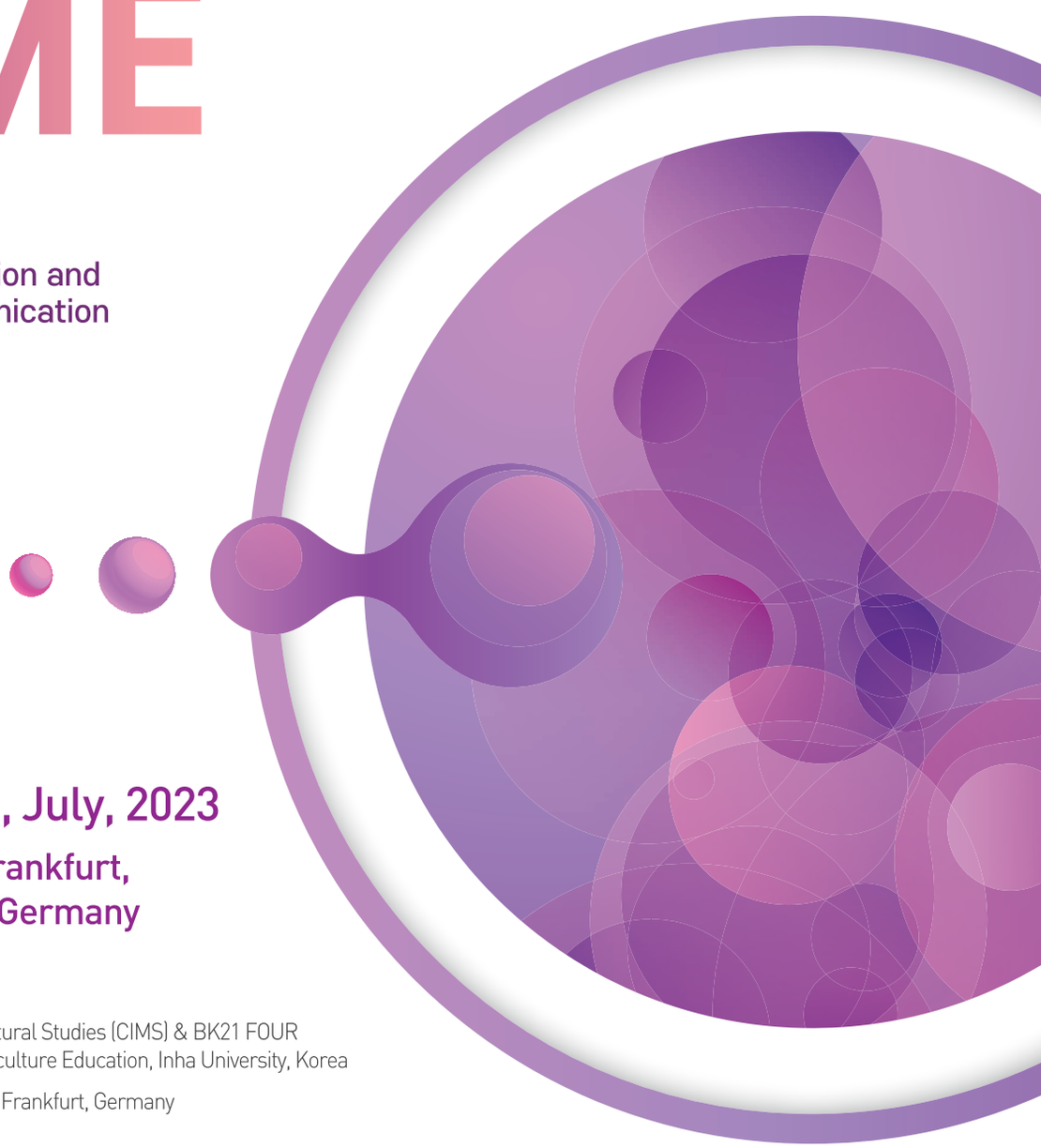
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON
MULTICULTURE AND EDUCATION

2023 ICME

Theme:

Transnational Migration and Intercultural Communication



19-20(Wed-Thu), July, 2023

Goethe University Frankfurt, Frankfurt am Main, Germany

Hosts

- Convergence Institute for Multicultural Studies (CIMS) & BK21 FOUR Research Division for Glocal Multiculture Education, Inha University, Korea
- Korean Studies, Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany

Co-Host

- Konan University, Japan,
- University of Hamburg, Germany
- Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, Honam University, Korea
- University of Central Lancashire, United Kingdom

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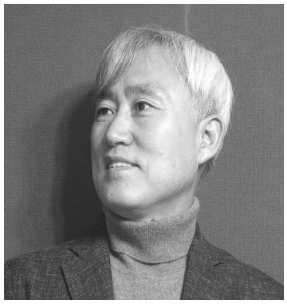
2023 International Conference on Multiculture and Education



Youngsoon Kim
Organizing Chairman, 2023 ICME

Hello.

I am Youngsoon Kim, Director of Convergence Institute for Multicultural Studies(CIMS) at Inha University, Korea. As the organizing chairman of ICME(International Conference on Multiculture and Education), I would like to give my opening remark with sincere gratitude and warm welcome. Especially, this academic conference celebrates its 10th anniversary this year. So, it is very meaningful to be held in Germany.

This international conference is hosted by Inha University and Goethe University of Frankfurt. And it is co-hosted with four institutions: University of Hamburg, University of Central Lancashire, Honam University, and Konan University. I would like to express my gratitude to all heads of both host and co-host institutions: Prof. Yonson Ahn, Prof. Yvonne Schulz Zinda, Prof. Jihye Kim, Prof. Young Yun, and Prof. Taeho Kim.

And I would like to warmly welcome all of participants who have come to this international conference through zoom.

Today's conference theme is “Transnational Migration and Intercultural Communication.” Currently, the world are in a hyper-connected era when people are closely connected and cultural diversity is amplified more than ever before. However, it is also an era of greater division and exclusion than ever before. In this regard, this conference will provide a good time to reflect and discuss problems and solutions in terms of intercultural communication.

The conference consists of 2 keynote lectures and 10 presentations over two days. Prof. Yonson Ahn will give a keynote speech with the title of ‘Unending Journeys: Migration Trajectories of Korean Im/migrants in South Africa’ And Prof. Yonson Ahn will give a keynote speech with the title of ‘Korean Language Education for Multicultural Families: Focusing on Current Status and Issues.’ As well, session topics are also very interesting. Scholars who come from four countries - Korea, Japan, United Kingdom, and Germany - will speak in the four sessions on transnational migration and intercultural communication in a variety of areas.

In this international conference as a platform for multicultural convergence studies and practices, we will establish a global academic network for a sustainable earth and re-consider the role of academic institutions.

I hope every participants will have a joyful experience to study together at the conference. Thank you.

Welcoming Remark

2023 International Conference on Multiculture and Education

Yonson Ahn
Goethe University of Frankfurt

A warm welcome to the international conference on Transnational Migration and Intercultural Communication at Goethe University Frankfurt. It is my great pleasure to welcome all of you from different parts of the world.

My name is Yonson Ahn, I am a professor and head of Korean Studies at Goethe University Frankfurt. My research focuses on gender and transnational migration and the Korean diaspora in Germany and South Africa, as well as sexualized violence in the context of war.

This is the first joint international conference of Goethe University and Inha University, cohosted by Honam Universtiy, Hamburg University and University of Central Lancashire in the framework of the AKS Core University Program for Korean Studies (2021-2026) at Goethe University and Research Division for Glocal Multiculture Education at Inha University.

In co-operation with Hamburg University, one focus of the AKS Core project is interregional cooperation under the overarching research theme “Cultivating Diversity: the global in Korea, Korea in the global”. Being in line with the research theme of the Division for Glocal Multiculture Education, this joint conference perfectly fits into our own AKS research theme.

We have a relatively short history, having been established only 13 years ago, however, there has been rapid growth. Goethe University offers a BA programme in Korean Studies, and an MA programme in modern East Asian Studies (in English). At the moment 10 doctoral students are enrolled for the PhD program and two post-docs are conducting their research.

Korean Studies Frankfurt is currently working on / two major research projects:

The AKS Core Project on "Cultivating Diversity: the global in Korea, Korea in the global / and a BMBF project on "Cultural Entrepreneurship and Digital Transformation in Africa and Asia (CEDITRAA)" together with the University of Mainz financed by the German central government. Within the CEDITRAA project our researchers investigate "the representation of women in Korean dramas" and K-Pop fandom in Africa.

Through today's joint conference, I wish to further promote cooperation between our two universities to strengthen ties to facilitate research on diversity and the multicultural dimension of Korea and expand the network especially amongst young scholars in this area. As a long-term goal I would like to suggest establishing a sustainable academic network for further cooperation between universities, academic programs and especially young emerging researchers. We specifically want to support young researchers, who are the future of the academic world, and to provide opportunities for them to exchange and discuss their research ideas.

This can be achieved through enhanced dialogue amongst scholars in Korean Studies, education studies, diaspora studies, and intellectuals from other disciplines.

Finally, I would like to express my great gratitude to Prof. Youngsoon Kim for your initiative with this joint event, all staff at Inha and Goethe university who have been involved in organizing this conference and all participants who came over all the way from South Korea and Hamburg.

Welcoming Remark

2023 International Conference on Multiculture and Education

Yvonne Schulz Zinda
University of Hamburg, Germany

I especially welcome our guests from Inha University with whom we have had the pleasure to cooperate for this conference. In spite of its early focus as an Institute of Technology established in 1954, Inha University' has also roots in different cultures. Its name, Inha University, already indicates its multicultural roots "In" for Inch'ôn where the university is based, and "Ha" for Hawaii where Syng Man Rhee had proposed the foundation of an educational institute that would provide expertise for industrial sector. However, the driving force and partial funding was given by a group of Koreans who had emigrated to Hawaii 50 years earlier.

In this conference, we will treat issues of multi culture, transnationalism, and interculturalism regarding Korea.

Korea has often been quoted as "the hermit kingdom". The pre-modern history of Korea is certainly characterized by times of isolation for example during intervals of Late Chosôn. However, there had been a continuous realationships with its neighbours. Korea, China and Japan were in contact since ancient times as will be discussed. Sometimes engaging in peaceful exchange as the literati did in questions on literature and Confucianism, sometimes in war as during the great East Asian wars.

It also experienced times of cultural exchange with Chinese civilization, not only receiving but also exporting cultural goods times such as the celadon in pre-modern. In addition, in the 20th century East Asian intellectuals were discussing Western ideas such as feminism and its adaptation of the concept of good wives and wise mothers. Agents of Korea and European countries stood in contact in Late Chosôn.

After decades of Korean migration to various regions of the world not least to Germany from the 1960s on, Korea became a receiving country. These events posed new challenges that are dealt with in this conference. Issues of intercultural communication, intercultural education as well as inter-ethnic communication. In this intercultural context different groups inside and outside of Korea will be treated. Marriage migrant women, Koreans Chinese, business people or foreign skilled professionels will come into focus.

I wish all the participants new insights and fruitful discussions.

