

■ Article ■

Cultural Diversity and Cultural Co-existence between Asian Immigrants and the Natives in Korea*

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Abstract

Through in-depth interviews with 22 marriage migrant women from China, Philippines, Vietnam, and Cambodia and 11 interviews with multicultural experts, the study examines how the participants view cultural differences, similarities, issues for potential conflicts, and ways for cultural co-existence. Moreover, the study examined grounds for social distance from the multicultural experts to understand social distance native Koreans feel toward marriage migrant women. The study found that both marriage migrant women and multicultural experts have similar perceptions on cultural differences, similarities, potential for conflicts, and solutions for cultural co-existence. As for grounds for social distance, the findings indicate that multicultural experts have close social distance when it comes to marriage migrant women becoming citizens, neighbors and friends, however, far social distance when they become colleagues. Implications of the findings as well as suggestions for cultural co-existences are discussed.

■ **Keywords** : cultural diversity, cultural co-existence, marriage migrant women, social distance, immigration country, multiculturalism

Introduction

230 million people, accounting for 3.1 percent of the world's total population, are immigrating to another country today. Immigrants are leaving their own country for a new opportunity in a more prosperous

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country and such a social phenomenon is raising new issues of cultural diversity and existence. Thus far, depending on a society, cultural homogeneity was considered a social norm, disregarding cultural and identity diversity. But recently, as immigration became more rampant with globalization, societies are faced with ethnic and cultural diversity.

As of June 2016, there are approximately two million immigrants in South Korea and this number accounts for 3.9 percent of the total population (Korea Ministry of Justice, 2016). Examination of immigrants' visa types shows that many with Marriage to Korean citizens (F-6) and non-professional employment (E-9) are from South Asian countries and these numbers are on the rise. As immigrants from South Asian countries have different cultural backgrounds and skin tones in comparison with ethnic Koreans, they are emerging as a visible minority group.

In general, social norm and values of each region are what forms commonality and these aspects are what distinguishes one culture from other. For instance, between Western and Asian culture there are differences in terms of motivation, interest, attitudes, behavior and values (Ryckman, 2015, pp. 646-653). Also, Western scholars tend to perceive that Asian regions share an "Asian value," a value that surpasses characteristics of any individual country. Hence, scholars assume that immigration within the Asian regions will result in less cultural differences and conflict than elsewhere. Such an argument could be interpreted as a Western cultural device to simplify Asian cultural traditions. In fact, the Asian region encompasses Vietnam, Japan, Korea, Singapore, and many others that have varying social, religious, and political traditions. Inglehart and Welzel's (2010) World Values Survey and Hofstede's (1984, 2003, 2015) World Map of Dimensional Values show cultural differences and diversity amongst Asian countries.

However, rather than accepting and embracing different cultures of the immigrants, Koreans¹⁾ are ranking immigrants based on the skin tone and the economic power of the sending nations. Such social discriminations stems not only from unfamiliarity but also from cultural differences between that of Korea and the immigrants' native cultures.

Therefore, there are needs to understand cultural differences and similarities in order to better understand issues that have potential for conflicts. By understanding the differences in cultures, both immigrants and Korean nationals can minimize conflicts and find ways to co-exist.

In particular, marriage migrant women are mostly from the Asian region and unlike other foreigners who return to their country after a short period of time, they will become permanent residents, acquiring Korean citizenship. Therefore, this particular group will be the most important group when it comes to cultural co-existence and social integration. Yet, despite the length of residence, they are still experiencing cultural differences, conflicts, prejudice, and discrimination (Han, 2006; Kim et al., 2006; Lee, 2005; Seol et al., 2005). Therefore, much research is needed to understand cultural differences between the immigrants and the natives, as well as points of conflict and similarities. Finding ways of cultural co-existence that are based on cultural diversity will only become more important in the near future.

Therefore, the current study examines immigrants from Asian countries who have been residing in Korea for more than five years, and multicultural experts who have more than three years of experiences in the field. The purpose of examining experts is because they are the ones who have the most frequent contact with the immigrants. Therefore, they are expected to understand the cultural differences, similarities, and points of conflict between Korean culture and that of the immigrants'. The research questions are as follows: 1) how is each culture different from Korean culture, 2) what are some of the cultural differences that have potential for conflicts (if there are any), 3) what are the similarities between cultures, and 4) what are the cultural distance the natives have toward the immigrants and what are the grounds and the extent of such social distance? Based on the research findings, the researchers seek to find ways for the natives and immigrants to co-exist in Korean society.

Cultural Diversity, Cultural Differences and Cultural Conflict in Immigration Society

Definition of Cultural Diversity

Cultural diversity is not a new phenomenon in human society; culture has always been diverse. However, the issue of cultural diversity became salient as immigration became more universal following globalization.²⁾ In 2001, UNESCO, in a World Declaration, defined culture as that which reflects a society or a group's mental, physical, material, intellectual, emotional whole and that which is a comprehensive concept that includes not only arts and forms of letters, but also ways of living, human rights, values, tradition and beliefs (as cited in Kim, 2005, p. 7). As such, culture shapes individuals' values and identity and there can be variances depending on race, ethnicity, gender, class, religion, place of origin, and geographical locations. Therefore, cultural diversity signifies co-existence of various cultural differences such as language, custom, lifestyle, and identities within a society, a country, or a region; and rather than integration or assimilation (into the mainstream culture), it seeks to embrace the differences thereby finding ways for the differences to coexist.

Therefore, cultural diversity, the plural, the multiple, the vary is not a one dimensional concept. Diversity indicates varying aspects of culture co-existing, and this "diversity" or the difference, signifies different aspects coming into conflict, contradicting with each other in a very active way. In order to redefine the concept of cultural diversity on a firmer ground, it is important to take into account the original word of diversity, "diversus," which means a state achieved through struggle that is neither via peaceful nor gentle agreement (Bernard, 2005, pp. 17-18).

In a nation undergoing immigration, cultural diversity means varying races, ethnicities, and cultures coming against one another and creating conflicts. Therefore, cultural diversity must find ways to resolve conflict and opposition with co-existence as an end result. In other words, in discussing cultural diversity, conflicts of the past, present, and in the

future must be considered. Also, ultimately, ways in which conflicting cultures can be resolved, and hence, cultural co-existence achieved, must be considered in discussing cultural diversity. Considering these aspects, understanding of culture as that which is static in nature disregards issues of conflicts in the process of achieving cultural diversity; this is only telling one side of the story.

