migrants crossing national boundaries to marry, to work as domestic helpers and nurses, and to perform service labor has increased dramatically since the late 1980s (Parreñas 2001; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Piper and Roces 2003; Hsia 2004; Constable, ed. 2005; Suzuki 2005). Reproductive and caring labor, which used to be confined to the private and domestic sphere, has increasingly become a marketable commodity with concrete exchange value on the trans-Asian market. This is due not only to the widening of the economic gaps within Asia, which has activated intra-Asian

migration in parallel to that from Asia to the West, but also to the crisis of social reproduction experienced in these three East Asian countries.

Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan share the welfare state regime—characterized as predominantly *productivist* developmental state under the influence of Confucianism (Holliday 2000). That is, caring for frail family members including young children and elders is considered to be a family responsibility, typically women's, rather than a social issue to be dealt with by the state. While it is becoming increasingly difficult for women in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan to stay at home to carry out these care duties within the family, as the rate of female employment and the size of the aging population increase, many married women look for substitutes when they are unable or unwilling to perform these duties. The lack of public intervention has thus turned the rising need for care work into a profitable market niche. Migrant women from less developed countries are therefore recruited to provide reproductive labor for the "maintenance" and "renewal" of productive labor (Burawoy 1976) in these countries, including migrant domestic workers and marriage migrants. This reproduction crisis has resulted in "the restructuring of reproduction," in which women from less developed countries migrate to perform reproductive labor for the more developed countries—that is, in the reverse direction to the restructuring of production (Hsia 2015).

It may seem contradictory that, while implementing policies to prevent the permanent settlement of migrants in their countries, a rapid increase in the number of female marriage migrants has been encouraged in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. However, one must understand that deep social changes in the gendered division of labor, which drove this phenomenon of gendered labor migration, had already become prominent in the three countries as early as the early 1980s. A classically patriarchal family structure—where men bear the responsibility for being the family breadwinners while women are homemakers/home-managers—worked to support rapid economic development when jobs were plentiful. However, the position of the male breadwinner became more tenuous as more women began to receive higher levels of education and entered the labor market. The number of lower class men who were no longer able to share in the economic growth and became increasingly disadvantaged in the marriage market rose in both urban and rural areas, while the number of women who could reject marriage as the "natural" life choice grew. Recent studies emphasize this growing devaluation of low-class men on the marriage market from the 1990s onwards, particularly those from rural farming-fishing villages (Lee 2010, 2013; Yen-Fen Tsen 2010).

In Japan, the men who take over farmland from their aged parents have primarily become the domestic partners of international marriages. Of all marriages, 0.4% were international in 1965, 0.93% by 1980, which had jumped to 5.77% by 2005 (Liaw et al. 2010: 53). The rate of international

marriages peaked in 2006 at 6.11% of all marriages (40,000 couples) and seems to have stabilized at about 20,000 couples per year. The number of international marriages in 2014 represented 3.3% of the total of all marriages in Japan;[6] 1 in 30 marriages is between a Japanese national and a foreigner. In Japan's case, the difficult work, the maintenance of tradition, and the rural-to-urban migration of young women all contributed to the severity of the problem of unmarried men in the farming villages, especially in the north-eastern provinces. In the 1980s, 56% of the non-Japanese wives were of Korean extraction, but since the 1990s this expanded to include Chinese, Filipina, and Thai women. The Japanese national government lacks any central policy, and all of the "multicultural"-related services have been dealt with by local governments, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Of the three Asian countries, Taiwan has been experiencing the most rapid increase in international marriages, with typically the farmers and men in unskilled manufacturing partnering foreign brides. Beginning in the mid-1980s, and growing rapidly in the 1990s, by 2002, one in every four new marriages in Taiwan was between a domestic citizen and a foreigner, although the percentage decreased after 2003 and has hovered between 15% and 20% of all marriages registered annually. In 2014, 12.3% of all newly wed couples were Taiwanese nationals and foreign spouses, among whom 77.5% were female foreign spouses. The vast majority of foreign spouses are women from Mainland China and Southeast Asian countries, including Vietnam, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Cambodia. As of 2015, over 510,000 women had moved to Taiwan through marriage migration.