Program

July 19-20 (Wed-Thu), 2023

Venue: Goethe University Frankfurt, Frankfurt am Main, Germany

1st Day (July19th, 2023)

Time	Program
12:30-13:00	Registration
	Opening Ceremony **Moderator: Ruixin Wei** (Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany)
13:00-13:20	**Opening Ceremony** - Remarks by Prof. Youngsoon Kim (Inha University, Korea) - Remarks by Prof. Yonson Ahn (Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany) - Remarks by Prof. Yvonne Schulz Zinda (University of Hamburg, Germany)
14:00-14:10	**Keynote Speech** - Prof. Yonson Ahn (Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany) Unending Journeys: Migration Trajectories of Korean Im/migrants in South Africa
14:10-14:20	**Photo**
14:20-14:30	Break
14:30-15:45	**Session 1** Narrative, Identity, and Literacy in Transnational Migration **Chair: Prof. Jihye Kim (University of Central Lancashire, UK)**
14:30-14:50	**Sooan Choi & Prof. Youngsoon Kim (Inha University, Korea)** A Narrative Study on "Becoming a Mother" of Migrant Women
14:50-15:10	**Ruixin Wei (Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany)** Identity Grafting for Inter-ethnic Communication: The Managing of Ethnic Distinctions among Korean Chinese Students on a Multi -ethnic Campus
15:10-15:30	**Dr. Hyun Bum Ko (Honam University, Korea)** The Philosophical Meaning of Intercultural Communication and Critical Literacy in terms of language, reflection, and critique of power
15:30-15:45	**Discussion**

Time	Program
15:45-16:00	Break
16:00-17:40	**Session 2** Intercultural Communication in History **Prof. Yonson Ahn (Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany)**
16:00-16:20	**Prof. Taeho Kim (Konan University, Japan)** Cultural exchange between Japan and Silla in ancient times :Focusing on the Sahari kitchen Utensils made in Silla in the Shosoin collection of Todaiji Temple
16:20-16:40	**Katharina Süberkrüb (University of Hamburg, Germany)** Korean and European perspectives on 19th century Chosŏn culture: Kyŏngdo chapchi versus ethnographic collections
16:40-17:40	**General Discussion & Closing Session**
17:40-19:00	**Dinner & Fellowship**
	End of the 1st Day Conference

Program

July 19-20 (Wed-Thu), 2023

Venue: Goethe University Frankfurt, Frankfurt am Main, Germany

2nd Day (July20th, 2023)

Time	Program
08:30-09:00	Registration
09:00-09:40	**Keynote Speech** Prof. Seon Jung Kim (Keimyung University, Korea) Korean Language Education for Multicultural Families: Focusing on Current Status and Issues
09:40-10:55	**Session 3** Intercultural Education in Language and Culture **Chair: Prof. Youngsoon Kim (Inha University, Korea)**
09:40-10:00	**Hui-Jin Mun & Prof. Hyun-Sik Choi (Inha University, Korea)** Intercultural Communication and Literary Representation of the Vietnam War in Multicultural Novels
10:00-10:20	**Prof. Young Yun (Honam University, Korea)** Current Status and Future Directions of Korean Language and Cultural Education for Multicultural Members: Focusing on Marriage Immigrants and Children of Multicultural Families
10:20-10:35	**Discussion**
10:35-10:50	**Break**
10:50-12:30	**Session 4** Intercultural Communication in Business **Chair: Prof. Seon Jung Kim (Keimyung University, Korea)**
10:50-11:10	**Prof. Jihye Kim (University of Central Lancashire, UK)** Hallyu and Immigrant Entrepreneurship: Korean Restaurant Businesses in Frankfurt
11:10-11:30	**Dr. Jingeum Lee (Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany)** Intercultural Business Communication in Korean MNCs near Frankfurt am Main
11:30-11:50	**Dr. Joohyun Justine Park (Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany)** Social Anchoring: Socio-psychological Stability and Future Mobility Intention of Skilled Migrants in Korea
11:50-12:30	General Discussion & Closing Ceremony
12:30-14:00	Annual Meeting & Lunch
	End of the 2nd Day Conference

Keynote Speech

- **Yonson Ahn (Germany)**

  Unending Journeys: Migration Trajectories of Korean Im/migrants in South Africa

- **Seon Jung Kim (Korea)**

  Korean Language Education for Multicultural Families: Focusing on Current Status and Issues

Unending Journeys: Migration Trajectories of Korean Im/migrants in South Africa

Yonson Ahn
(Germany)

Abstract

The history of Korean im/migrants on the African continent is relatively recent and on a smaller scale compared to Korean diasporas elsewhere. Migration from South Korea to South Africa does not fit the stereotypical migration pattern from a country in the Global South with a lower income to a higher income country in the North. Hence, it is difficult to explain by either conventional migration theory focusing on income discrepancies, or the neo- classical and functionalist push-and-pull model. Drawing on in-depth interviews, this study aims to map out the spatial trajectories of migration taken by Korean im/migrants to, from, and within South Africa. Central to this work are the multi-directional and onward geographic migratory trajectories. Complex issues and motivations that have informed these embodied movements and migration trajectories are explored. In tracing the migration trajectories of Korean im/migrants to, from and/or within South Africa, this study examines the economic and socio-cultural dynamics of migratory trajectories and migrants' changing subjectivities. This facilitates analysis of the way in which lifetime migration trajectories are enmeshed within the socio- economic and cultural circumstances of both origin and destination countries.

Keywords: migration trajectory, Korean im/migration, overseas Koreans, migration decision-making, transnational migration, Asians in South Africa.

Korean Language Education for Multicultural Families: Focusing on Current Status and Issues

Seon Jung Kim
(Korea)

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to investigate the present state of Korean language education support for students from multicultural families, and based on that, to explore directions for more effective means of support for Korean language education. Korean language education for students from multicultural families should not only focus on communication, but also go beyond that and provide Korean language education at the level of bilingual or multilingual education, enabling the students to grow as future global human talent. Additionally, when necessary, it should be implemented under the banner of integrated education that combines Korean language and general subjects' education. To achieve this, the proposal is to separate Korean-born multicultural family students from students who come midway and provide education accordingly, as well as to suggest content and language integrated learning based on plurilingualism and pluriculturalism practices from Europe.

Keywords: Students from Multicultural Families; Korean Language Education; Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL); Pluriculturalism; Plurilingualism

I. Introduction

According to statistics from the office of the Korea Immigration Service, Ministry of Justice, as of 2022, the number of foreign residents living in Korea reached 2,245,912, with 169,633 of them being marriage immigrants in multicultural families. In addition, in 2022, the number of students from multicultural families, including those born domestically, immigrant youth, and foreign households, reached 168,645.

In response, the government is sparing no effort in providing support for Korean language education targeting marriage immigrants. Korean language education for marriage immigrants is divided into two main programs: the Korean language education program of the Multicultural Family Support Centers under the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family and the Korean language education program of the Korean Immigration and Integration Program (KIIP) under the Ministry of Justice. The Korean language education program of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family is implemented in 234 local Health Family Support Centers and 339 local Multicultural Family Support Centers, where Korean language classes are provided for marriage immigrants and children who entered the education process midway. Additionally, the Ministry of Public Administration and Security has set up and operates the “Multicultural Immigrant+ (Plus) Centers” in collaboration with relevant ministries and local governments, including the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Employment and Labor, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, and the National Police Agency. These centers provide government services necessary for multicultural families as well as foreign workers and international students in one place. Since the opening of the first center in Asan, Chungcheongnam-do in 2017, followed by additional installations in Eumseong-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do, Gwangyang-si, Jeollanam-do, and Seongdong-gu and Eunpyeong-gu in Seoul in 2020, these centers have been established and operated in 18 regions as of 2023.[1)]

In this study, the aim is to investigate the current status of Korean language education support programs for school-aged children in multicultural families and based on that information, to propose directions for Korean language education targeting students from multicultural families.

1) Among the four centers established in 2020, Eumseong-gun, Chungcheongbuk-do, and Gwangyang-si, Jeollanam-do are “space-integrated” centers where multiple agencies such as the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Employment and Labor are located in one space to provide relevant services. Seongdong-gu and Eunpyeong-gu in Seoul are “functionally-linked” centers, where the Ministry of Justice's Korean immigration and integration programs (KIIP) and early adaptation programs for immigrants are added to existing Multicultural Family Support Centers. As of 2023, there are 7 “space-integrated” centers and 11 “functionally-linked” centers.

II. Current Status of Korean Language Education Support Programs for Students from Multicultural Family

In 2022, the number of multicultural family students reached a total of 168,645, made up of 126,029 students born in Korea, 9,938 students who immigrated during their school years, and 32,678 students from foreign households. In response to this, various government departments are implementing multi-faceted approaches to understand the enrollment status of multicultural family students, encourage their educational advancement, and assist in their adaption in school. The Ministry of Education has been formulating and implementing various policies since 2006, when the “Support Measures for Children from Multicultural Families” was established. Among the various support policies, Korean language education for children from multicultural families has received significant attention and has been designated as a key priority. In 2012, Korean language education programs were introduced into public education curricula, and efforts have been made to develop and distribute Korean language textbooks, workbooks, and teacher’s manuals for elementary, middle, and high school students.

Looking at the Ministry of Education's multicultural education support plan for 2022, the vision is to create a diverse and harmonious school environment that fosters students’ growth together. The plan aims to facilitate the integration of multicultural background students into public education, provide customized Korean language education, expand multicultural education for all students, improve related laws and regulations,[2] and enhance collaboration among relevant government departments and organizations (Ministry of Education, 2022, p. 27). Furthermore, efforts are being made to strengthen collaboration among relevant agencies. The Ministry of Education has assigned dedicated coordinators for multicultural affairs to guide admission procedures, support the entire process of transfer students, such as academic recognition, school placement, and post-placement management, and operates a Multicultural Academic Review Committee. Additional educational support programs are being implemented, including multicultural preparatory schools, alternative schools, and Korean language education programs. Since May 2012, the Korea National Institute for Lifelong Education has established a designated Central Multicultural Education Center to lead policy research and initiatives

2) According to the Ministry of Education (2022), when one of the foreign parents of immigrant children resides abroad and the child resides in Korea with a Korean parent, the child is not recognized as a multicultural family by law and do not receive child support benefits. To address this, the government has expressed its commitment to expanding the legal scope of multicultural families and providing comprehensive support to ensure that no multicultural children are marginalized.

for national-level multicultural education.

Particular attention is given to supporting multicultural family children who were born in Korea and those who immigrated during their teenage years from foreign households. Adolescents who immigrate to Korea during their teenage years often come from foreign households or international marriage families, and they may face difficulties in adapting to Korean society and performing academically (Ministry of Justice, 2019).

As shown in Figure 1 below, from the Ministry of Education (2023) depicting the changing trends in the number of multicultural family students by type, the number of students from international marriage families and foreign households continues to increase.

Figure 1. Trends in the number of students from multicultural families by type (Ministry of Education, 2023, p.2)

While multicultural students born and raised in Korea do face difficulties in terms of education compared to students from non-multicultural families,[3] immigrant youths face even more difficulties in entering and adapting to public education due to their inadequate Korean language proficiency.[4] These students struggle to adapt to school life and keep up with the curriculum due to communication difficulties and cultural differences. In particular, their low academic achievement is an important issue because it is directly

3) According to Kim and Kang (2009), even multicultural children born and raised in Korea have lower vocabulary competence, including vocabulary encountered in children's books such as "jagal" (pebble) and "hunjangnim" (teacher), compared to children from non-multicultural families. This phenomenon is more pronounced in lower grades but gradually decreases as they advance to higher grades.

4) According to Yang et al. (2021), an analysis of the challenges faced by immigrant youths after entering Korea showed that language (Korean) issues (27.2%), economic difficulties (11.9%), and visa issues (10.4%) were the major factors.

related to dropouts, inequality in education, and inequality in career choices (Kwon, Lee, 2017, p. 160). Especially during adolescence, when peer relationships are important, they may experience social exclusion or academic disengagement due to their appearance and cultural differences.

To support the early adaptation of students from immigrant and foreign families who are scheduled to enter or transfer to elementary schools, a stepping stone course is being implemented. As of 2023, this program is being run in 56 schools, with modular components ranging from 4 to 40 hours (within 2 weeks) depending on the school conditions. The curriculum focuses on communication and school life experiences that students may encounter after entering school, taking into account the students' characteristics in terms of their native language and Korean language proficiency. The program is co-taught by a designated teacher and a multicultural language instructor. Additionally, a separate stepping stone course is conducted for students entering in the second semester, divided into pre-admission sessions in January-February and pre-second semester sessions in July-August.