More and more culture is recognized as dynamic and fluid in nature (DeMallie, 1988). It is that which is influenced by both inside and outside factors. Fluidity of culture is universal and natural and throughout time and space culture has changed and adapted rather than die out (Glassie, 1995) therefore, “new meanings, new practices, new significances and experience are continually being created” (Williams, 1973, p. 11). Such characteristics in nature make culture dynamic, yet, as result, difficult to define. Scholars and different schools of thought dispute over authenticity or meaning of given cultural patterns and symbols because who qualifies to decipher or attribute meanings to cultural production is in question (Glassie, 1995).

Scholars such as Hofstede in his Cultural Dimension Theory and Inglehart and Welzel (2010) in their Cultural Map of the World in the World Value Survey have separately yet similarly defined culture as national culture and suggested culture as contained, unchanging, monolithic entities bounded physically by locale. Hofstede in his six dimensions of culture posits that national culture can be measured in terms of power distance, individualism-collectivism, masculinity-femininity, uncertainty avoidance, long-term orientation, and indulgence. Inglehart and Welzel (2010) suggest that differences of national culture can be measured in two dimensions: traditional vs. secular-rational value and survival vs. self-expressive values. In these ways, national cultures have been defined as something static and unchanging. Asian countries, as result of sharing similar backgrounds (e.g., agricultural society, Confucianism, Buddhism) come close to one another in Hofstede’s as well as Inglehart and Welzel’s measures.

As result of these categorizations and stratifications, ranking of cul-

tures has become possible and consequently, it has become easier to discriminate one culture from another. Recognition and categorization of cultural differences have functioned as the foundation of control in cross-cultural dynamics in migration nations. As there are class, gender, and age hierarchies within societies, race, ethnicity, and nationality have functioned as that which bring domination and discrimination. Racial superiority has been used as a justification to dominate other racial groups in societies (UNESCO, World Culture Report, 2000, p. 29).

Beneath what may seem like ethnic or cultural conflict could be an economic or racial issue; therefore, in examining cultural diversity, one must consider economic, cultural stratification, and conflicting issues that are complex and dynamic in nature.

Cultural Differences and Cultural Conflict

Cultural conflict occurs when a group or a community, intentionally or not, imposes its own cultural values or political values on another group and disregards or ignores the values of another group. Individuals follow and behave according to the social norm and values of their own culture. A different perspective and worldview can bring conflict and misunderstanding. The majority of people in the mainstream often forget that their own culture is just one of many. People forget to take into account that their behaviors and beliefs are manifestations of their own culture, and recognize that theirs are the ultimate social norms.

In migrant countries, as the social distance between the natives and the immigrant groups (e.g., ethnic minorities, ethnic groups) increases, the natives assume co-existing with immigrants could be difficult (UNESCO, 2010, p. 113). Recognizing a different culture is not easy and to reach acceptance, many dynamic processes are needed such as understanding the difference, finding potential points of conflicts, and exploring ways to resolve the conflicts. In this day and age of information society, as immigrants understand that they would not be deprived of their own ethnic affiliation (as result of their feelings toward the host

culture), they understand that locating cultural differences and conflicts are the premise of cultural co-existence in the process of seeking after cultural diversity (Minkov, 2007, p. 93). Therefore, Koreans' *economism*, that is, the tendency to use economic status as the standard in ranking a nation, could prohibit one from having a genuine interest in a country's ethnic group, history, and culture. Furthermore, such a perception can lead one to make a false logic to justify discrimination and prejudice; which further leads to a belief that such logic is legitimate (Kim et al., 2006). Therefore, as cultural diversity is becoming more and more important, in order to achieve cross-cultural relationships, there needs to be more awareness of cultural differences.

Cultural Diversity, Differences and Conflicts in Korea Today

Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, the issue of cultural diversity and multiculturalism has become an important social issue as the result of increases in the number of foreign workers, marriage immigrants, persons returning from the Korean Diaspora, and North Koreans (Yoon, 2008). The number of immigrants has been fast increasing. For instance, the number of foreigners residing in Korea in 2015 has reached 1.8 million, more than twice the number of foreigners in 2004 (750,873).

At the heart of cultural diversity, there is an issue of citizenship and national identity. Korea has long been mono-national, composed of only one ethnic group (Kymlicka, 2004).³ National identity defines how individuals in a nation perceive and make meaning of their nationhood (Brubaker, 1992). While nationality, citizenship, and qualification to be citizens are used as tangible measures of national identity, these can also be used as a form of social identity, that which can be used to understand citizens' attitudes toward minorities and how citizens bond with another (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Yoon et al., 2010). In general, national identity has been distinguished between an ethnic-genealogical model and a civic-territorial model (Jones & Smith, 2001; Smith 1991, 1995). The former claims the basis of descent and national identity derive from common

linguistic and cultural elements. The latter is centered on the “nation of a voluntaristic political community in a demarcated territory and emphasizes the legal-rational attributes of common institutions as the basis for national culture and identity” (Jones & Smith, 2001 as cited in Lewin-Epstein & Levanon, 2005, p. 94).

Social distance (Park, 1924; Simmel, 1950), which examines the level of intimacy, is said to indicate how close one feels toward other individuals and groups. According to Park (1924), ethnic and racial difference is not something that can disappear as result of assimilation, thus, social “distance” is to remain between groups and individuals. Studies on social distance show that Koreans have rather high social distance toward immigrants from Asian countries, especially from South Asian countries (Hwang et al., 2007; Lim & Kim, 2011; Yoon & Song, 2007). More specifically, a study by Hwang and colleagues (2007) shows that ethnic Koreans’ level of social distance from closeness to farness is in the order of the following: Americans (Anglo-Saxon), North Koreans, Korean-Chinese, Japanese, East Asian, Chinese, Mongolian, and South Asian (p. 64). Such a finding supports the stratification tendencies (Kim et al., 2014).

Moreover, when it comes to perception on multiculturalism, studies have shown that while ethnic Koreans perceive “having more ethnic and cultural diversity” positively, they acknowledge “limits in accepting diversity and show a ‘reserved attitude’” (Hwang et al., 2007). Furthermore, according to a study by Kim et al. (2014) that examined Koreans’ perceptions towards Japanese, Chinese, American, Pilipino, and Nigerian immigrants, Koreans were found to have openness toward Western culture and Caucasians but closed-attitudes toward non-Western culture and ethnic groups of color (Kim et al., 2014). Similarly, another study found that ethnic Koreans have more interest in America, Japan, and China (in that order) as compared with South Asian countries.

The aforementioned studies show that ethnic Koreans have more positive attitude, interest, and social distance toward Westerners than Asians and within Asians more preference towards East Asians compared

to South Asians. It is no surprise that immigrants from South Asian countries have been found to perceive Korean society as a society with racial discrimination and prejudice, thereby, holding anti-Korea and anti-positive sentiment (Lim, 2010).