Following these two countries, South Korea also began to actively recruit foreign brides for farmers and urban working-class men who occupied disadvantaged positions in the domestic marriage market. The term "multicultural family" sprang up in South Korea to describe such cross-border marriages in a context where such foreign women were seen as participants in a national project to sustain the reproduction of Korean families as building blocks of the nation and to compensate for the country's declining population (Kim 2011). As of the end of the year 2013, 73.9% of international brides came from just three countries: China (33.1%), Vietnam (31.5%), and the Philippines (9.2%). Of the 235,942 female marriage migrants, 86,178 (about 30%) have been granted Korean citizenship (Korea Bureau of Statistics 2014).

In Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, with a strong sense of "ethnic homogeneity," the mounting birth rate of children of mixed heritage as well as the increase of migrants has begun to cause some concern, as it not only seriously challenges the traditional view of "ethnic homogeneity" but also of ethnicity-based citizenship. The next section will discuss this key issue shared among the three countries in detail to provide a renewed perspective to the discussion of multiculturalism.

BEYOND A MONO-ETHNIC NOTION OF CITIZENSHIP

The notion of multiculturalism carries with it a specific historical context. With heightened globalization, the traditional notion that associates citizenship with a single nation-state—a space imagined to be culturally and morally homogenous—has increasingly come under attack. Several scholars claim that national citizenship has lost its importance in the present era of globalization because the exclusionary practices of citizenship are ill-equipped to deal with an age of large-scale, heterogeneous migratory movements. The concept of post-national citizenship has thus been proposed in the hopes that international human rights law would "provide a tool for sculpting a more inclusionary model of citizenship" (Lister 1997: 60).

However, since this proposal is primarily based on the studies of guest workers in Europe, critics have argued that the European experience cannot be easily generalized into a widespread shift toward post-national citizenship (e.g., Joppke 1998; Parreñas 2001; Piper and Roces 2003). It has been pointed out that despite the proliferation of international conventions and human rights instruments, national citizenship, to a large extent, still determines the rights that different categories of migrants are able to exercise (Kofman et al. 2000; Castles and Davidson 2000; Ghai 1999). Moreover, while many guest workers may increasingly enjoy social and civic rights, they often do not possess political rights. Without formal rights to vote or stand for office, immigrants can take little part in the formulation and implementation of policies that may impact, positively or negatively, on their social entitlements and civil liberties.

Multicultural citizenship is an alternative proposed by scholars who recognize both the importance and limits of political citizenship, and is based on the idea that the nation-state incorporates a degree of plurality that allows migrants to retain their cultural identities, provided they conform to political norms. This pluralism does not negate the existence of a dominant culture but recognizes the coexistence of multiple cultures. Kymlicka (1995: 5, 2001) advances a theory of minority rights in the political context of multiculturalism: "A comprehensive theory of justice in a multicultural state will include both universal rights, assigned to individuals regardless of their group membership, and certain group-differentiated rights or 'special status' for minority cultures," because all countries have a "societal culture" that places minority groups in a position of cultural inequality vis-à-vis the majority. This argument assumes the existence of clearly bounded ethnic groups and does not give much consideration to the dynamic processes of dialogic interaction and ethno-cultural commingling. Nevertheless, it may have some relevance to societies like Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, where the cultural rights of ethnic minorities have not been sufficiently recognized and secured, though

how the notion of multicultural citizenship is to be defined and adapted in East Asian contexts remains a challenging question.