The original “Multicultural Preparatory School”, now called “Korean Language Classes”, supports language and basic learning for multicultural preschoolers. This year in 2023, there are 13 kindergartens with 15 classes operating, taking into consideration the developmental stages of children and multicultural elements. In addition, there are 429 “Korean Language Classes” in 287 elementary and middle schools, where Korean language and culture are taught intensively to assist the integration and adaptation of immigrant and foreign students into public education.[5)]

As shown in the table below, “Multicultural Education Policy Schools” include 198 kindergartens and 198 elementary and middle schools. These provide multicultural education utilizing both regular curriculum and extracurricular activities, as well as language-related education.

Table 1. The educational content of multicultural education policy schools

AREA	DETAILS
Regular curriculum-related Multicultural education	Integration of multiculturalism into subjects such as ethics and social studies within the curriculum

5) Furthermore, various initiatives are being implemented, such as university student mentoring programs to support multicultural students' adaptation to school life and basic learning, collaboration with learning clinics for basic learning support, and the development of a career education model that considers the characteristics of multicultural students.

AREA	DETAILS
Extra curriculum-related Multicultural education	Utilizing resources both inside and outside the school curriculum to implement multicultural education (club activities, inviting guest speakers, experiential activities, etc.)
Language-related education	Implementing programs to strengthen Korean language and foundational learning, as well as providing bilingual education

In addition, to nurture multicultural students as global talent, bilingual education is supported, and bulingual speech competitions are organized. Furthermore, multicultural understanding education is conducted not only for multicultural students but also for general students. Alongside this, customized support for multicultural students is provided to establish a practical social integration foundation between multicultural students and general students.

Since 2021, in order to support customized Korean language education, the Korean Language Proficiency Diagnosis-Correction System has expanded its diagnostic questions and laid the groundwork to enhance the efficiency of the examination. For this purpose, the number of diagnostic items for the scale examination (Type 1) targeting elementary grades 1-2 has been increased from 1,960 in 2021 to 3,489 in 2022 and 4,200 in 2023. Additionally, an online Korean language education program based on the Korean Language Education Curriculum (KSL) has been developed to enhance Korean language proficiency in multicultural students. A learning management system (LMS) has been established, and advanced features such as Korean language class data analysis and AI tutors are being developed for pilot operation starting from August 2023.

The Korean Institute for Healthy Family (KIHF) runs various programs to support the education of children from immigrant and foreign families, including the multicultural family support portal “Danuri”, the online multicultural understanding education platform “Danuri Learning Center”, multicultural student language development support programs, home visit education programs for multicultural families, and multicultural student growth support programs. Among these, the “Multicultural Student Language Development Support Program” assesses the language development of multicultural students aged 12 and under, provides appropriate language education based on the assessment, and offers parent counseling and educational services.

Furthermore, in accordance with Article 18 of the Youth Welfare Support Act, the Migrant Youth Foundation supports immigrant background youth (North Korean defectors,

mid-entry immigrants, multicultural individuals) and works to create a multicultural society where people live togther. They support the Rainbow School, which provides basic information about Korean society, Korean language education, support for enrollment in regular educational programs, programs for improving social relationships and emotional well-being, and career guidance for early adaptation and settlement in Korean society. As of 2023, there are 26 Rainbow School locations operated in 14 metropolitan cities and provinces nationwide. They are operated in full-time or part-time forms depending on the managing organization, and students are recruited on an ongoing basis.

Additionally, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies and LG have been running the “LG Multicultural School” since 2010 as a social contribution program to support multicultural youths to grow as global human resources. This program provides systematic and professional education in the fields of science and dual language to multicultural youths with interests and talents in those areas. It consists of science courses and language courses. Selected students receive regular classes from professors at KAIST and Hankuk University of Foreign Studies and from language mentors. The language courses are divided into six language groups: Chinese, Japanese, Mongolian, Indonesian, Vietnamese, and Korean. They are conducted through one-on-one online video lessons. In addition, there are vacation camps, advanced courses (immersive education), selective overseas training, and other opportunities for these students to receive extensive and in-depth humanities education, serving as a guide to help them grow as global talents. From elementary school 1st grade to middle school 3rd grade, a total of 300 students receives two years of bilingual education tailored to their individual levels. The education content is structured through mentor-mentee 1:1 online bilingual education, and additional educational opportunities such as vacation camps or overseas training are provided to outstanding students.

Ⅲ. Current Status of Curriculum and Educational Material Development for Korean Language Education Targeting Students from Multicultural Families

The goal of Korean language education targeting school-age students such as immigrant youth and is, specifically, to enhance their communication skills for both everyday life in Korea and adaptation to school life. It aims to cultivate the ability to perform in various subjects’ learning in Korean according to each school grade level (Ministry of Education, 2017, p. 3). To achieve this, the revised Korean Language (KSL)

curriculum, announced in 2017, maintains the existing dual system of “Korean language for living” and “Korean language for learning”, also taking a step further subdividing “Korean for learning”. The table below presents the content of the revised Korean language curriculum:

Table 2. Content framework of revised Korean as a Second Language (KSL) curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2017, p. 4)

		Korean Language Education for living	Korean Language Education for learning	
		Korean Language for Communication	Korean Language for Learning Tools	Korean Language for Subject Adaptation
Language Skills		Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing		
Language Materials	Topic	Everyday Life-based	Everyday Life and Education-based	School Subject-based
	Communicative Function	Everyday Life-based	Everyday Life and Education-based	School Subject-based
	Vocabulary	Everyday Life vocabulary School Life vocabulary	Classroom vocabulary Thinking tools vocabulary General Knowledge vocabulary	Subject-based foundation
	Grammar	Age-appropriate educational grammar	Enhancing age-appropriate expressive grammar skills	Specific sentence patterns by subject
	Text Types	Oral-centered	Spoken and written language	Written language-focused
	Culture	Understanding and Embracing Age-Appropriate Korean Culture Understanding and Embracing Age-Appropriate School Life Culture		

As seen in Table 2 above, the Korean Language (KSL) curriculum, announced in 2017 and currently in effect, is broadly divided into the areas of “Korean language for living” and “Korean language for learning”. The latter encompasses the foundational

“learning tool Korean” skills, which serve as tools for all subject learning, as well as the development of “school subject adaptation Korean” skills to facilitate entry into and adaptation to each school subject. The Ministry of Education is making efforts to operate such a systematic curriculum by focusing on the development of Korean language textbooks, the creation and distribution of supplementary materials and video content for subjects.

The following table provides an overview of the Korean language textbooks developed by the National Institute of Korean Language according to the Korean language curriculum:

Table 3. Current state of Korean textbooks

School Level	Textbook Name
Elementary School	Standard Korean for Elementary School Students 1, 2 (Workbook, Teacher's Manual)
Middle School	Standard Korean for Middle School Students (Communication Volume, Learning Tools Volume) 1, 2 (Workbook, Teacher's Manual)
High School	Standard Korean for High School Students (Communication Volume, Learning Tools Volume) 1, 2 (Workbook, Teacher's Manual)

Standard Korean shown in table 3 consists of 12 volumes for communication and 5 volumes for learning tools, totaling 17 volumes, which have been developed and utilized in the field of Korean language education. The “Communication” volumes of the Standard Korean textbooks focus on practical Korean for daily life, while the “Learning Tools” volumes emphasize acquiring tools and functions necessary for learning. These two sets of textbooks serve as supplements to school subject learning but do not include content related to background knowledge and fundamental concepts of the subjects. As a result, it is currently challenging to find educational materials that help multicultural students adapt to and support subject learning.

Furthermore, Self-learning Vocabulary in Subjects has been developed as supplementary textbooks to assist multicultural students in subject learning. There are 11 volumes for elementary school subjects (Korean, Social Studies, Mathematics, Science) and 6 volumes for middle school subjects (Korean, Social Studies, Science, Mathematics), totaling 17 volumes. These materials provide easily understandable explanations of key conceptual vocabulary in subjects and are available on www.edu4mc.or.kr.

For the educational content used in Rainbow School, there is the Career Education Korean Vocabulary 1·2·3·Wordbook developed based on the demand for specialized Korean language learning for employment and further education purposes. Additionally, to support the economic activities and social adaptation of immigrant-background youth, the textbook Understanding Smart Economy and Economic Life has been developed to provide education on solving economic issues that arise in Korean society. The University Admission Guidebook for Immigrant-Background Youth aims to provide basic information about university admission to immigrant-background youth. It has been translated into three languages: Chinese, Russian, and Vietnamese. Through this guidebook, students can learn about university admission procedures, major entrance exams, and personal statements.

Ⅳ. Direction of Korean Language Education for Students from Multicultural Families

As seen so far, the Ministry of Education has been making efforts to support Korean language education for students from multicultural households by developing and producing educational materials and promoting their dissemination. However, despite these efforts and support from the Ministry of Education, the issues of underperformance in learning and academic maladjustment among immigrant youths due to insufficient Korean language competence still remain as challenges that need to be addressed.

As mentioned earlier, the inflow of immigrant youths is expected to continue increasing in the future. Various government agencies, including the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, are showing a proactive approach to swiftly responding to the growing educational environment for multicultural students, including those who have arrived mid-schooling. However, major policies have been limited to operating support institutions without distinguishing between domestically-born multicultural children and immigrant youths in terms of support. For this reason, this study suggests several directions for Korean language education to improve the efficiency of Korean language education for students from multicultural families.

First, it is essential to differentiate between domestically-born multicultural students and immigrant youths and provide customized education for each group. Currently, policies mainly focus on supporting multicultural students as a whole, which means there is a lack of educational materials or models specifically designed to support immigrant

youths in educational settings (Jung, Kim, 2021, p. 74). Neglecting the social maladjustment issues such as academic disengagement and marginalization resulting from lower proficiency in the Korean language and academic performance among immigrant youths compared to domestically-born multicultural students would be inappropriate. Furthermore, their limited understanding of the Korean language and culture directly correlates with inequality in career choices and employment opportunities. To address these challenges, diverse and targeted educational support specifically aimed at immigrant youths is required.

Second, Korean language education should be based on plurilingualism and pluriculturalism.[6] The advantage of language education based on plurilingualism and pluriculturalism is that learners can develop the ability to adapt flexibly to unfamiliar languages and cultures based on their diverse language knowledge and experiences. Learners can utilize all the knowledge they possess to adapt to new languages and situations, employ strategies such as code switching to a different language or inferring unfamiliar words to facilitate effective communication. Through this process, learners' confidence and language proficiency improve. Additionally, they gain opportunities to communicate and collaborate with others, which ultimately enhances their adaptability and willingness to participate in society.

Third, education is conducted by integrating regular subjects and the Korean language based on Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL).[7] The low proficiency in Korean language among multicultural students, including immigrant youths, poses a significant obstacle to their academic performance. The limited Korean language proficiency of multicultural students leads to lower academic achievement, which can be a major cause of maladjustment in school life (Lim et al., 2021, p. 23). However, focusing solely on learning Korean language before engaging in the curriculum carries the risk of disrupting curriculum learning, ultimately increasing the academic burden on multicultural students. Therefore, the Korean language education for multicultural students, such as immigrant youths, should explore approaches that integrate language and subject, aiming to enhance both Korean language communication skills and subject knowledge.

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6) Plurilingualism and pluriculturalism distinguish themselves from the concepts of multilingualism and multiculturalism as proposed in the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR). While multilingualism and multiculturalism refer to the coexistence of multiple languages and cultures in a given space, plurilingualism and pluriculturalism presuppose that individuals share experiences with a multitude of languages and diverse cultures at varying proficiency levels (Council of Europe, 2020, p. 30). In the context of plurilingualism and pluriculturalism, emphasis is placed on learners with diverse levels of language and cultural experiences skillfully utilizing their own experiences to acquire new languages and cultures.

7) Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is a learning approach that is already widely used in multicultural education and second language education settings in Europe (Kim, 2016, p. 62). It is a method that integrates language learning with the content of the curriculum. CLIL emphasizes the holistic development of learners and is based on four key elements, known as the 4Cs: Content, Cognition, Culture, and Communication (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 20).

V. Conclusion

Multicultural children from multicultural families have diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds compared to children from general families. Korean language education for them should respect and acknowledge their languages and cultures while simultaneously teaching them Korean language and necessary subjects. This approach will enable them to grow as healthy members of the Korean society. By equipping multicultural students with Korean language communication skills and adaptability to Korean society, it not only promotes academic achievement but also contributes to their active participation as integral members of Korean society.

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Session 1

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  A Narrative Study on "Becoming a Mother" of Migrant Women

- **Ruixin Wei (Germany)**

  Identity Grafting for Inter-ethnic Communication: The Managing of Ethnic Distinctions among Korean Chinese Students on a Multi -ethnic Campus

- **Hyun Bum Ko (Korea)**

  The Philosophical Meaning of Intercultural Communication and Critical Literacy in terms of language, reflection, and critique of power

A Narrative Study on "Becoming a Mother" of Migrant Women

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(Korea)

Abstract

This study aims to explore motherhood as a processual concept and reveal the narratives of becoming mothers within the sociocultural context of migrant women. Three migrant women for marriage residing in Korea were recruited as participants, and interviews were conducted. The data analysis considered temporality, personal and social relationships, and places. Based on this, each participant's narrative of becoming a mother was reconstructed. Their narratives of becoming mothers were analyzed as negotiating mothers within ideological contexts and as social mothers who act in various connections. They were drawing their narratives of becoming mothers through diverse connections. Therefore, immigrant mothers cannot be perceived or explained solely as mothers or wives upholding a patriarchal society. To provide proper support that allows migrant mothers to connect with different environments, it is essential to comprehensively comprehend the narratives surrounding their experiences, as depicted in this research.

Keywords: Becoming a mother, Marriage migration, Migrant women in Korea, Social mother

I. Introduction

The feminization of migration in advanced Asian countries can be broadly divided into two types: "migrant workers," who fill the social reproduction gap created by the advancement of women's status and social advancement, and "migrant women for marriage," which substitute for the shortage of "brides" due to the imbalance in the domestic marriage market (Lee, 2005, p. 21). The migration of women in Korean society is mainly discussed in the latter aspect. In the 1990s, Southeast Asian women immigrated to Korea as marriage migrants to solve the problem of men residing in rural areas unable to get married. As of the end of February 2023, approximately 170,000 people have resided in Korea with a spousal visa (F-6) (Ministry of Justice, 2023)[1]. During this period, the initial discourse about these women depicted them as a "pitiful and young population" and "successor" who carried on the family lineage (Kim, 2006, pp. 58-59). They have recently been perceived as good immigrants who can maintain patriarchal order due to low birth rates and rapid aging (Lee, 2012). Thus, marriage migration is closely related to the patriarchal order in Korean society.

In particular, the motherhood of migrant women for marriage has attracted significant social attention and regulation due to its direct connection to producing new citizens (Kim, 2007; Lee, 2018). The child-rearing of migrant women is heavily focused on raising them as pure Koreans. As mothers, they are treated as socially vulnerable individuals who require assistance and as subjects of particular scrutiny (Sul et al., 2013). In other words, their maternal identity is idealized as nurturing ordinary Koreans (Hwang, 2012). Discussions regarding the motherhood of migrant women for marriage in Korean society tend to emphasize personal challenges and struggles with raising children while addressing the social and cultural biases and pressures imposed on them are limited (Lee, 2012; Lee, 2018; Choi, 2021). However, motherhood cannot be defined within a specific role. Motherhood is a complex experience influenced by various social and cultural factors, requiring a multifaceted approach.

This study aims to delve into the concept of motherhood as a process and understand the personal experiences of migrant women as mothers within their social and cultural contexts. To accomplish this, we will utilize a narrative study method to thoroughly understand the journey of becoming a mother. The research question of this study is as follows:

What are the narratives of becoming a mother among migrant women for marriage residing in Korea?

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1) Considering that many migrant women for marriage naturalize, the number is expected to be even more significant.

II. Theoretical Background

Becoming a mother is a constant change process, and its limitations are explained as acquiring and completing a specific role, such as Maternal Role Attainment (MRA). Mercer (2004) argued that MRA fails to capture the dynamic changes and evolutions experienced by mothers and called for a theoretical shift toward Becoming A Mother (BAM). In other words, becoming a mother is an ongoing process that constantly intersects various categories and differences traverse identity. The process of becoming a mother requires consideration of various categories, such as the relationship with the child (Laney et al., 2015), the process of working (Elanda, 2021; Hollway, 2016), and the perspective of being an immigrant (Lee, 2012; Lee, 2018; Choi, 2021).

However, according to Collins (2021), while there may be differences based on race, ethnicity, and class, there still exists a consensus on the ideal form of motherhood. The ideal motherhood is based on middle-class households and is shaped into an image of a stay-at-home mother who provides diverse opportunities for their children (Urek, 2005). Mothers refer to this image and enact their role as mothers. The same applies to migrant mothers who also intersect with the norms of motherhood in their home countries and the direction of immigration policies in the receiving country. Borrowing Butler's (1993) words, gendered motherhood can be seen as reflecting and reproducing power dynamics.

In Korean society, the ideal consensus on the motherhood of migrant mothers exists within the context of Korean society aiming to strengthen the concept of average multicultural families. To keep up with Korean mothers, migrant mothers make efforts to obtain information related to their children's studies, considering it an important role and responsibility as mothers raising children in Korea (Lee, 2018: 79). On the other hand, Vietnamese migrant women within the Confucian cultural sphere tend to show significant interest in their children's education to the extent that active involvement in school is considered a characteristic of a good mother (Le Anh Huynh & Quoc Huynh, 2020).

Becoming a mother does not draw a singular line. It emerges in various interconnected acts related to alliances and relationships (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980). Despite ideal consensus and pressures within the context, each mother constructs their narrative of becoming a mother through diverse connections. Even within the process influenced by the ideologies of Korean society, migrant mothers residing in Korea exhibit their agency, revealing the process of becoming a mother in their ways.

Ⅲ. Research Method

This study employed a narrative research method to reveal the narratives of becoming a mother that is described and influenced by various contexts. Narratives are not just simple stories; they are about lived experiences that are socially contextualized (Lee et al., 2017). They are embodied through temporality, personal and social relationships, and places (Yeom, 2009). Exploring the narratives of migrant mothers can effectively reveal the experiences of becoming a mother that is told within various connections.

The participants comprised three individuals raising children in Korea and were proficient in Korean for interview purposes. Table 1 provides basic information about the research participants.

Table 1. Information of Participants

Participant	Origin Nationality	Current Nationality	Birth Year	Migration Year	Family	Job
Participant A	Uzbekistan	Uzbekistan	1986	2013	Husband, Daughter(14), Son(8)	Freelancer
Participant B	Vietnam	Korea, Vietnam	1991	2012	Husband, Daughter(9, 10)	Desk job
Participant C	China	China	1984	2008	Husband, Son(14), Daughter(11)	Freelancer

For data collection, one preliminary interview and two primary interviews were conducted. The interviews were conducted through semi-structured interviews. The first interview asked questions about parenting attitudes, child-rearing difficulties and concerns, and differences with their home country. The second interview delved deeper into the content of the previous interview and asked more in-depth questions based on that. The data collected through the interviews amounted to approximately 148 pages in MS Word's default font.

While analyzing the data, various factors such as temporality, personal and social relationships, and places were considered. The data was thoroughly reviewed and restructured into stories documenting the journey of becoming a mother. Subsequently, narrative analysis was attempted based on the narratives of each participant.

Ⅳ. Results

1. Participant A's Narrative of Becoming a Mother

Participant A married her husband, who came to Uzbekistan to study in 2006. She gave birth to her daughter in Uzbekistan, and because the father was Korean, she used a Korean language institute to teach her children Korean. When her daughter was seven years old, and her son was one year old, they migrated to Korea, taking into consideration her husband's business and their children's education. After immigrating, her daughter experienced bullying at daycare and school. Making friends was challenging due to her unnatural Korean language proficiency. Above all, the fact that her mother is from Uzbekistan itself was an essential factor in bullying.

> Multicultural children find it extremely difficult to make friends. I remember when my daughter was attending daycare. There was a time when someone said, "Mom, a girl deliberately puts food on me." They kept poking fun at my girl, but I didn't take it too seriously and just let it pass. But at school, her bag went missing. (omitted) Even if there is a Korean person, I instead "I came from a foreign country" first. It doesn't hurt. Even if words don't communicate, I try to keep talking. That's why I do it for the sake of the children.

To adapt well to life in Korea, participant A not only helped her children learn Korean but also wanted to show them how to confidently engage in conversations with Korean people, despite her awkward Korean language skills. Thanks to these efforts, her daughter was able to make friends within four years of coming to Korea. However, during this process, her second child, her son, distanced himself from his mother's language and culture.

> Why do I have to learn Russian? I live in Korea.

The daughter, who lived in Uzbekistan until 7, understood the importance of learning Russian. However, the son, who had no memories of Uzbekistan, struggled to understand why he should learn Russian or engage with related culture. Participant A emphasized that just as they knew their father's country, Korea, they should also learn about their mother's country. She arranged for her children to receive private lessons from a qualified instructor specializing in Russian so that they could learn the language more effectively.

> Our babies are practically Korean, in a way. Our children have hardly ever met foreign children while living in Korea. There are only one or two multicultural children in their

school. (omitted) They will have to live with foreigners when they grow up. If they spend time together and live together from a young age, they will live together without discrimination as they age.

Participant A utilized local multicultural community support groups to expand her children's social circle. Through these activities, she interacted with mothers of similar age groups and provided opportunities for her children to socialize with them. Additionally, by making friends with children from diverse backgrounds, her children were able to overcome the challenges of social relationships and be exposed to a more multicultural environment. She became aware of multicultural children and their immigrant mothers' difficulties through these gatherings. A multicultural support organization recommended her; as a representative migrant mother in her residential area, she participated in policy discussions. She aimed to raise awareness and advocate for the language issues children of mixed-nationality families face.

2. Participant B's Narrative of Becoming a Mother

Participant B met her husband through a friend who was married to a Korean, and they immigrated to Korea in 2012. While pregnant, she heard "someone who cannot even speak Korean" from her husband's nephew. It startled her, thinking about how she would feel if she heard such words from her future child. From then on, she diligently studied Korean and continued communicating with her child in Korean even after giving birth. She did not want to be seen as a mother who could not speak Korean.

I had a really incredible experience. When I was pregnant, my husband's nephews came to visit. They were young kids, around 7 or 6 years old. I could only speak simple phrases since my Korean wasn't very good then. This child kept saying things to me, but I couldn't respond. Then, he asked his mother, "Mom, does aunt not know Korean? Can't she speak Korean?" I was so shocked by that. What if my child, whom I was pregnant with then, says something similar to me? That thought crossed my mind, and I realized this couldn't continue. I really need to study (Korean) diligently.

Her children, 9 and 10 years old, could not speak Vietnamese. Out of fear of becoming a mother who couldn't speak Korean, she didn't show her children any signs of using Vietnamese. However, when her daughter turned 5, she started regretting her decision. She heard about the importance of bilingualism from senior Vietnamese women and her Korean colleagues. Coincidentally, during this time, there was a national emphasis on the bilingualism of multicultural children as a measure of global talent. Participant B realized that her children's Vietnamese cultural background should not be hidden but

could be a competitive advantage. Even though she could not teach Vietnamese to her kids, she stopped hiding her Vietnamese roots and showed her identity as a migrant mother.