However, ironically, of the 1.8 million immigrants living in Korea today, in all three categories of foreigners, that is, total number of foreigners, foreign workers eligible for employment (professional employee, non-professional employee etc.), and marriage migrant women, with the exception of Americans, the top five ranks are from Asian countries; and of the five, two are South Asian countries (Table 1). Unlike other visa types, those who come with Marriage to Korean citizen Visa are eligible to be “spouses of citizens.” Of these foreigners, Chinese (including Korean-Chinese) are ranked as the first (40.4 percent), followed by Vietnamese (26.2 percent), Japanese (8.5 percent), and (Philippine 7.1 percent). Those from China and Vietnam account for two-thirds of the total.

Table 1

Immigrants' Visa Types by Country of Origin (As of July, 2015)

Ranking	Total number of arrivals	Foreign workers eligible for employment*	Non-professional employment (E-9)	Marriage to Korean citizen
1	China	China	Vietnam	China
2	U.S.A.	Vietnam	Indonesia	Vietnam
3	Vietnam	Indonesia	Cambodia	Japan
4	Thailand	Cambodia	Sri Lanka	Philippine
5	Philippine	Uzbekistan	Philippine	Cambodia
6	Japan	Philippine	Thailand	Thailand
7	Indonesia	Nepal	Nepal	Mongolia
8	Uzbekistan	Sri Lanka	Uzbekistan	Others
9	Cambodia	Thailand	Burma	

*Note. C-4 (Short-term employee), E-1~E-7 (Professional employees), E-10 (Crew employee), H-2 (Working visa)

Source: author's compilation based on July 2015 monthly immigration statistics from the Korean Ministry of Justice (2015)

A plethora of studies have examined marriage migrant women's situation in Korea as well as some of the conflicts and tension that emerge within the multicultural families. Some scholars have examined the marriage migrant phenomena from the feminist perspective, arguing that international marriage migration is result of economic imbalance between countries, a sexualized labor market, feminization of poverty, and patriarchal family structure. Therefore, marriages between women from developing nations and men from developed nations are the reproduction of inequality of women in developing countries expressed in another way (Lee, 2005; Hong, 2000; Yoon, 2004).

As the period of residency lengthens, cultural differences and conflicts may become more visible. According to research, unlike adapting to the daily routine, cultural differences are not easily resolved. Rather, as women become more adapted to the life in Korea and begin to recognize and understand their role more in-depth, conflict only intensifies (Kim et al., 2006). Such tension can bring cultural conflict between Koreans and immigrants, which can escalate into a social issue. In particular, marriage migrant women are mostly from the Asian region and unlike other foreigners who return to their country after a short period of time, they will become permanent residents, acquiring Korean citizenship. Therefore, this particular group will be the most important group when it comes to cultural co-existence and social integration.

Therefore, more studies that examine the roots of cultural difference and cultural similarities are needed to identify potential conflicts, to understand how to resolve those conflicts, and ultimately to find ways for co-existence. Despite many previous studies having examined conflicts within multicultural families, studies that have examined whether there are similarities and differences on how ethnic Koreans and marriage migrant women perceive cultural similarities, differences, and points of conflicts are not frequent. Therefore, the purpose of the current study is to examine cultural differences and similarities, as well as issues that have potential for cultural conflicts through marriage migrant women and compare these aspects with those of experts on multiculturalism. These

experts have close relationships with marriage migrant women. By examining both sides of the study, we seek to find in depth understanding of cultural diversity and ways in which immigrants and natives can co-exist. The research questions are: 1) how is each culture different (from Korean culture), 2) what are some of the cultural differences that have potential for conflicts (if there are any), 3) what are the similarities between cultures, and 4) what are the cultural distance the natives have toward the immigrants and what are the grounds and the extent of such social distance? Based on the research findings, the researchers seek to find ways for the natives and immigrants to co-exist in Korean society.

Research Methods

To understand cultural difference, similarities, and issues of conflict from both Koreans and marriage migrant women the study examined immigrants from Asian countries who have been residing in Korea for more than five years and multicultural experts with more than three years of experiences in the field. As these experts have the most frequent contact with these immigrants, they were found to be most knowledgeable of the participants' native cultures, conflicts, and issues they have with their Korean in-law family.

The countries of origin of the marriage migrant women were selected based on the number of immigrants living in Korea (as of 2015); therefore, a total of 22 interviewees was recruited for the interview. Selected were Chinese (6), Vietnamese (5), Filipinos (5), and Cambodians (5).⁴⁾

The marriage migrant women were recruited by contacting Multicultural Family Support Centers in the Kyungbuk and Kyung-In areas. These centers that implement Multicultural Family Support Policy total 217 in the nation. In recruiting the participants, the study used the categorization of immigrants developed by Kim et al. (2013): 1. Early Adaptation stage: those who have resided in Korea for less than three years; 2. Social integration preparation stage: those who have resided between four and seven years; 3. Social integration stage: those who

have resided between 8-14 years; and 4. Settled stage: those who have resided for more than 15 years. Based on this categorization, the current study recruited women who have resided in Korea for more than four years because findings of earlier studies indicate that immigrants begin to recognize cultural differences and conflicts after the early adoption stage.

As for the multicultural experts, the study recruited those who have had more than three years of experience.⁵⁾ The experts who work at Multicultural Family Support Centers are those who have frequent contact with marriage migrant women through various programs. Thus far, most of the studies on Korean natives' level of acceptance on multiculturalism have examined the general public. However, the current study sought to examine the research questions through the experts whom the marriage migrant women meet most frequently, second to their own families (See Appendix Tables 1, 2.). As for the experts, ten were recruited from the Kyung-In area and two from Gyeongsang Nam Do province (Total 12).

The study used in-depth interviews. The interviews were conducted by four persons (the authors and two research assistants). The interviews were conducted from August 7 through 21, 2015. Each interview ranged sometime between 90-120 minutes and follow up interviews were conducted via telephone when needed. All interviews were recorded with the consent of the participants and all interviews were transcribed.

The interview questions for the marriage migrant women included open-ended questions about their perception on cultural difference, experiences of cultural conflicts, and similarities between Korean culture and their native culture. The interviews were conducted in Korean, Chinese, and English depending on the participants' preference.⁶⁾ The questions for the experts were similar to that given to the migrant women, except several more questions on social distance as well as grounds for the felt social distance were included.