In East Asia, citizenship itself continues to be identified with the ethnicized concept of the "nation," and thus, the existence of migrants, returnees, or children of mixed heritage deserves critical attention. It is relevant to larger general issues surrounding the legal rights of citizens and the conditions of belonging as well as the conditions of citizenship in these countries. With the rise in the number of migrants in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, more attention has been paid to multicultural policies and discourses. Although the Japanese government has not addressed multicultural policy at a national level, services based upon the notion of "multicultural co-living" (*tabunka-kyōsei*) have been initiated in local communities in Japan since the early 1990s and the government furthered this localized dealing with "foreign residents" in 2006. In the same year, the South Korean government abruptly announced that the nation was in a state of "transition to a multicultural, multi-ethnic society." Translating words into deeds, the government funded and implemented a variety of programs to help migrant women settle in South Korea and established over 200 support centers across the country for these so-called "multicultural families." In the case of Taiwan, in part to distinguish itself from the PRC, in 1997, the constitutional amendment declared that the state recognizes Taiwan being a nation of multi-cultures and should protect cultures of the indigenous peoples. In 2003, the Taiwanese government implemented a multicultural policy to integrate the rapidly growing number of international marriage migrants (Hsia 2013). At the same time, this emergence of a "multiculturalism" discourse in these three countries has prompted new forms of governance to manage the "differences" of ethnic minorities, migrants, and people of mixed ethnic backgrounds. South Korea and Taiwan's policy programs of multicultural accommodation were implemented in a state-led, top-down fashion and without much consultation with the persons directly affected, while there has not been any substantial policy initiative taken by the Japanese government. In such a situation, migrants and people of mixed heritage continue to need to struggle for the procedural rights to acquire citizenship in a full sense. This demonstrates that, while the concept of multicultural citizenship has been and can be co-opted for ethicised governance of multicultural situations, it remains part of the political field in which the discourses of governing and empowering immigrants are constantly contested. In this sense, multicultural citizenship still offers a possibility to be empowering and liberating in East Asian countries, where the concept of citizenship has been equalized with nationality based on blood ties to the dominant ethnic groups.

The ethnic "others" and supporting NGOs/NPOs and citizens' groups have been playing a significant role in advancing multicultural citizenship by

contesting discriminatory actions and in campaigning for civil rights in all three countries. In Japan, until the 1980s, the resident "non-citizens" were largely made up of Koreans and Chinese whose families had been brought there, many forcibly, during Japan's colonial expansion prior to 1945. These "foreigners" were subject to strict exclusion, discrimination, and control. Beginning in the 1970s, the "Zainichi" (as the Korean residents in Japan are called) began a number of civil rights actions against the oppression that they were faced with. They protested hiring barriers on the basis of their ethnicity and campaigned against the discriminatory fingerprinting they were forced to undergo. In the 1980s, they campaigned against the lack of suffrage at the national and local levels of government. These civil rights actions paved the way for the arrival of the "co-ethnic" Nikkeijin workers from South America in the 1980s. By the time migrants from Southeast Asia began to arrive in Japan in the 2000s, rights to work, education, and welfare had largely been settled to the benefit of the newcomers.

The labor and cultural rights of migrants to South Korea were also gained through the efforts made by the first groups that arrived. From 2003 to 2004, migrant workers went on strike for 380 days in Myeongdong Cathedral, the main cathedral in Seoul that held a prominent place for South Korean's own struggle for democracy. The strike had two objectives: first, to bring to the attention of ordinary Korean citizens the often violent government policies of immigration crackdowns and deportations, and second, to raise opposition to the newly announced EPS. South Korean media activists also joined the strike, along with members of labor unions and unions in support of migrants. In December 2004, Migrant Worker TV (MWTV) was established. Unlike the cases of many other TV programs featuring the lives of migrants, the migrant workers at MWTV actively participated in the gathering, production, and dissemination of migrant-related news along with supporting a network of activists.