> I regret it now. (Laughs) I used to think that if I had made some effort since childhood, they might be able to do at least a little now. But back then, I was just scared. I had this burden of thinking that if I spoke Vietnamese, my kids might be unable to speak Korean. (omitted) Since my first girl 5, I always told them, "Mom is Vietnamese." (Laughs) But even the daycare teachers there knew it, yet they didn't treat us differently or show significant discrimination. They treated us just like other mothers, and that's how it was. So, if my kids can be proud of having dual citizenship later on, knowing that this side is their culture and Korea is their culture too, I would be happy.

Participant B informed their children about their Vietnamese background and started using Vietnamese naturally. Especially during phone calls with Vietnamese relatives, the children showed interest in their mother's language and even asked questions about words. However, it was more than just utilizing their Vietnamese cultural identity as migrant mothers. To educate her children well in Korea, participant B began studying for the Korean High School Equivalency Examination and later majored in social welfare at an online university. In pursuit of her goal to aid immigrants under challenging circumstances, she plans to utilize her diverse background as a strong foundation by delving deeper into the study of multiculturalism in graduate school. Through these efforts, she hopes for a transformation in Korean society that will benefit her children's future.

3. Participant C's Narrative of Becoming a Mother

Participant C met her husband through a relative's introduction and got married. At the time, she had no interest in marriage, but due to the strong encouragement from people around her, she decided to pursue an international marriage. Upon migrating to Korea, she immediately faced difficulties due to cultural differences. With her husband's support, she began studying Korean and found solace by interacting with other Chinese women in a similar situation. Since her husband's parents had passed away early, and he had no siblings, she initially had no one to turn to for assistance.

> I cried a lot in the beginning. I spent almost every day crying. (omitted) As I learned Korean, I was able to form sentences. I also started making friends; they treated me to delicious things and did nice things for me.

Through interactions with other Chinese women in Korea, participant C found emotional comfort and studied Korean. After giving birth to her children, she began studying for the qualification exams to ensure she could educate them well in Korea. However, she did not have anyone to care for her children, so she always had to study with them. The qualification exams, which seemed like they would be quickly finished, took twice as long for her compared to others. Thanks to her efforts, she was able to work as an interpreter and was selected as an outstanding interpreter, giving a presentation about her experiences in Korean. However, her children constantly criticized her Korean pronunciation.

> Sometimes, my kids would completely disregard me. They would say, "Mom, speak properly. That's not how you say it." And then, one day, my son said, "I don't want to talk to Mom anymore." I asked him why, and he replied, "Well when I talk to you, I have to explain things. Learn our language a little." (omitted) "Mom, learn our language. I don't want to talk to you anymore."

The support group formed with Chinese women during this time provided a space for sharing the challenges of raising children and finding solace. The group went beyond mere socializing and even ventured into teaching Chinese to their children to see how it would benefit them. She hoped that her children would look at her as someone who studied foreign languages diligently, not as someone who could not speak a common language, Korean. She thought introducing her native language to her children could be helpful in various ways. Instead of using specialized textbooks to teach her children, they used activities like cooking or playing together while using Chinese. The children were amazed by their mother's "excellent" Chinese skills, and at the same time, it was an opportunity to understand their mother's Korean.

> At first, it was simply to help foster social skills in our kids. (omitted) Later, as all the mothers gathered together, we suggested, "Why don't we teach our children Chinese instead of just us speaking it?" "It seems like a good idea." And whenever we met, we would spend around 40 minutes, sometimes even 30 minutes, teaching Chinese before doing different activities or cooking together.

However, participating in the support group alone did not completely alleviate the challenges faced by Participant C as a mother. She still finds herself in deep worry whenever she helps her children with their homework. When her adolescent children ignore her, she often feels her struggles stem solely from being a migrant mother. Knitting, which she took up as a hobby, provides her solace and relaxation. When engaging as a multicultural awareness instructor, she experiences a sense of pride in utilizing her knitted creations as teaching materials.

4. Analysis of Narrative

4.1 Negotiating Mother within Ideological Contexts

The participants experience raising children in Korean society as they confront patriarchal ideologies and the idealized image of an ordinary mother. Mothers actively engage with Korean culture to facilitate their children's smooth growth. Some, like Participant B, intentionally exclude the use of bilingualism to provide their children with such opportunities. When lacking support for child care, they endure all the difficulties associated with learning Korean. Their efforts to avoid becoming inadequate mothers are considered personal struggles to overcome individual challenges.

However, it is an oversimplification to view the difficulties arising from negotiating ideologies solely within the realm of personal experiences. Korean society still holds biases and assimilationist perspectives toward multicultural families (Jang, 2021; Ghim, Ryu, 2020). The role of migrant mothers cannot be solely understood within personal contexts; it requires active consideration of the sociocultural context. Can complaints about a mother's pronunciation of Korean be regarded solely as a personal issue?

According to the 2021 National Survey on Multicultural Families in Korea, the encouragement of foreign language use by foreign parents in their homes was reported as 63.2% for those from the Americas, Europe, and Oceania, while it was only 30.8% for those from Vietnam and 28% for those from China (Choi et al., 2022). Language goes beyond being a means of communication; it encompasses discriminatory aspects such as racism and classism (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2012). Discriminatory perceptions regarding language use extend beyond the language itself. The languages (cultures) of mothers from "Vietnam" or "China" are deemed deficient simply due to their origins. Mothers from specific countries are expected to struggle with speaking a 'common language' like Koreans and feel inadequate in raising their children. The journey of migrant mothers becoming mothers is intertwined with the broader context of Korean society, which seeks to strengthen the notion of a 'normal' multicultural family.

4.2 Social mother who acts in various connections

The status of being a spouse and mother, held by migrant women for marriage in Korean society, undoubtedly elevates their position compared to other migrant groups. However, this perception also serves as a mechanism that restricts these women from

venturing beyond the realm of family and home (Choi, K. J., 2019). Nevertheless, based on the participants' experiences, their journey of becoming mothers extends beyond the private domain. Participant A shows interest in the challenges faced by multicultural children through building relationships with diverse migrant mothers and raising her voice. Moreover, she demonstrates a transcultural form of motherhood by educating her children about her motherland's culture through the Goryeoin[2] network. Participant B plans to specialize in multicultural policies and education to thrive as a migrant mother in Korea. Through encounters with Chinese migrant women, Participant C shapes a new image of the migrant mother. Additionally, she reveals herself in various domains, leveraging her knitting hobby to work as a multicultural understanding instructor.

Their journey of becoming mothers unfolds within various networks of relationships. Mainly, establishing connections with immigrant mothers provides emotional support and enables them to acquire diverse information about childcare, which is essential in Korean society (Seo & Lee, 2017; Choi, S. E., 2019). Their becoming mothers cannot be solely described as an obligatory role of caring for the family through household labor and childcare. They also strive to foster a better multicultural society based on their experiences. At times, they alleviate the lack experienced as mothers by demonstrating their expertise in their work.

Ⅴ. Conclusion

This study aimed to reveal the journey of becoming an immigrant mother, which cannot be defined by a single role, through the narratives of immigrant mothers residing in Korea. The three research participants confronted the context in which Korean society seeks to assimilate them as mothers and wives.

The summarized findings of the study are as follows:

First, the ideologies encountered in personal domains made it seem as though overcoming them was solely the responsibility of individuals. However, becoming a mother cannot be reduced to a purely personal matter. In particular, the narrative of becoming a migrant mother strongly challenges Korean society.

2) Goryeoin is a general term for Koreans living in the Commonwealth of Independent States, including Russia. They are also known as Koryo-Saram (Encyclopedia of Korean Culture, n.d.).

Second, being a wife and mother can be seen as a group that receives social benefits compared to other migrant groups. Paradoxically, this perspective confines their narrative of becoming mothers in the realm of the household. Understanding them as social mothers is essential, considering that the participants raise their voices and utilize their backgrounds and abilities diversely.

The emphasis on the mother's role in maintaining patriarchal social norms hinders the understanding of migrant mothers' narratives. Therefore, there is a need to support the journey of becoming mothers by exploring the various contexts that migrant mothers possess and facilitating better connections. However, the participants' experiences may not represent the narratives of all migrant mothers in Korea. Nonetheless, their narratives of becoming mothers shed light on the various ideologies intertwined with motherhood and their actions within this journey. In the future, it is expected that a broader examination of the journey of becoming mothers in diverse contexts of migrant mothers will reveal the voices of various mothers.

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Identity Grafting for Inter-ethnic Communication: The Managing of Ethnic Distinctions among Korean Chinese Students on a Multi-ethnic Campus

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(Germany)

Abstract

China is a multi-ethnic country with a population of 56 ethnic groups. Over 30 of the 55 ethnic minorities are cross-border ethnic groups. The Korean Chinese, as one of the cross-border ethnic minorities, can trace their migration from Korean peninsula and settlement in the historically volatile region of Manchuria back to mid-nineteenth century. The history of their border crossing history and displacement experience are often likened to a grafted fruit called apple pear, which is a speciality of Yanbian ethnic Korean Prefecture of China. The fruit has become an emblem of the bittersweet migration history of Koreans migrating from Korean peninsula to China, and a symbol of the resilience and vitality of Korean Chinese. As the regional forerunners of transnational migration, the academic interests were mainly focused on how unskilled Korean Chinese labourers and marriage migrants experience confusion, frustration, and contradiction when confronted with their ancestral homeland (the Korean peninsula) and natal homeland (China), and they how grapple with a sense of a torn identity. However, there is limited knowledge regarding the younger generations of Korean Chinese and how they manage to strike a balance between their Chinese-ness and Korean-ness in their daily inter-ethnic communication in China.

This article conceptualises inter-ethnic communication as a process of identity grafting, during which ethnic distinctions play persistent roles in balancing cultural differences and proximity. A multi-ethnic university campus is a microcosm of a multi-ethnic society structured by a set of social relations. It explores how Korean Chinese students manage their ethnic distinctions to verify their ethnic identity, navigate their interactions with peers, and primarily manifested these distinctions through speaking ethnic language and engaging in ethnic culture practices. The collected ethnographic data

reveals that Korean Chinese university students from different growth backgrounds engage with both symbolic and ascribed interpretations of ethnic distinctions. The selected ethnic distinctions are integrated into communication between individuals of different ethnicities, enriching their ability to reconcile cultural gap and fostering differential sense of ethnic belonging. The Korean ethnic minority has experienced increased geographical mobility since the late 1980s, with younger generations growing up in diversified surroundings due to migration from ethnic enclaves to coastal or metropolitan areas. This study sheds light on the intra-group variation in ethnic involvement and the persistence of Korean Chinese ethnicity among the younger generation.

Keywords: identity grafting; inter-ethnic communication; ethnic distinctions; Korean Chinese; cultural practice; ethnic language

I. Introduction: Conceptualising inter-ethnic communication as identity grafting

China is a multi-ethnic country with a population of over 1.4 billion, 91.11% of whom are Han Chinese, while 8.89% are ethnic minorities (National Bureau of Statistics, 2021). Among the 55 ethnic minorities, Koreans ranks as the 15th largest ethnic minority in China (National Bureau of Statistics, 2021). Except for the majority Han Chinese, over 30 of the 55 ethnic minorities have a cross-border background (Bai and Yang, 2010, p. 4, as cited in Ma, 2016, p. 200). Mass Korean migration into northeast China began in the mid-nineteenth century, and over the next hundred years, there were continuous waves of Korean migrants crossing the borders and settling down in China. The population of Koreans in China reached its peak size of 2,163,115 in 1945 (Sun 2009, pp. 635–636). They were later officially recognised as an ethnic minority by the new China. The border crossing history and displacement experience infused Korean Chinese with a legendary aura.