In order to minimize the researchers' biases, all the interviews were recorded then transcribed. Interviews that were done in English and Chinese were meaning-translated in to process of analysis. During and

after interviews the researchers shared their memos and engaged in discussion to also incorporate non-verbal matters for comprehensive analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Miles & Huberman, 1994). The transcribed interview data were analyzed using the grounded theory approach using Nvivo (v.10).

Results

Marriage Migrant Women's Understanding of Cultural Difference, Conflict and Similarity

Individuals follow and behave according to the social norms and values of their own culture. A different perspective and worldview can bring conflict and misunderstanding. Rather than bringing a synergy effect, culture can become the root of conflict and cultural differences can bring uncomfortable situations or, even worse, disasters. Marriage migrant women in Korea come to recognize cultural differences overtime. As the duration of stay lengthens they come to recognize the differences more acutely. As Korean natives do not understand the immigrants' different cultures, misunderstanding and false perception can ensue between marriage migrant women and the natives. Therefore, the current study seeks to understand the different recognition of cultural differences and issues that have potential for conflicts.

Cultural difference and reasons for conflict. First, unequal gender hierarchy and parenting issues were found to cause conflicts. A number of similar comments resonated amongst women regardless of country of origin.

In Vietnam, both men and women take care of house chores (V-2). Men and women are the same, we are equals. But it's not the same in Korea (V-3). In Korea, women are below men. So I say, there is no difference between husband and wife, that they must be equal (laugh) (V-5). In China, we do house chores together (C-1). In Philippines, if I go out to work, husbands help women because women have too much

work but it's not like that in Korea (P-2). When we have ancestor rites or guests over, men cook regardless. It is waste of time to cook at home because women are active (V-1). We cook too much (in Korea) and it's especially hard for women (V-2). In Cambodia, women are above men. In Korea, men are above women (Cam-2). In Cambodia, if you make money you have to give it to women. Women manage money (Cam-3).

Women from China, the Philippines, Cambodia and Vietnam all identified gender difference in the society as one of the differences between Korean and their own culture. In particular, Cambodian women were found to have control over household finance and have higher social status than men. In Vietnam, both genders were responsible for house chores and when there is more work involved, it is usually men who take care of things. There is gender equality in both of these countries and both men and women are responsible for child rearing and house chores. China and Vietnam are socialist countries and Cambodia, which used to be a socialist country, has gender equality as one of the foundational principles. The Philippines as well, as a country with a great influence from the Western culture, has a weaker gender hierarchical structure, patriarchal and paternal lineage than Korea. Korea still maintains as a patriarchal culture with a very stereotypical gender role; that is, men have social roles and women have roles in families, a very hierarchical gender role. Interviews revealed that Korean society is also imposing the same gender role on marriage migrant women, thus, the women were found to have conflict within families as result.

In Korea, husbands and mothers-in-law have a saying in how to raise a child. I have conflicts because they interfere with my parenting style (V-1). When you raise a baby you need to let the baby do things herself. My daughter is nine years old but they are still feeding her. I don't agree with that. We have conflicts with things like that (V-4). My husband worries too much that our kid will hurt herself (language) that's very different from me (P-3). My husband and I have our differences when it comes to raising our children. I want to give them freedom

but for him, some things are absolutely not allowed (C-5).

Interviewees discussed that while they are responsible for parenting and house chores, their husbands or in-laws are the final decision makers when it comes to child rearing. The husbands and in-laws were found to interfere with women's parenting style, demanding certain things to be done in particular ways. In some cases, the interviewees were more educated than their husbands and in-law parents, yet, they were told to "follow" because they are now in Korea. Thus, the interviewees who grew up in societies with more flexible gender roles were required to play the stereotypical gender role expected by the in-law family. These issues were found to cause conflicts with husbands and in-laws.

Second, women face discrimination in everyday life from their acquaintances and strangers. When asked if they have faced any conflicts outside of the home, the women gave the following answers.

Not to be discriminated, not to be looked differently (because we are different). Just not to be asked "are you a foreigner?" "Can you do this?" not to be asked those questions. Not to have "she/he can do this" that trust us because we are foreigners (V-4). Prejudice toward foreigners. Especially when we go shopping if the clerks stop talking when they find out we are foreigners...I feel ignored (Cam-2). When ignored. When I don't get recognized for what I have done (P-1). When they look at me, I think why are they looking at me like that? If they keep looking I don't feel ok and it feels like they are cursing (Cam-2). When they ignore you because you are a foreigner. I think about that a lot (Cam-3). (This one time) a clerk just pressed the number on a calculator. I can speak Korean well and even when I asked in Korean, she would not answer. If I spoke English they would have replied nicely. (When things like that happen) I feel like I'm being ignored (Cam-4).

Along with cultural conflict between husbands and wives in daily lives, Korean natives' discrimination against the women was another issue of conflict. Moreover, the women participants were found to recognize how Koreans have stratified foreigners based on English speakers and

non-English speakers, Western/Caucasian and non-Western/other race distinction. Oberg distinguishes immigrants' adaptation process into four stages. At the initial stage, immigrants experience culture shock. But as the new cultural environment is interesting they experience what is called the honeymoon stage. Then after a while, as they face barriers such as the language, they experience feelings of despair and pain. Yet, as they overcome the crisis and learn more about the culture they become functionally more apt (Kim, 2010, pp. 110-111). Similarly, the women participants' duration of stay is past the initial stage. As they can express themselves using Korean, they were found to feel the racial discrimination and barriers in entering the Korean society more heavily.

Third, the women identified the differences in lifestyle between their native culture and Korea. Women from Vietnam stressed the importance and frequency of communicating with their neighbors and work environment, women from the Philippines compared Korean and the Philippines in terms of attitude toward time.

We interact with neighbors a lot and with our relatives too but not here (V-1). In Vietnam you greet people without keeping certain distance but Koreans are careful. It's hard to have relationship with people (here) (V-2). In Vietnam, you are very close to your neighbors. So you help each other out when you are in trouble but that's not easy because there is no privacy (V-5). In Korea, people work until very late but in Vietnam you go home when it's time to go home (V-1). Here, social position is very important... (V-4). Koreans are "fast, fast" but Pilipino are somewhat lazy. If it is too hot, we don't go out (P-1). I think people are always in a hurry. They are so busy. Koreans live to make money to educate their children (laugh) (P-2). Philippine is comfortable life. People have fun. But here, you can't have fun; there is no time. I feel sorry for them (P-3). There is no balance between work and rest in Korea (P-4). When you talk with someone or when you are with a teacher you have to face the person, but (in Korea) you get scolded for that. (In Cambodia) if a child looks down it means the child is being rebellious and if he looks up (and faces you) it means he is apologizing but it's the opposite in Korea. I don't understand and our child is confused

because my husband and I are teaching the exact opposite (Cam-1).