Similarly, in Taiwan, activism and social movements have played a crucial role in the making of multicultural citizenship. The state recognition of the existence of multi-cultures in the 1997 amendment of the Constitution is the result of the continuous campaigns for the rights of the indigenous peoples. Since marriage migrants have become increasingly visible in Taiwan, they have also turned into important actors in the construction of a multicultural Taiwan, through their involvement in several protests organized against unfair treatment by various central governmental agencies. On September 9, 2007, hundreds of immigrant women from Southeast Asia and Mainland China joined in a rally protesting against the financial requirements for applying for citizenship. This rally drew much media attention because it was the first time in Taiwan's history that hundreds of marriage migrants from all over Taiwan came together to hold a street demonstration. Several immigration

policies have been changed, thanks to the continuous campaigns led by marriage migrants.

As Hsia (this volume) suggests, the notion of "multicultural citizenship" is useful and significant as an effective framing strategy to make the historically constituted exclusionary model of citizenship more inclusive in East Asian contexts. The idea of multicultural citizenship—though not necessarily pronounced as a goal—can be understood in the contexts of Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan as the collective actions and collaboration taken by migrants, ethnically marginalized people, and people who support them, to advance campaigns for the reform of policies and laws regarding immigration and cultural rights. However, while acknowledging its significance in facilitating such grassroots collective aspiration and practices beyond the idea of mono-ethnic citizenship in these three countries, we also need to attend to the limitations that the notion of multicultural citizenship has in advancing the fundamental transformations in society for better recognizing and dealing with multicultural realities. Particularly challenging but imperative is the advancement of national policies and society-wide learning processes that aim to caringly accept growing cultural diversity and to positively foster the idea and practice of living together in diversity. In addition to recognizing the significant achievement of grassroots practices in engaging the growing multicultural situations in East Asia, we need to consider the uneven but dynamic interactions between policy responses to administer people's inflows and accompanying cultural diversity, the extent to which grassroots collective actions succeed in challenging the exclusive notions of the nation and citizenship, and the ways in which self-empowering practices by diverse subjects in society foster cultural diversity.

STRUCTURE OF SECTIONS AND CHAPTERS

The chapters in this volume will examine these issues of multiculturalism in East Asia based on four key themes: (1) policy responses and their challenges or limitations when faced with multicultural issues; (2) the renewed generation of racialized discourses; (3) multicultural subject-makings; and finally, (4) implications for the social recognition and the empowerment of long-standing ethnic minorities.

The first section focuses on the policy responses to the growing multicultural milieu in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan and its problems. Due to the increase in labor and marriage migration since the late 1980s, the governments of Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan began developing multicultural laws and policies. Examined together, the cases show both similarities and differences, posing the intriguing question of how to best engage with multiculturalism in

those societies that have yet to develop comprehensive multicultural policies and related immigration strategies at the national level.

Wang's chapter shows that Taiwan began dealing with cultural diversity as early as the mid-1990s during its democratization phase, in response to campaigns for the cultural rights of the aboriginals and the immigrants from Mainland China several centuries ago, including the Holo- and Hakka-speaking peoples. This culminated in an amendment to the Constitution and the implementation of related policies. Taiwan was later further challenged by the rapid influx of marriage migrants from both Mainland China and the countries of Southeast Asia.

While Taiwan's response to multiculturalism was marked by gradualism and continuous policy revisions to respond to the changing demographic climate, the response from the South Korean government was more rapid and sudden. Under the Noh government, as Ahn's chapter illustrates, the multicultural law was implemented in 2006 with the abrupt announcement that South Korea was henceforth a "multicultural society." Japan has been the slowest and most reluctant to deal with its multicultural population: Iwabuchi suggests that national policy is yet to be implemented, and instead, multicultural co-living policy initiatives have been taken to support local actors in dealing with multicultural situations without allowing them to rise to the level of a national concern.

These three chapters also show varying ways in which NGOs/NPOs and citizen groups have been intervening in policy decision-making and have been incorporated within the dominant political structures. Taiwan's successful implementation of multicultural policies is, to some extent, an achievement that should be credited to NGOs' and citizen groups' activism, but these policies remain subject to co-optation by governmental agencies when multicultural situations arise (see also Hsia 2013). In South Korea, the government's rapid administrative actions appear to be progressive, but they eventually served to short-circuit and marginalize more progressive activities and views for tackling multicultural issues advanced by local NGOs and citizen groups. In Japan, NGOs/NPOs and the local government remain key players due to the absence of a cohesive national policy, but their activities are low-key and confined to particular local settings.