One of the figurative sayings is to compare Korean Chinese as a grafted fruit-apple pear-which is a speciality of Yanbian ethnic Korean Prefecture of China. And this metaphor derived from a tale about a Korean migrant grafted the Korean apple onto Chinese pear in China. The fruit has become an emblem of the bittersweet migration history of Koreans migrating from Korean peninsula to China, and a symbol of the resilience and vitality of Korean Chinese (Kim, 2011). A Korean Chinese identity is imbedded in the geopolitical and sociocultural context straddled the China-Korean peninsula border. Their integration into China can be examined not only with attention to the critical political and social changes synchronically across time, but also as a process of evolution diachronically. In a multi-ethnic state, communication between individuals of different ethnicities is unavoidable. And most of time, the experience of inter-ethnic communication is subtle and implicit. Grafting as a horticultural expression reifies the inter-ethnic communication. In Lee's (2017, p. 6) research on how Singaporean professionals manage their Chinese-ness, identity grafting is defined as "the process of reconciling normative disjuncture via the grafting of symbolic power." It refers to the connections people make with selected social groups, which influence how they reconcile differing values, and the identities and practices they consequently take on (Lee, 2017). The Bourdieusian conception of symbolic power is adopted to indicate the use of cultural symbols and meanings to produce or reproduce power relations to maintain or subvert the social order (Bourdieu 1991, p. 170).

In this article, inter-ethnic communication is conceptualised as a process of identity grafting, during which Korean Chinese students manage ethnic distinctions to reconcile cultural gap and foster differential sense of ethnic belonging. Ethnic distinctions include the values, cultural practice, and ethnic language skills, etc., that the students believe to underpin their ethnic identity. Identity grafting gives a glimpse of how ethnic distinctions are reinterpreted among the younger generation of Korean Chinese, and the ways they are further motivated to lubricate inter-ethnic communication.

II. The ascribed and symbolic Korean Chinese ethnicity

In the 1950s, the Chinese government initiated an ethnic group identification project (minzu shibie). Experts were dispatched to the borderlands where the most ethnic minorities resided, to investigate and collect relevant information (Huang and Shi, 2005; Wang, 2015). The ethnic group identification project was essentially based on Stalin's nationality theory, which defined a nation as "historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture" (Stalin, 1953, p. 307 as cited in Mackerras, 2003, p. 2). Accordingly, specific attributions were ascribed to different ethnic groups. More than 400 ethnic groups claimed for ethnic identification and 55 ethnic minorities were officially recognised in 1980s. The fifty-five ethnic minorities (shaoshu minzu), along with the Han Chinese (Han zu), comprise one Chinese nation which is called Zhonghua minzu. Fei Xiaotong (1988, p. 167, as cited in Ma, 2012, p. 9) argued that at the upper level, it refers to the united Chinese nation. At the lower level, it encompasses a huge range of ethnic groups. Depending on the context, Minzu could be translated into nationality or ethnic group China. However, due to the territorial and political sovereignty connotation of nationality, minzu is often depoliticised as ethnic groups when it comes to the social and cultrual dimension of the minority groups (Ma, 2010, p. 6833). The emergence and popularization of Chinese nation (Zhonghua minzu) was also beneficial for policymakers, as the notion accorded them a certain amount of flexibility (Barabantseva, 2011, p. 38). In this way the Korean Chinese community simultaneously remained conscious of their ethnic origins and identified to as a member of the Chinese nation. Chinese national narratives also convinced individuals that the Chinese nation's 56 ethnic groups are sentimentally, territorially, and historically connected with one another. The official ethnic identification of Korean Chinese was carried out based on the method of top-down categorizing.

Building upon the foundation of their ascribed Korean Chinese identity and drawing

from the experences of traversing borders, Korean Chinese individuals have cultivated the power of negotiation for ethnic identity (re-)construction. Across generations, they have gradually transformed their approaches to expressing and nurturing their connection to their ethnic ethnic. The collective memories of border crossing and displacement facilitated the formation of Korean Chinese as a cohesive ethnicity (Heo, 2011, p. 317). Moreover, the participation of Koreans in the Chinese Civil War and the Korean War is also significant to understanding the formation of Korean Chinese identity. In 1952, the establishment of Korean ethnic autonomous prefecture helped the Korean Chinese to maintain their culture, ethnic language, and identity. However, their subsequent time in the New China was far from plain sailing. During the Anti-rightist Movement (1957–1959), the Great Leap Forward (1958–1962), and the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), the border crossing history and ethnic background of the Korean Chinese rendered them suspicious, particularly with respect to their loyalty to China. Consequently, many of them fled to North Korea (Park, 2017; Kwon, 1997; Min, 1992). After the Cultural Revolution and during the Cold War, the border crossing by the Korean Chinese came to a halt, and this did not change until China opened itself to the outside world and the end of the Cold War era. In general, the ethnic and cultural identity of the Korean Chinese community has been well-maintained in China (Gao, 2010; Kwon, 1997). As for the influence of minority policy on the Korean Chinese, some scholars (Min, 1992; Heo, 2011) have stated that the supportive minority policy, ethnic autonomous territorial base, and the unique migration background facilitate the successful maintenance of their ethnic identity in China. However, during the process of integrating into Chinese society, they have absorbed Chinese-ness into their culture to some extent. And scholars (Kim, 2003; Kim, 2010) are concerned that the further or total assimilation into Han culture would cause subsequent marginalization in Chinese society. Furthermore, with the improvement of population mobility and the urbanization of China since the 1980s, an increasing number of Korean Chinese individuals left Yanbian and migrated to either the capital metropolitan area or the eastern coastal regions of China. Worries regarding the dissolution of the Korean Chinese community and uncertainty surrounding the preservation of ethnic Korean identity were also noted (Kim, 2003; Kim and Kim, 2005; Kang, 2012).

Set against the grand history background, this study gives voice to the younger Korean Chinese generation and explores how they articulate and practice their ethnicity in face of inter-ethnic communication and construct their ethnic identity in daily life on a micro level. Studies on the possibility of managing ethnic identity and practicing ethnicity symbolically have either leaned too closely to ethnic and racial hierarchies in western

societies, or veer into the phenotypical variation of the ethnic and racial minorities. The conceptions of identity grafting and ethnic distinctions management invite a reconciliation between structure and agency. Korean Chinese are defined not only by their primordial ties to ethnic origin but also according to the symbols and components emerging from daily communication. Herbert Gans' (1979) notion of symbolic ethnicity is initially employed to examine the ethnicity of descendants of European immigrants in the United States. It is argued the later generations of immigrants are being less interested in ethnic cultures and ethnic organizations while concerned with finding suitable ways of maintaining their ethnic identity. It grants the ethnics agency to choose when and how to play ethnic roles, and instead of incorporating ethnicity in everday behavior, ethnic members embrace their ethnicity via a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the community and ancestral homeland. According to Gans (1979), for the third generation of immigrants, ethnic cultures are manifested as a throwback to the ancestral memories or the occasional participation in the ethnic festival. In this article, the phrase ethnic distinctions refer to both the symbolic and ascribed dimensions of Korean Chinese ethnic identity. Over the past few decades, China has experienced a significant demographic change. The later-generation Korean Chinese grow up in different background and thus practice ethnicity differently. For the younger generations of Korean Chinese who are born and grow up in China, the articulation and justification on Chinese-ness and Korean-ness are both vital to the ethnic identity construction. Furthermore, studies in Korean Chinese often implicitly assume the homogeneity of Korean Chinese community. However, it is not a monolithic group or a stagnant entity impervious to change, the ethnic distinctions of Korean Chinese university students as a highly educated group adds extra dimensions of social status and generational difference into Korean Chinese community. This study seeks to capture an array of important but less often noticed moments when Korean Chinese students orchestrate and mobilize the ethnic distinctions for self-consistency in a multi-ethnic society.

Ⅲ. Research Method

This study is based on qualitative data from a series of interviews conducted in 2016, 2020, and 2023. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with ten interlocuters at a multi-ethnic university in Beijing, China. The interlocutors for this study are undergraduate and graduate students growing up in diversified backgrounds. Among the eight students, four had grown up in Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, and four grew up in the regions where Han Chinese is the majority of the population. Interviews

were conducted online and on-site. They were located through the researcher's social network and the method of snowball sampling. The students were interviewed about their experiences of studying in a multi-ethnic university and the strategies they employed in the face of inter-ethnic communication, wherein they felt their ethnic identity was salient. Each interview took approximately 30–45 minutes. The interview analysis was guided by a deductive thematic approach. Thematic analysis is a flexible research method that identifies themes and patterns that lie in a dataset (Braun and Clarke, 2013). It is driven by the main question of how Korean Chinese students manage their ethnic distinctions to verify their ethnic identity and navigate their interactions with peers. Two aspects—ethnic language skills and cultural practice engagement—are selected as the provisional themes. Students' narratives are collated by relating to ascribed and symbolic ways of manifesting ethnic distinctions. Participants are referred to by pseudonyms, and the university is not specified. Students' articulations and practices are foregrounded by taking an actor-centred approach. While the goal of this study is not to generalise but to capture individuals' articulation of being Korean Chinese and the role of ethnic distinctions in inter-ethnic communication.

Ⅳ. Findings

Ethnic distinctions can be self-identified or ascribed by others based on perceived cultural, social, and sometimes physical traits. And they can be observed, reinforced, and dilute through inter-ethnic communication. In this section, two components of ethnic distinctions—ethnic language and ethnic cultural practice—are exemplified to illustrate the role of ethnicity in inter-ethnic communication. They are manifested in shortening or maintaining the cultural distance, downplaying or emphasising the cultural proximity between Korean Chinese students and ethnic others.

1. Ethnic language

Ethnic language plays a vital role in ethnic identification, and the proficiency of Korean Chinese students in their ethnic language is widely regarded as a significant testament to their ethnic identity. In addition to the official language, Mandarin Chinese, being able to speak an ethnic language is supposed to bring the students more advantages and opportunities. For example, Hyunil is currently a university student in Beijing. He was raised in Jilin city within Jilin Province. Hyunil's grandmother has been taking care of him since he was young. His parents, like many Korean Chinese parents, have been working far away from him for years. Despite not growing up in a Korean Chinese

neighborhood, Hyunil believed that he had skillfully mastered both Korean and Chinese until he attended university in Beijing. His bilingual skills brought him part-time job opportunities while making him aware of his lack of proficiency in both languages:

> I was very good at debating in high school, so I joined the university's debating team. My limited Mandarin vocabulary and deficiency in fluency while debating made me realize that I cannot compete with my Han Chinese peers. However, when a Korean Chinese senior recommended me to a part-time Korean interpretation job, I realized that my Korean language was not as good as that of Korean students studying in Beijing. (Hyunil, January 2020)

The bilingual competence of Korean Chinese students has constituted cultural capital that has enabled them to access more job opportunities. However, many interviewees expressed their regret that they were unable to master both languages proficiently. According to them, the most comfortable language is a mix of Korean and Chinese. Their lack of proficiency in Mandarin Chinese can occasionally generate a sense of alienation. For instance, an interviewee noted: "When me and my roommates watch entertainment programs together in the dorm, I sometimes do not get the punchline, and thus wonder why they are laughing. They are speaking the type of Chinese I do not understand." (Meiling, January 2020). However, when the student speaks her heritage language that her roommates do not understand, she becomes very cautious. She further explained, "I don't want them to feel that I am a person who is Chong yang mei wai [excessive admiration of foreign things and a disdain for one's own culture]." In order to get well along with other Han Chinese students, the interviewed student may need to tone down the ethnic dimension of her identity. Nonetheless, this is not the only situation. As Korean popular culture continues to thrive, the Korean language has progressively earned immense admiration among the younger generations. Comments like "You are Korean, you must be able to watch K-drama without reading subtitles" are one of the most frequently asked questions. In some cases, being able to speak Korean even helps the students in developing friendships. Friendships between ethnic Koreans and ethnic others, especially Han Chinese, represents an important area of social integration of ethnic minority. Inter-ethnic friendships are also considered an important factor contributing to the improvement of group-level inter-ethnic relations by reducing ethnic prejudice (Tropp and Pettigrew, 2005).