As Vietnam, Cambodia and the Philippines are Southeast Asian countries with tropical climate, their food and lifestyle are very different from that of Korea. For instance, their relationship with neighbors is much more open, concept of time is loose, and their lifestyle is more laid back. However, as Korean society experienced very direct and compressed development stage, working late became part of a workplace culture and between work and rest, work became more important. Therefore, such a culture may be difficult to adjust to for the marriage migrants who were brought up in a relatively more relaxed environment. A woman from Cambodia discussed differences in expressing oneself between the two countries. As 55 percent of communication occurs non-verbally, the differences in non-verbal communication are also critical yet often ignored. Hence, different ways of expression could also bring much misunderstanding.⁷⁾

Cultural similarity. When asked about cultural similarity between Korea and the native country, interviewees gave the following answers.

The culture of supporting the parents is the same but I think it's more serious here because it is Confucius culture (V-1). We respect the elders. We listen to them and we pay our ancestor rites (V-2). The elders first lift their chopsticks and they eat first. Then the younger ones can eat. We teach that in Philippines too. When we talk to the elders we use honorifics too (P-1). Um. Respecting parents. And living with them is also similar (P-2). Paying reverence to the elderly parents and good manners (C-3). We have to take a good care of our parents (C-4). I think one of the similarities is eating together. I like that (P-3). People say Koreans have *Jung*. But I think due to capitalism that has faded (C-2). After work you hang out with your friends. That's the same but I think it's the matter of time. In Vietnam you come home by 8pm but in Korea 8, 9 is early. Koreans hang out until too late. (V-1). We also like to play, hang out (P-1).

One of the similarities women from China, the Philippines, Cambodia,

and Vietnam identified was respecting elders, living with elderly parents, and speaking honorifics to the elders. Also, putting importance in social relationships (e.g., valuing relationships with others), having *Jung* and fun were found to be similar aspects between Korea and their own. Within the Asian region, countries were identified to share similar culture when they were geographically in proximity. Therefore, Asian immigrant women in Korea may find some cultures to be very different yet similar as a result; such a finding indicates that in migration society the boundary of culture is very vague and fluid.

Suggestion for cultural co-existence. Interviewees were also asked how co-existence could be achieved given the cultural differences they felt between the Korean culture and their native culture while living in Korea. Many took a minute to answer this question and were very careful and thoughtful in answering the question. Most of the interviewees discussed the importance of communicating with their spouses.

My husband changed a lot. At first, my husband was the sky. He could come home and do nothing. It's not like that in China. That's a problem so we fought (laugh) (C-1). You have to talk. If you don't talk, the other person will never understand (C-2). We talk about what we did wrong and that take care of it (Cam-1). When there is an issue I talk with my husband (Cam-3). I tell my opinion. At first I used to just let go but now that I can talk (in Korean), when there is something I don't understand, I talk (Cam-1). At first there were misunderstandings because I didn't speak the language. Now, I ask him. I ask him about things that happened in the past. Why did you do that? Then my husband explains it to me well (V-3).

Subsequently, interviewees discussed the importance of teaching their culture to others including their in-laws, children, neighbors, friends, and strangers.

I don't think even the family knows much about my culture. I need to teach them about Philippine culture and talk about it but even I'm not doing that well (P-5). I teach my daughter Chinese, Chinese culture

and the differences (C-4). My family doesn't like me talking about my culture at home (Cam-1). They are not really interested in Cambodian culture (Cam-2). (Koreans) think that once you become Korean you have to follow Korean culture regardless. Co-existence is difficult because even family doesn't know the wife's culture (Cam-4). You have to know both cultures and keep both (P-2). For me, you have to learn what you need to learn and you need to keep what you need to keep (V-4). I think still, you need to keep Cambodian culture (Cam-1). We have to explain our culture. That's why I'm learning Korean (Cam-1). I think if I start teaching my family and neighbors about Cambodian culture, conflicts can be minimized. I think they need to introduce Cambodian culture in the media (Cam-4).

Interviewees also discussed in-depth about the discrimination they have felt because of their differences and pointed out their honest opinion about Koreans based on their experiences.

I think people still have their biases. People think multicultural families are not a regular family but families with disabilities (V-5). It's uncomfortable when people look at you because you have a different skin tone and discriminate you (Cam-4). I don't think Koreans are open minded. They are not very open to foreigners (P-2). Koreans do not open their hearts to foreigners. They think other race is not Koreans. But if you don't open up we can have anti-Korea sentiments (C-1). Koreans don't easily open up. We have to make an effort to minimize prejudice (C-5). No matter how much I try I will never be a Korean. I will always be a foreigner who speaks Korean well (V-4).

The findings show that women participants were using conversation as a way to resolve cultural conflicts. For instance, a woman was found to talk to her husband for five years to persuade him to think that their daughter and son are the same. As result, the husband changed his mind. What is important here is that, women were putting much effort to change the gender hierarchy and the men-centered culture, and in actually, the in-laws and husbands are changing their thoughts as result. In other words, based on their own ways of doing things, they are overcoming

conflicts that arise from cultural differences and are contributing in their own ways to bring gender equal culture into the families.

However, in order to bring cultural co-existence, understanding of each other's culture must take precedent. Koreans are not interested in the culture of the immigrants and they do not try to understand. Also, race, ethnicity, economic status, and even cultures are being used to stratify the others. Hence, based on this stratification, the culture of interests are being selected. For the women participants, the first step toward cultural co-existence is to adapt to the Korean culture and teach others about their own native culture. In particular, they are trying to maintain the good things of their culture and teaching their children and other Koreans about them. Second, the women perceive Koreans to have strong biases (toward immigrants). Also, as just being nice and opening up their hearts are two very different things, they perceive Koreans need to do the latter and respect the other culture. The women discussed that cultural co-existence is possible when both sides teach each other about their own culture, share thoughts, and respect each other. Here, the premise is that the native Koreans have to have open minds.

Multicultural Experts' Understanding of Cultural Difference, Conflict, Similarity, and Social Distance

Cultural difference and possibility for conflict. First, unequal gender position is a cultural difference.

As for Philippines, I think they have been influenced by the western culture when it comes to gender role (ME-4). There is no difference on gender role in socialist countries. So when they come to patriarchal Korean Koreans they find it hard to adjust to daily lives (ME-6). Because the women are not from Confucius societies they acknowledge unequal gender role quickly. Men and women working the same yet when they come home they need to house chores (ME-7). Of course they can't speak Korean when they come but people don't wait for them (to learn). They ignore or underestimate them (ME-10). Vietnamese women think they are being ignored because in their country women take care of

the house finance (but husbands here don't give the money to them) (ME-12).