There are also commonalities to be noted, one of which is the above-mentioned feminized marriage migrant trend. Taiwanese and South Korea multicultural policies tend to focus on the treatment of female migrants in a patriarchal fashion, which excludes male labor and marriage migrants, while the absence of national policy in Japan has not exhibited the same tendencies at the level of policy. Another point that they share is their inability to overcome the traditional ways in which the nation-state is imagined and represented. Assurance of cultural rights, including the right to express one's ethnic

solidarity without challenging the legitimacy of the nation-state, to be listened to, and to be recognized on an equal basis with the dominant ethnic groups, has always been the most difficult challenge for multicultural policy. This is because it requires a fundamental change in the way the nation's identity is conceived and communicated through such essential and taken-for-granted processes as education, media representations, and everyday practices. The cases of these three countries reveal the challenges involved in contesting the long-held ethno-racially exclusive construction of the nation and the extent to which these conceptions are embedded in administrative practice and social discourse. In addition to the need for further development of policies promoting multiculturalism, a deeper challenge is with failing to deal "head on" with the multicultural question itself (Hall 2001), which concerns the fostering of egalitarian respect for diversity as a constitutive part of national citizenship. All three countries are faced with the challenges of redefining social membership at the national level in a more open and equal manner.

In relation to this point, the second section endeavors how the rise of multicultural policies and discourses has been generated and developed hand in hand with the notions of "race." Interestingly, the rise of social discourse and related policy in response to growing multicultural situations has been observed in East Asia when the "death" of multiculturalism has been discussed in the West over the past decade. With the rise of right-wing parties in Europe, particularly since 2008 with the global recession, many nation-states around the world began to tighten their immigration policies. This shift in immigration policies was largely unsuccessful and instead only stirred up anti-immigration sentiments among the countries' long-term residents (Castles et al. 2014: 3). A similar trend of racialization of migrants has been detected in East Asia; the chapters by Kawai, Jung, and Liao consider how these processes are closely related to historically constructed narratives of the nation as well as recent attempts to reclaim national identity in an exclusivist, purist fashion against the background of growing antagonism against "foreigners" and "migrants." These chapters share a common line of critically addressing the intersections of nationalism and racism as well as the social constructions of national identity in respective historical contexts. Kawai critically examines whether and how the socially constructed image of the "Other" is reflected on Japanese students' perceptions, whereas Jung focuses on "otherness" in media representations in South Korea, and Liao critically traces othering in Taiwanese migration policies. With strong nationalistic aspirations and discourses of ethnic superiority, the emergence and presence of the "ethnic other" poses a challenging dilemma to many people in redefining their identities. A person's identity can be defined only in reference to, or as different from, various others such as migrants, foreigners, and people of mixed descents. The dichotomy of Japanese and non-Japanese, Korean and

member of multicultural family, and Taiwanese and Aborigines, or migrants, are mutually defined. This dichotomized way of understanding "us" and "them" is realizable when the difference is translated into a binary between "superiority" and "inferiority" in terms of blood, descent, gender, race, class, and ethnicity. The emergence of racism is an ongoing process and also the outcome of distorted assertions of their own primordial (based on blood and ethnicity) but contemporary global identities based on the economic success of these nations on a global scale. The authors in this section endeavor to interpret how Asian nationalism (within each of the three countries) and racism are interlocking, drawing their attention to ways in which nation-building and assertion of their global ascendance and economic prosperity or downfall have been uniquely intertwined, or to ways in which "other" Asian people (as the colonized, the migrants, or the laborers) have been constantly positioned/repositioned in the framework and notions of "proper" Japanese/Korean/Taiwanese citizens.