Although most of the interviewed students spoke the ethnic language well, there are students who do not speak the ethnic language at all, especially those born and growing up in regions where Han Chinese is the majority of the population. Korean Chinese

students who do not speak Korean expressed their frustration of lacking ethnic language skills. “My fellow Korean Chinese friends who speak the ethnic language would criticise me of being sinicised in a joking tone.” (Xianglan, June 2023). Sinicisation is frequently equated with well-integrated as well as the devitalisation of ethnic language education. Over the last few decades, there has been a rapid decrease in the number of Korean ethnic schools and a sharp increase in the enrolment of Korean Chinese children in Chinese schools. The Korean language is thus becoming a domestic language, and more young Korean Chinese individuals are beginning to lack ethnic language skills (Choi, 2016). Although language is not only a channel to formulate identity, it serves as a channel to disseminate knowledge of the group’s history, membership and culture through politically schemed education and socially negotiated interactions. While many do not speak their ethnic language, the ethnic ties may continue to wane for the younger generation. Many of this generation continue to perceive themselves as Korean Chinese and grow up without assigned roles that anchor ethnicity.

2. Cultural practice

Ethnic language has been an important marker of ethnic identity but not necessarily the only one. In this section, students are invited to narrate the moments when they re-discover their ethnic identity, celebrate ethnic festivals, consume ethnic food, and follow ethnic customs and etiquette. They may embrace, evade, or reject the labels that emerged at a particular time.

Almost all interviewees have ever become enmeshed with the following questions: “Are you from North Korea?” “If there is a football match between Korea and China, which team do you support?” A critical examination of the multiple meaning of the questions sensitizes some of the gaps and misunderstandings regarding Korean Chinese identity. First, the ethnonym of Korean Chinese in Chinese is *Chaoxianzu*. And *Chaoxian* is sometimes referred to as North Korea in the Chinese language. Thus, the first question betrays Han Chinese students’ lack of knowledge about ethnic minorities. There exists an information asymmetry between the majority Han Chinese and ethnic minorities regarding each other. The second question illustrates a frequently stereotypical and often opposite mindset which magnifies the differences between the self (China)and the foreign (South Korea). Students are aware that their responses will be interpreted as a political position rather than a reflection of their sporting preferences.

Students’ narratives suggest that the differences often emerge in subtle interactions. For example, all the Korean Chinese student interviewees have both Korean and Chinese

versions of their names. Due to their cultural background, the characters picked out for their names are quite different from those for Han Chinese names, and this could be intensified due to their relatively uncommon family names. For example, Hyunil recounted one such experience in class,

> It was a big Maogai class [an introduction to Mao Zedong's thought and the theoretical system of Chinese socialism] with had many unacquainted students. The professor was taking attendance, and he singled out my name and sternly asked if I am Chinese. I felt very embarrassed. (Hyunil, Jan 05, 2020)

The interviewee may feel flustered and psychologically distanced from the majority upon receiving unwanted attention due to their ethnicity. When involved in interethnic interactions with ethnic others, Korean Chinese are normally alienated as different and foreign. Instead of emphasizing their ethnic distinctiveness as an ethnic minority, more focus has been given to being a member of the Chinese nation. In addition to intergroup interactions, students may claim a partial identification with Korean Chinese culture and tradition. For example,

> I went to the party held by Korean Chinese hometown association in university but couldn't fit in. I don't like the drinking culture of Korean Chinese and how they distinguish between seonbae (senior students) and hobae (junior students). One of the reasons why I didn't choose to go to university in Yanbian is that I want to escape from the drinking culture and the tiring rules of etiquette and manners. With my Han Chinese friends, they are just my friends, I don't need to be concerned with how old he/she is. (Aihua, June 2023)

Students, especially those who grow up in areas inhabited mainly by Han Chinese, seem to be less involved in ethnic organizations or activities that require strong commitment and time. For some Korean Chinese students, the ethnic cultures represent the ancestral tradition that can be savored occasionally at an ethnic festival. For example, one of the interviewees recalled that "I know everyone is celebrating October 1st, the national day, but I celebrate September 3rd as well. It is the founding anniversary of Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture" (Aihua, June 2023). Activities such as consuming kimchi pose themselves as "easy and intermittent ways of expressing their identity that do not conflict with other ways of life" (Gans 1979, 8). None of the students give up their ethnicity completely. Being Korean Chinese signifies something permeates different aspects of daily life, from the ethnic food they eat, and the ethnic language they speak, to the custom or traditions they perform. If they are deficient in ethnic language proficiency and ethnic education, they find their own way of being ethnic. Ethnic

distinctions become a self-validating quality and develop into “a new kind of ethnic involvement” (Gans 1979, 1).

For an ethnic identity to take hold, individuals need to be cognizant of the qualities that distinguish them from their surroundings. In other words, in addition to their surroundings perceiving the Korean Chinese as culturally distinct, the Korean Chinese themselves become aware of their Korean cultural distinctiveness. Mia, a sophomore-year student, recounted her freshman year in university, “I hung out a lot with my new friends in my freshman year and many of them were Han Chinese. One day my sister said to me, “You have not been acting like a *Chaoxianzu* lately” (Mia, June 2023). Another interviewee shared a similar point of view, “It is good to have communication with Han Chinese, but we should avoid being fully assimilated.” (Nan Jun, June 2020). The interviewed students intuitively understood “the selves” and “the others” in thinking about who we are (and who we are not) and who they are (and who they are not). Their unconscious and instinctive responses add a touch of primordial understanding of their ethnic distinction. The collective memories of border crossing and surviving in foreign lands shared by the older generations seemingly created an ethnic distinctiveness. Students could identify with the Korean Chinese community as a long-suffering, resilient, tenacious collectivity that has been credited with and undiluted by the border crossing and anti-colonial history.

Ⅴ. Conclusion

Korean Chinese identity has been a long-standing subject of scholarly inquiry. In this article, in order to integrate into mainstream Chinese society and avoid inter-ethnic tensions, ethnic distinctions are managed to shorten or maintain the cultural distance, downplay or emphasise the cultural proximity between ethnic selves (Korean Chinese) and ethnic others (Han Chinese).

On the one hand, growing up in an ethnic enclave enhances ethnic pride and nostalgic attachment to one’s ethnicity and keeps a strong connection with their ethnic community. On the other hand, some of them identify as Korean Chinese, celebrate the founding anniversary, and enjoy Korean food but may not necessarily participate in ethnic organisation or community events. Students found intermittent ways of expressing their identity and chose to live “on either side of the hyphen” (Walzer, 1990, p. 611). While I hesitate to make generalisations based on the interviews I conducted with Korean Chinese students, it should be stressed that all students, regardless of their ethnic language

skills and cultural practice engagement, desired to strike a balance between maintaining ethnic distinctions and incorporating into mainstream Chinese society. This study highlights the joint incorporation of Korean-ness and Chinese-ness nested in Korean Chinese identity. It sheds light on younger generations' reciprocal articulation of their Korean Chinese identity. Although there is a remarkable falling-off in ethnic language and cultural education among the younger generations, it is important to acknowledge that both ascribed and symbolic ethnicity can be found in the students' understanding of their ethnic distinctions. And these play persistent roles in their daily life.

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The Philosophical Meaning of Intercultural Communication and Critical Literacy in terms of language, reflection, and critique of power[1)]

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Abstract

This article discusses that despite starting from different problem situations and having different intellectual backgrounds, intercultural communication and critical literacy theory can be linked in terms of language, reflection, and critique of power as their philosophical premises. First, in intercultural communication, language is the medium of communication and has pragmatic premises. Based on the rationality inherent in language, intercultural communication seeks to reach consensus and understanding without coercion between different cultures. In critical literacy, language is the medium for world understanding and critical thinking. Thus, literacy education changes the very way one relates to oneself and the world. Second, the subjects living in the culture communicate with the heterogeneous culture through rational self-understanding and critical reflection on the culture. This aspect of critical reflection is important not only in intercultural communication, but also in critical literacy. In particular, Freire's pedagogy emphasizes the cultivation of critical consciousness through literacy. Third, intercultural communication implies the critique of unjust power based on formal and material ethical principles. Critical literacy aims at problem-posing education, criticizing bank-deposit education that hinders genuine democratic dialogue. Seen through this connection, the philosophy of intercultural communication highlights the philosophical implications of critical literacy, and critical literacy can also help clarify the direction of intercultural communication.

Keywords: Intercultural Communication; Critical Literacy; Language; Reflection; Critique of Power

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I. Introduction

Interculturalism implies various issues depending on the discussion, such as open cultural consciousness, understanding and communication between heterogeneous cultures, and the relationship between self-understanding and understanding of others. Looking at those issues philosophically(phenomenologically) , Park In-cheol summarizes interculturalism or interculturality in the following three conditions. “First, it is the recognition of cultural diversity. Second, it is the recognition of equal value for all cultures. Third, the pursuit of common culture and cultural consensus through interaction.”[2)]

In these briefly summarized conditions of interculturality, there are already implied moments that require philosophical discussion. The first and second conditions, namely the recognition of cultural diversity and the recognition of the equality of each culture, are related to “difference” as a philosophical concept. Interest in the concept of difference is central to fundamental reflections on metaphysics and critical reflection on the philosophy of identity. It is here that Levinas' philosophy of otherness and the post-colonial theories collide. They form the theoretical sources of interculturalism.

Furthermore, the condition of interculturality includes the practical moment of “recognition”. In other words, “recognition” implies a normative attitude, not just a cognitive meaning. Honneth says that facial expressions and gestures that express one's welcome to another include not only the cognitive meaning of noticing that person, but also the normative act of recognition.[3)]

As such, interculturalism implies moments that require philosophical examination in both theoretical and normative aspects. In this article, I examine the philosophical meaning of intercultural communication, focusing on three premises: language, reflection, and critique of power (II), and try to argue that these three premises are also key in critical literacy (III).

Literacy usually refers to the ability to read, write and understand text. Literacy,

2) Park Incheol(2015). *Phenomenology and Interculturality*. Paju:Acanet. p.62. Jung Chang-ho defines intercultural philosophy as “an attempt to fundamentally reflect on the existing narrow philosophical understanding, philosophical methodology, and attitude from the viewpoint of interculturality or under the critical mind.” Jung Chang-ho(2017). “Intercultural Philosophy as a Reflective Foundation of Multicultural Education”. *Theory and Practice of Education*. 22(3). Korean-German Education Association. p. 45.

3) A. Honneth and A. Margalit(2001). “Recognition”, Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, *Supplementary Volumes*. 75. p. 121. Wälde argues that the issue of moral and political recognition implied by a constructive perspective or attitude to hermeneutic situations is central to intercultural dialogue. M. Wälde(1993). “Unerhörte Monologe? Philosophische Bemerkungen zur Interkulturalität”, hrsg. von R.A. Mall und D. Lohmar, *Philosophische Grundlagen der Interkulturalität*. Amsterdam. p. 105.

which is currently newly understood according to social changes and technological development, means the ability to read, write, and understand texts in an expanded meaning. Furthermore, new literacy extends to the ability to understand, adapt to, and cope with complex social phenomena and the ability to communicate through new media. In spite of this conversion and expansion, the core meaning of the concept of literacy can be said to be the ability to read, write and understand.

From this point of view, literacy can be said to be part of intercultural communication, and vice versa. In other words, literacy led by intercultural interest among literacy areas can also be called intercultural literacy. However, it is difficult to find a consensus on how to understand intercultural literacy and how to define its methodological characteristics. This article examines the general characteristics and specificities of two areas by examining intercultural communication and critical literacy through three premises: language, reflection, and critique of power.