The experts were also asked the same questions as the immigrant women. In terms of cultural differences and potential issues for conflicts, their answers were similar to the women's. The experts as well identified China, the Philippines, Cambodia, and Vietnam as countries where women have similar gender status that is socially higher than that of in Korea. Therefore, the experts perceived the women to have difficulties adopting to and meeting the expectations of their in-laws. The experts perceived Korean society to be more conservative than others with women's position being the lowest of the five.

Second, the experts also acknowledged the difference is in lifestyle between Korea and the countries immigrant women were from.

Filipinos have weak sense of time (ME-3). I think they have a different daily routine. Same goes for Vietnam and Cambodia; it may be because of the weather. They all seem to have very weak sense of time. Back in their own country they have late breakfast and it's usually bought (ME-6). Vietnam is a socialist country and because women have same responsibility as men, women also take care of their own parents even after they get married (ME-6). In general, Korean husbands and in-laws want their daughter-in-law to learn Korean quickly and learn Korean culture quickly so they are in a rush. In general there is a nap culture in Vietnam and they are very at ease. Korean culture is "fast, fast" so I was thinking it must be very hard for them to get used to Korean culture here (ME-10). There was a woman from south side of Vietnam and she liked to sleep in. At first the mother in law thought it must be jet leg but once she found out it's her habit, she started nagging (ME-11). Life in Korea is so competitive but Vietnamese women did not grow up in that kind of an environment (ME-12).

The experts recognized the difference in lifestyle came due to the climate. Because of the tropical climate, there is no breakfast culture; in general, there is late breakfast and it is generally very simple with no side dishes. Also, because of such an influence the concept of time

is very loose. Moreover, in these countries, women are responsible and they have the responsibility of taking care of their parents after marriage. As the women grew up in such an environment, the experts discussed that having “three meals a day,” “very tight concept of time,” “everything needing to be done quickly,” and “married women considered to be outsiders” can cause conflicts for the immigrant women. The experts discussed that the native Koreans can have difficulties understanding the others’ lifestyle and that this may result in ignoring, being impatient, or underestimating them.

Cultural similarity.

I think they value family and have a strong maternal love and are very responsible. They accept the differences and are very considerate of others (ME-6). I think when it comes to having “fun” it’s very similar (ME-7). Respecting and taking care of parents (ME-9). I think there are similarities when it comes to dance, doing things together as a group talking and sharing. I think they also have *Jung*, I don’t think they are very different from Koreans (ME-10). I think Filipinos like to bring food and sharing food with others. Vietnamese women as well, they like to get together and cook together, yes, especially Vietnamese women (ME-11). Respecting ancestors through rites, and culture of game is also very similar. Also, the legends of founding Fathers are also very similar (coming down from heaven, being born in a shell etc.). I think people like to hang out with others (ME-4). I thought traditional fairy tales were very similar. Good triumphing over the evil. What goes around comes around etc. (ME-3). Expressing appreciation. Sharing food, taking care of neighbors (ME-5).

Korea, China, the Philippines, Cambodia, and Vietnam as countries in the Asian region are in close proximity with one other and hence cultural boundaries may be blurred. In the interviews, the experts discussed cultural similarities such as expressing gratitude, culture of sharing (e.g., food), building close relationships with neighbors and having “*Jung*” and “fun” culture. Also, there were similarities in terms of giving rites to the ancestors, game culture, adult children taking care of the elderly parents, and gathering together to do things together. When it

comes to cultural co-existence, cultural similarities are just as important as cultural differences. Hofstede's cultural dimension shows that China, Korea, the Philippines, and other Asian countries have stronger collectivistic tendencies than individualistic. According to Ryckman (2015), Asians' main identity is community-oriented; hence, Asians feel at ease when they share their problems with family and friends. In the near future, cultural similarities can be used as a mechanism to relieve conflicts that arise as a result of cultural differences.

Suggestions for cultural co-existence.

I think we need to accept and understand it. Also, I think there needs awareness movement at the societal level. Prejudice toward multiculturalism is so huge even small issue becomes so over-exaggerated (ME-4). I think we are unable to understand them because we simply don't know them. For different cultures to co-exist I think we first need to know each other. What I can do is to tell husbands to learn more about their wives' culture and give them information. So they can understand where their wives are coming from (ME-7). Understand multiculturalism...I think is about awareness and education to change ways of thinking. I think people have conflicts because there is lack of understanding (ME-8). What I've realized personally is that, I can tell others about my experiences with people from different cultures so others' prejudice can be lessened. To talk about what I've seen about multicultural families, the positive things (ME-10). I think Koreans find it difficult to open their hearts, each country has their own characteristics. I think Koreans need to think about them as their own and teach them like they are Koreans (ME-11). I think there is a need to get to know each other more. We can't learn these things through books. We just have to meet them, talk to them, and learn about each other. We need time. And having information provided is also important (ME-12).

The experts perceived that the Korean natives must change in the process of cultural co-existence. In general, because of the biases the natives (Korean families of the marriage migrant women) have toward the women, they expect the women to change and adopt Korean culture. Because the families have a sense of superiority they also do

not have much interest in the culture of the daughter-in-law. The families not learning the language or putting an effort to learn the culture are simple examples. Even the Social Integration related programs are targeting the marriage migrant women so they can adapt to the Korean cultures. These programs are one-directional approach to educate the women and two-way programs that involve both migrant women and the families are rare. Therefore, the experts discussed the importance of educating the natives to teach them about the culture of the migrant women and those works are their responsibilities. Such a learning process will be more effective when people take the time to meet and interact with one another rather than learn the information through books. Kymlicka (1995) has argued that cultural diversity doesn't simply come from acquisition of knowledge. Rather, favorable attitude comes from accepting the others' beliefs and differences. Through such a process, rather than acknowledging the differences, the immigrants and the natives understand that differences exist and both must learn to accept and find ways to co-exist.

Social distance toward marriage migrant women and its basis. Social distance denotes the psychological distances individuals feel toward one another as well as between individuals and groups and between groups. A social distance scale was used to understand experts' felt social distance toward the migrant women if they were to become citizens, neighbors, friends, and colleagues. The experts, who meet the women frequently, were found to have close social distance in terms of "citizen," "neighbor," "friends," yet, when it comes to "colleagues," the experts were found to hold a certain degree of social distance.