The third section investigates the construction of multicultural subjectivity. Compared to other groups in the foreign population, marriage migrants pose the greatest challenges to the traditionally exclusionary models of citizenship, since transnational marriages involving citizens from different nation-states and their children represent living challenges to the boundaries of nation-states. As Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan have received a significant number of marriage migrants with their children growing up and becoming increasingly visible in society, those who signal "multiculturalism" in a given locale are receiving more attention. While this process of recognizing the multicultural "fact" sometimes results in tokenism and stereotyping, it also encourages the multicultural subjects themselves to feel the desire to actively express their own right to individuality and difference as citizens of the nation-state. The three chapters in this section analyze the ambivalent negotiations of the discourses of the dominant ethnic group when faced with the multicultural transformations of the nation-state, the NGOs' support of the recognition of multicultural possibilities within a given society, and the self-empowering practices of people of mixed heritage.

Kim as well as Horiguchi and Imoto examine how people of mixed race have been constructed as "problems" in society. Kim focuses upon the changing status of the children of marriage migrants in the South Korean military, an exclusively male social institution founded on the principle of Korean ethnic purity, and illustrates how these children labeled "multicultural soldiers" were banned from conscription for doubts about their combat capabilities, allegiance, and loyalty. The military was pushed to amend its policy, and the "multicultural soldiers" began to serve in 2011, and yet, the children of marriage migrants remain under special screening because they are seen as potentially dangerous citizens who cannot acquire full membership in Korean society.

Similarly, Horiguchi and Imoto's chapter shows how racial mixing has historically been a site of stigmatization in modern Japan. In particular, the boundaries of the Japanese race were heavily debated as Japan's colonies expanded in the war period. Proponents of mixed-race marriages argued that the colonized groups would be eradicated through promoting mixed marriages, while opponents feared that the purity of "superior" Japanese "blood" would be degraded through mixing with the "inferior" groups.

In recent years, the images of mixed race have become more "positive," partly because people of mixed race have been constructed as "useful" in the increasingly globalized world. "Multicultural soldiers" have been dispatched overseas to demonstrate Korea's "multicultural capacity" and seen as contributors of Korean military's transnational efforts. The Japanese popular culture industry has valued mixed-race *hafu* celebrities with images of good looks, exoticism, and cosmopolitanism. While these seemingly positive images of mixed race have developed, thanks to their "contribution" to the state and the market, rather than their full membership in society, activist movements of the marriage migrants, youth of mixed heritage and NGO supporters have also significantly helped transform and transgress their symbolic images. Horiguchi and Imoto illustrate how the parents of mixed-race children and the youth of mixed heritage themselves have actively challenged the popularized images of mixed race and become claims-makers of their own subjectivity, for example, by the parents advocating the use of new terms, such as *kokusai-ji* (literally "international children") and *daburu* ("double"), bringing together shared but rarely spoken conflicts of identities.

Social movements, particularly from the grassroots level, have been crucial to the making of the migrants' multicultural subjectivity. Hsia's chapter focuses on analyzing how marriage migrants in Taiwan actively involved in the movement for acquiring the rights and welfare of immigrants and migrants have gradually developed their identities as multiculturalistic subjects, who endeavor to put the ideal of multiculturalism into praxis by being reflexive of their own attendes and behaviors towards other nationalities and ethnicities. Many debates have emerged around the issue of how the host society should deal with the influx of im/migrants of diverse cultural backgrounds. Hsia argues that a problematic implication of such debates is that only the citizens of the host country have to learn to be multiculturalistic, whereas the im/migrants automatically embrace multiculturalism. Hsia's chapter reveals that marriage migrants also have prejudices against other ethnicities and nationalities, and illustrates that it is in the process of their involvement in the social movements that their identities have broadened to become multiculturalistic subjects.

The emergent discussions on multicultural policy to deal with cultural diversity tend to focus on recent migrants and often disregard the existence of other long-standing ethnic minorities in the nation-state. However, the rise

of multiculturalism policy has been significantly impacted by the past events concerning historically significant minorities in terms of social (non)recognition, renewed marginalization, and self-empowering strategies. The last section considers these long-standing ethnic minorities by examining the cases of the indigenous Taiwanese in Taiwan, the Chinese-Korean (*Hwagyo*) community that predates any recent migrations, and the Korean residents in Japan (*Zainichi*), whose presence can be traced back to the pre-1945 colonial period.

First of all, the very existence of the long-standing ethnic minorities debunks the myth that these three countries were mono-ethnic and have only recently become multicultural because of the influx of (new) migrants. Secondly, the activism of these long-standing ethnic minorities has significantly contributed to the current discourse of multiculturalism in these countries. Kuan's chapter illustrates how the social movement for indigenous peoples starting in the 1980s has propelled the Taiwan government to institutionalize multicultural policies, and Kawabata argues that the discourse and practice of *tabunka kyōsei* (multicultural co-living) has been embraced through grassroots activities by *Zainichi* Koreans since the 1970s.

Thirdly, by examining the conditions of the long-standing ethnic minorities, the three chapters demonstrate the "cosmetic" nature of current official multicultural policies; the policies legitimate the political regimes and adjust to globalization, and whether they reflect a genuine intention to respect and appreciate differences may be contested. For example, Kuan shows how the multiculturalistic discourse in Taiwan oversimplified indigenous cultures as static in status and overlooked the historical injustice against them, notably the case of land grabbing. Without facing the injustice in the past, the current multicultural discourse that may seem popular on surface may ironically generate backlash against the ethnic minorities. In the Korean case, Shin illustrates how in the past the *Hwagyo* was perceived as the sole "non-Korean" group in the name of nationalism, which led to hardships due to many regulations on property and business as well as displacement in the name of inner-city redevelopment. Korean society remained silent when the *Hwagyo* faced these hardships, but they have started speaking out loudly about *Hwagyo* owning real estate in the face of the rising power of China, leading to aggression on *Hwagyo*. As Kawabata suggests, the neo-nationalists will continue to attack the ethnic minority via discourse of "youth frustration," if the economic depression persists for an extended period.

Lastly, all three chapters in the last section demonstrate that ethnic cultures and identities are not fixed but fluctuate over time because of the changing local, national, regional, and international social-economic and political contexts. As Shin argues, multicultural polices need to overcome the essentialist notion of ethno-national cultures. Moreover, notwithstanding their limitations, it is not productive to oversimplify multicultural policies as mere tokenism.

Kuan shows how the institutionalization of multiculturalism has led to redistribution of governmental resources, which underpins the de-stigmatization and revitalization of indigenous cultures in many aspects. To reimagine what is "multicultural" in a substantial sense, as Kawabata and Kuan suggest, civil groups, particularly the ethnic minorities themselves, need to actively participate in the discourse of multiculturalism, by constantly challenging and altering official multicultural policies as well as problematizing rigidly demarcated "ethnic" boundaries, especially those between "newcomers" and "old-comers."

Joined together, all chapters in this volume elucidate the commonalities and differences regarding some of the key issues around growing multicultural situations and ethnic diversity in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. The issues in a trans-East-Asian scope beyond a nation-centric view refresh and deepen our understanding of cultural politics of inclusion and exclusion as well as the possibilities and difficulties to transform the societies by fostering the praxis of living together in diversity. We hope that the fruits of this transnational collaboration demonstrated in this book prompt social scientists and policy makers to recognize the necessity to develop cross-border collaborations to tackle the transnationally shared issues that were previously contained within national borders.

NOTES

1. http://esa.un.org/unmigration/documents/WallChart2013.pdf
2. http://www.moj.go.jp/nyuukokukanri/kouhou/nyuukokukanri04_00057.html
3. http://www.index.go.kr
4. http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/stat/month/m6-05.xls
5. https://www.immigration.gov.tw/public/Attachment/632811431580.xlsx
6. http://www.e-stat.go.jp/SG1/estat/List.do?lid=000001137969

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