Basis for social distance: Citizen, neighbor, and friends:

Personally, I don't think there is an issue if we connect. I think age, race, culture, ethnicity are only secondary I don't think they are important factors (ME-1). I think multiculturalism is a global trend, we have to accept it (ME-4). I think if you get to know them you'll find that they have *Jung*, I can't see there is national difference (amongst

them) (ME-11). They are the same as us (ME-6). I think if we can have conversations and if we connect I think they can become our neighbors regardless of what country they are from (ME-8). I think even if there may be cultural or language barrier, if we have the right “code” I don’t think it would be uncomfortable (ME-6). I think it would be fun to learn different cultures naturally (ME-10). Chinese women are really diligent. There is so much to learn from them; they are passionate (ME-7).

Basis for social distance: Colleagues:

I think distinguishing them by country is pointless. They are already living in our country so it doesn’t make sense we are again making that classification (ME-8). I think there needs pre-tutorial because there are conflicts (ME-3). There is so much to teach especially in making documents, I have to help them twice as much (ME-5). Honestly, it’s challenging if they are colleagues. If one person doesn’t do his/her work right then you are not helping your colleagues. So I’m giving a different score to “colleague” item here. Actually this may be just my experience or my prejudice. Everyone is different (ME-7). At work, we are doing the same thing so when it comes to using computers or other work we are in position to help them. I don’t think their personality is an issue, but productivity is. Koreans are workaholic but they may find it difficult to accept this side of Koreans (ME-10).

The interviews revealed that experts do not stratify the migrant women based on the country of origin. Moreover, the experts understood the global trend when it comes to multiculturalism. Furthermore, the experts discussed how there are no visible country differences when interacting with the women. Therefore, the women becoming the citizens or neighbors was not seen as a problem. Often times, the host countries think they have nothing to gain but only to give. Fraser and Honneth (2014) posit that social integration of new members of the society work through the mechanism of mutual acceptance. Through such a process, people are able to see individual uniqueness and hence able to use mutual-subjectivity to accept each other. In other words, only when there is mutual

respect between the immigrants and the natives can there be extension of communal growth (Ibid.).

Such mutual respect can occur through social interactions. According to the contact hypothesis, even when there may be prejudice and discrimination as result of history, if both groups have the same goal and have the same social status, frequent contact can reduce prejudice at the individual level. Dixon and others (2005) posits that when the contacts remain consistent and antecedent factors are met (e.g., the contact being important to both sides, having small frequent contacts in various situations) in an optimal environment than the result would be effective (Ibid.).

The interviews revealed that the experts were recognizing things that the natives can learn by learning the women's cultures. The cultural diversity driven with cultural richness can be an opportunity for social advances. However, even though the experts perceive the women very positively, they found working with them as colleagues to be challenging. They find it acceptable to help migrant women as neighbors and citizens, but as working with them could directly harm other colleagues and overall productivity of an organization, they did not prefer the choice as much. Also, the experts predicted the women accepting and understanding the workplace culture of Korea may be difficult. The social distance the experts discussed when it comes to the migrant women becoming colleagues prompt us to consider possible cultural difference and conflict in subcultures, such as the workplace culture. While previous studies have found that Koreans rank other ethnic groups based on race and ethnicity, the findings of the current study are different from the previous studies in that the experts are not using stratification in perceiving the migrant women, in terms of citizens, neighbors, and friends. Such a finding indicates that frequent contacts reduce the "country of origin" factor.

When a society accepts diversity it means that the society recognizes the component of diversity, which is differences, and that differences will not be recognized as points of discrimination, so that an environment

in which co-existence can be possible. Martiniello argues that there can be danger if race, culture and ethnicity are stratified. For instance, the natives can stratify immigrants based on the country of origin, economic status, race, ethnicity, and skin tone. Such cultural stratification and prioritization can bring conflict and there can be confrontation and antagonism between the immigrants and the natives.

Table 2

Social Distance Multicultural Experts Have on Marriage Migrant Women

Categories	Multicultural Experts (5-point scale*)				
	Average	China	Vietnam	Philippines	Cambodia
Citizens	4.51	4.45	4.45	4.45	4.67
Neighbors	4.64	4.64	4.64	4.64	4.67
Friends	4.55	4.45	4.55	4.55	4.67
Colleagues	3.87	3.91	3.91	3.90	3.78

**Note.* The higher the score the lower the social distance.

In general, the experts perceived that cultural differences and conflicts have stemmed from the differences in the historical background, political, and climatic differences. As people follow a particular social norm for a long time it is difficult to change behavior in a short time. However, the immigrants put great effort to adopt in the host society as a survival strategy. The history of immigration in Korea, which began in the late 90s, is less than 30 years. As result, Koreans impose Korean culture on the immigrants, intentionally or not, and in the process of disregarding the other culture, conflicts arise. Nevertheless, the experts suggest cultural similarities between Korea and China, Vietnam, the Philippines, and Cambodia can be a sufficient condition for cultural co-existence.

Moreover, the findings show that the experts do not use stratification in perceiving the marriage migrant women. Their perception reveals that country of origin does not become an important issue when there are

frequent contacts and interactions. This could be because in the process of contact the experts found much commonality between them. Moreover, the experts' experiences show that in the process of interaction uncertainties were greatly reduced. According to Hofstede's cultural dimensions, Koreans have scored high (85) on uncertainty avoidance, which is relatively higher than other countries. This indicates that Koreans are highly resistant of uncertainty situations. Such Korean tendencies explain why Koreans keep certain social distance toward the immigrants as the immigrants' culture and behaviors are largely unknown. However, in the case of the experts, through relationships, they were able to learn the values, attitudes, and behaviors of the women, which resulted in reduced uncertainty. Hence, culture is no longer an issue. For these reasons, the natives need to learn the cultures of the immigrants in order to reduce negative prejudice and biases. Such a process would be more effective when various organizations are able to provide necessary and related information to the natives.

Conclusion: Direction towards Cultural Coexistence between the Asian Immigrants and the Natives in Korea

Immigration in the 21st century is different from the earlier periods in that immigrants maintain their own culture even when they stay in the host country. A nation is restricted to its territory but it can also be defined by aspects such as its common tradition, customs, language, folklore, and religion. Therefore, if immigration cannot generate assimilation, conflicts between immigrants and the natives are bound to ensue.

The current study examined the cultural differences and similarities and issues that have potential for conflicts between immigrants and the natives. Also examined were the experts' perception of social distance towards the migrant women and the grounds for the felt-social distance. The findings of the study are as follows: first, the experts' and migrant women's perceptions on the research questions were similar. Both spoke about the gender inequality, differences in lifestyle, and discrimination

toward the migrant women as causes of conflicts. Having no interest in the culture of the migrant women can bring tension and conflicts. Second, both sides perceived respecting elders, sharing “*jung*” and “*fun*” with others, and the similar rites were identified to be common across cultures. These cultural aspects are related to patriarchal and hierarchical society. Third, in order to reduce cultural conflicts and bring cultural co-existence, the migrant women found teaching about each other’s culture and respecting each other to be solutions. More specifically, the migrant women discussed that the natives opening their hearts and understanding the immigrants’ culture is important. The experts as well discussed the need for the natives to pay more attention to the immigrants and receive multicultural education. Moreover, the experts viewed frequent contact and building relationships to be critical. They believed that their work lies in educating and bringing awareness for cultural co-existence.

In conclusion, in order to bring cultural co-existence, there is a need to go beyond cultural differences, extend mutual understanding, and find ways in which relationships can be strengthened. For this to happen there is a need to learn the other culture. By learning other cultures cultural conflicts can be reduced. Here, learning can come by 1) exploring the other culture (e.g., finding aspects that are difficult to accept as well as the aspects that are similar) and based on those explorations, learning; 2) communicating with people from that country can then follow.

Through learning about the beliefs and values of the other culture one can acquire much knowledge and based on the new recognition one can do away with the previous prejudices. The quickest ways to reduce conflicts and biases with cultural groups that are different are to meet often, thereby breaking the barriers, and building a bridge between the segregated groups (UNESCO Commission, 2010, p. 41). Here, organizations such as 217 Multicultural Family Support Centers across the nation, Foreign Workers’ Centers, and Foreign Citizen Centers can function as bridges. Their roles in building the cross bridges will be essential. While contacts between the immigrants and the natives can bring conflict

and tension, they can also be opportunities to introduce ones' culture and cultural uniqueness. In these ways, cultural diversity can bring cultural awakening to the natives and can function as cultural synergy. Cultural synergy at the nation level will bring "bottom up" changes, rather than "top down" as Social Integration Policy has, in bringing cultural co-existence.

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- 1) Koreans here refer to ethnic Koreans who live in Korea as citizens embodying the mainstream culture. It does not include overseas Koreans or Koreans who are not of Korean descent who do not share, understand or follow Korean mainstream culture. This term is used in the manuscript loosely to refer to Koreans and Korean culture in general. Korean culture here refers to mainstream culture, one of many cultures in Korea.
 - 2) Cultural diversity is accepting intercultural issues that have potential for conflicts. What must be considered is that, despite cultural differences not being manifested in a negative way, conflict can strengthen cultural diversity. In other words, a migration country needs to understand that realization of cultural diversity come as a dynamic problem, that which is manifested through tension, conflict, process of seeking co-existence through intercultural interactions.
 - 3) Although there are different thoughts on the mono-ethnicity of Korea, this manuscript follows the mainstream belief as suggested by Kymlicka (2004).
 - 4) Americans were excluded because previous studies show ethnic Koreans have the least social distance toward Americans (Anglo-Saxon) and Japanese were excluded because many come to Korea for marriage as a result of their religion; the authors decided that this component can bias the result (Yoon, 2005).
 - 5) The researchers decided to recruit multicultural experts who have minimum of three years of experiences primarily because three years of working with marriage migrant women were sufficient to provide understanding of marriage migrant women. Nevertheless, a number of participants had more than three years of experiences.
 - 6) One of the authors speaks Korean, English, and Chinese. Therefore the interviews were conducted in a language preferred by the participants. For some Vietnamese interviewees who felt more comfortable speaking Korean, multicultural experts whom have been their friends for the past few years sat by the interviewees and helped explain/translate/and provided background information when needed. Another reason for interviewing women who have been living in Korea for more than five years was language; most women spoke Korean well enough to fully explain their thoughts, culture, emotions; for those who did not have strong language abilities, they spoke their native language or mixed English and Korean when needed. Also, interviewing experts whom the participants were

familiar with were helpful as these experts further explained and confirmed the situations the participants had experienced.

- 7) In general, seven percent of communication is through words, 38 percent is through tone or intonation, 55 percent is through nonverbal communication (Korean Leadership Center, 2005, p. 133).

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Appendix

Interview Questions

Table. A1

Interview Questions for Marriage Migrant Women

Research Questions	Interview Questions
Generation questions	Nationality, age, educational level, country of origin, length of stay in Korea, children (age), family dynamic, general questions about the marriage
Cultural difference, similarities, and conflicts: Family setting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - With your husband, what are some of the issues that you have most conflicts with? What are the points of most similarity? (decision making, household chores, husband and wife's position at home and roles in the family, conflicts on house chores, tension etc.) - What are some of the customs, religious rituals, traditions - What are some of the cultural differences, points of conflicts and similarities you recognize the most within your family? (with Korean family)
Cultural difference, similarities, and conflicts: daily lives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What are some of the uniqueness about everyday lives in your country? - When it comes to food, clothing, and lodging style (the necessities of life), how is Korea different from that of your country? [for the ME-what are some of the differences when it comes to food, clothing and lodging style of the marriage migrant women?] - What are some of the areas in the daily lives that have potential for conflicts? What are some of the points that are most similar? And what are some problems that you think would not be possible to resolve?
Cultural difference, similarities, and conflicts: Social values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - When you first came to Korea, what is it that you felt were most different from your country? - What is the most different thing when it comes to value and attitude between the two cultures? - Is your country collectivistic or individualistic? - Do you think immigrants ought to maintain their traditions and cultures or do you think they should adapt to that of the host society? - What are some of the values that are important to people in your country? Why? - Do people in your country discuss their personal problems with others with neighbors and try to help each other in times of trouble? (collectivistic or individualistic)

Research Questions	Interview Questions
Cultural difference, similarities, and conflicts: General	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What do you think is the most different thing about living in Korea (compared to how it is in your country)? - What are some of the things you feel are most culturally conflicting? - What are some of the things that you feel are most culturally similar?-What do you think is the biggest barrier when it comes to cultural co-existence? - What are some of the differences when it comes to family, education, social values, nationalism between Korea and your country? What are similarities? - What do you think is the difference and similarities when it comes to men and women's social position? - How do you think Koreans and migrant women can be (or feel) one-ness at home and in the society? - What is it that you can do to for cultural co-existence?

Table. A2

(Additional) Interview Questions for the Multicultural Experts

Research Questions	Interview Questions
General questions	Age, place of work, experiences, specialty etc.
Cultural difference, similarities, and conflicts: General questions	<p>What do you think about your relationship with members of the marriage migrant women? Why?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) What do you think about marriage migrant women being citizens of Korea? 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 2) What do you think about marriage migrant women being your neighbor? 1-----2-----3-----4-----5 3) What do you think about marriage migrant women being your friends? 1-----2-----3-----4-----5

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