II. Philosophical Premises of Intercultural Communication

1. Language: The Pragmatic Premise of Communication

Intercultural communication can be called intercultural dialogue. This philosophical premise of intercultural communication or dialogue implies validity claims raised in intercultural encounters: Is a common universalism such as human rights possible, and how is it justified? Does the encounter between different cultures stop at the confirmation of difference, and thus the coexistence of multiple different cultures? In particular, the latter question may correspond to the practical etiquette of the postmodern era. However, as can be seen in multicultural societies, the coexistence of heterogeneous cultures without a certain agreement can lead to the ghettoization of certain regions and cultures. Therefore, it is possible to examine the validity claims raised in intercultural dialogue, which leads to the examination of the pragmatic premise of communication. As is well known, Habermas advances the concept of communicative action while accepting Austin's pragmatic theory of utterance(speech-act theory)[4]. Habermas' communicative action process has four elements: truthfulness, legitimacy, sincerity, and understanding, of which understanding precedes the other elements. This understanding implies the possibility of reaching an agreement in an ideal dialogue situation, which also includes the possibility

4) J. Habermas(1981). *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns Bd.1*, Frankfurt am Main 1981.esp. pp.389ff

of understanding the language spoken by the other party. This understanding has the character of a regulatory idea, which assumes that others participate in a common world with us, that there is a symmetry of the participants' perspectives, and that what is initially incomprehensible eventually becomes intelligible. According to Habermas, this pragmatic premise implied in language should not be substantiated as an ideal of a future state.[5)]

In this way, in intercultural communication, language is a medium of communication and has pragmatic premises. Based on the rationality inherent in language, intercultural communication seeks to reach consensus and understanding without coercion between different cultures.

2. Reflection: Rational Self-understanding and Critique

As Socrates mentioned earlier, man without self-examination cannot fully exist. Humans are reflective subjects who critically examine their lives and cultures. Subjective reflection signifies the beginning of intracultural and intercultural communication at the same time. In culture, human beings live as subjects of singular universality(Sartre) and at the same time are reflective subjects that transcend cultural spaces. However, subjective reflection implies freedom at its core.[6)]

Each culture has certain mechanisms for stable transmission. Humans who reflect subjectively question the power of this cultural transmission mechanism. In order to question the existing mechanism of cultural transmission, a constant called freedom is needed. In light of this constant, organized ways of life in different cultures must be justified. Based on this freedom, subjective reflection is not completely subordinate to the stabilization tendency of culture, and furthermore it can seek common practice with others beyond its own cultural limits: intra-cultural communication and dialogue with other cultural worlds should be conducted based on this.

However, rational reflection and freedom are concepts placed in a context that causes unstable tension. This also stems from another dialectical tension in culture. In a concrete culture, human beings are placed in tension between oppression and freedom. We see the political, economic, social and religious contradictions inherent in each culture. And you can hear the voices of resistance for freedom raised by those who are oppressed and

5) J. Habermas(1992). *Nachmetaphysisches denken*, Frankfurt am Main. p.184.
6) R. Fornet-Betancourt(1998). "Philosophische Voraussetzungen des interkuturellen Dialogs". *Polylog - Zeitschrift für interkulturelles Philosophieren*. Nr.1. p.40.

excluded in each culture. This leads to the third philosophical premise of intercultural communication: critique of power.

3. Critique of Power: The Practical Conditions of Intercultural Communication

In the discourse ethics represented by Habermas and Apel, *formal*(Habermas)/ *transcendental*(Apel) *pragmatics* plays a role of finally establishing morality. Apel summarizes the central thesis of discourse ethics as follows:

> "In fact, already in relation to the final foundation of ethical principles, we takes into account ***not only*** the fundamental norm of the consensual foundation of the norms recognized when we anticipate the ideal communication community, ***but*** at the same time the fundamental norm of responsibility linked to history, that is, the consideration to preserve the natural conditions of life and the historical and cultural achievements of all real communication communities."[7)]

In the quotation above, Apel distinguishes between two parts of discourse ethics. That is, the first part related to the final foundation of morality(discourse ethics part A) and its application -in the Max Weberian sense- the second part related to responsibility ethics (discourse ethics part B). Here, the part A is related to the aspect of self-reflection, and the part B is related to the aspect of critique of power.

At this time, the part B implies the duty to change the real condition of argumentative asymmetry that the participants in the actual conversation have. The real condition of asymmetry is also a condition that can be equated with social domination. These conditions lead to the philosophical premise of critique of power in a broad sense. The critique of power has the meaning of reflectively conscious critique of the political power relationship of the ruler/dominated (and/or excluded). So the philosophical premise of critique of power is related to the practical aspect of intercultural communication: If the premise of reflection is related to the formal and universal justification for rational self-understanding and criticism, the critique of power is related to the practical conditions of intercultural communication.

From this point of view, Dussel's liberation ethics presents the material principle. It reflects the suffering materiality as the criterion of material ethics including material

7) K.-O. Apel(1990). "Diskursethik als Verantwortungsethik – eine postmetaphysische Transformation der Ethik Kants". hrsg. von R. F-Betancourt. *Ethik und Befreiung*. Aachen. p. 22. E. Dussel(2004). "The architectonic of the ethics of liberation. On material ethics and formal ethics". edit. by D. Rasmussen and J. Swindal. *Critical Theory* vol.4. SAGE. p.114.

contents such as physicality and survival.[8] The suffering materiality is a contradiction produced from the suffering physicality of the dominated (workers, Native Americans, African slaves, colonized Asians, women, people of color, and future generations who have to endure ecological destruction).

Ⅲ. Philosophical Premises of Critical Literacy

Critical literacy focuses on the impact of words and actions on our identity and understanding of the world. Conversely, our identity and understanding of the world also influences what we say and do. Differences between men and women, races, and classes differentiate their language and behaviors. Therefore, intercultural communication and critical literacy share certain philosophical premises in terms of language. In particular, in terms of the critical literacy, "discourse is not destiny."[9] That is, we can redefine ourselves and reshape society based on our choices and education. Critical literacy starts from the thought that the language ability(literacy), our identities, and power relations are chaneable. In this respect, critical literacy presents a certain direction to intercultural communication. In the following, this thesis – focusing on Paulo Freire's theory of critical literacy – will be considered in the order of language, reflection, and critique of power, as well as the philosophical premise of intercultural communication.

1. Language: A medium for World Understanding and Critical Thinking

Regarding how to develop awareness of the world through literacy education, Freire, who presented the theoretical basis of current critical literacy, emphasizes understanding of the world that precedes understanding of language. This is because the consciousness of the world is built in relation to the world and constitutes the self in it.

Therefore, in critical literacy, literacy includes not only reading and writing the word, but also activities of reading and writing the world. This relationship between text and the world can be understood through the so-called "dialectical" relationship between theory and practice. According to Freire, consciousness and the world change, and thinking and behavior change and develop in response to the change. Recognition of reality is achieved through the dialectical interaction of consciousness and the world. Therefore, reality is not a fixed substance, but a changing one, and thus has a historicity. Thus, reality has its full

8) E. Dussel(2013). *Ethics of liberation in the age of globalization and exclusion*. trans. by E. Mendieta [et al.]. Duke Univ. Press. p. 123.
9) Ira Shor(1999). "What is Critical Literacy?". *Journal of Pedagogy, Pluralism, and Practice*. Vol. 1 : Iss. 4 , Article 2. p.2.

meaning in history, where humans live within it and change it accordingly.[10)]

For Freire, thinking (reflection) and action, which constitute human language, and theory and practice based on it presuppose each other. In other words, thinking and action are not separated from each other or in a relationship that precedes something, but are performed simultaneously, which Freire calls true practice, praxis. Therefore, the true knowledge(as episteme) is the process of comprehension of the changing reality through human interaction with the world, and uncovering the contradictions in this changing reality. Also, as the subject of the true knowledge, human beings act to solve the problems caused by the contradictions of the changing reality, and this is praxis. Through this praxis, humans change the world.[11)]

Praxis is possible only through dialogue. Freire contrasts “problem-posing programs,” which take place through dialogue, with “bank-deposit education,” which accumulates knowledge as a one-sided, non-communicative “deposit.”[12)] Through problem-posing literacy, human beings change themselves. Through this education, learners can develop themselves as subjects of education, not just objects of education. Therefore, learners participating in problem-posing programs through literacy education come to realize that the acquisition of literacy is linked to the democratization of culture.

The process of recognizing the situation as an objective problematic situation and intervention in this reality, which means historical consciousness, originate from the ‘critical consciousness’(conscientização) of the situation. Critical consciousness is conscious of the characteristics of the complete emergence of the subject. Critical consciousness, which has a key meaning in Freire's critical literacy, will be discussed in the next section.

2. Reflection: as Critical Consciousness

According to Freire, humans relate critically to their world. This critical relationship with the world is reflection. Critical thinking, or reflection, on human existential situationality takes a step forward by intervening in reality and participating in the historical epoch, which comes from the “critical consciousness” of the situation. In other words, Freire's critical consciousness means critically recognizing and acting on real problems for human liberation.[13)]

10) Paulo Freire and Donaldo Macedo(2014). *Literacy: Reading the Word and the World*. Korean translation edition. Lifelong Learning Books. Chap.3, esp. pp.23−24. Son Jong Hyun(2023). “Research into Paulo Freire's ‘Pedagogy of Praxis’”. *Culture and Convergence*. 45(2). p.143.

11) P. Freire(1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York:Seabury. Chap.3.

12) Ibid., Chap2. P. Freire(1973). *Education for Critical Consciousness*. New York: Seabury. Pt.1, Chap.4.

13) Han Yang Sun(2016). “Exploration of the Applicability of Paulo Freire’s Educational Practice Theory in Narrative Education”. *The Journal of Humanities and Social science*. 7(1). p.636.

The suppressed consciousness does not have enough distance from reality to perceive reality in a critical way. This kind of consciousness is what Freire calls the semi-intransitive consciousness. The semi-intransitive consciousness lacks a structural awareness that “forms and reconstructs consciousness through concrete realities based on understanding of facts and problem situations.”[14] As we develop our ability to identify and respond to questions that arise in situations from the semi-intransitive consciousness, and to communicate with our world and with others, consciousness changes.

This change from the semi-intransitive consciousness to transitive consciousness (Critical consciousness stage I in Dussel's Liberation Ethics[15]) is not the ultimate goal of critical consciousness education(critical literacy). According to economic growth and urbanization, members of a society may naturally change to such a transitive consciousness: In the early stage of transitive consciousness, the stage of naive transitivity, people oversimplify problems, are nostalgic about the past, weak in argumentation and emotional, prefer refutation to dialogue, and seek magical explanations. This naive transitivity, which can lead to fanaticism, is closely related to massification. Massification is a condition caused by traditional education, which fills the oppressed with the static ideas of others.

But critical literacy (critical consciousness stage II) seeks dialogue rather than refutation, seeks to identify the true cause of problems, and seeks to have structural awareness. It also sensibly accepts the valid from both the old and the new. Noting this open consciousness, Betancourt considers critical consciousness as a critical transivity as one of the philosophical meanings of intercultural dialogue.[16]

3. Critique of Power: Dialogue and Anti-dialogue

Through this contrast between bank deposit-type education and problem-posing education, Freire seeks to realize democracy in the educational process itself, which critical consciousness education for human liberation aims for. The certain power relationship itself formed between teachers and students is also a target for criticism. In this way, critical literacy criticizes the view that the status quo is fixed or its origin is unknown and mythical, and seeks to change the status quo into a better situation. Critical literacy thus always already includes the perspective of a critique of power, and this critique of power is the defining feature that distinguishes it from other literacy.[17]

14) P. Freire(2022). *Cultural Action for Freedom*. Korean edition, Yeungnam Univ. Press. Chap.2. p.101.
15) Dussel(2004), p.122-124.
16) R. Fornet-Betancourt, op.cit., p.47.
17) Ira Shor, op. cit., p.22.

The reflective and critical consciousness that participates in the situation brings to the fore the power relations that act as the background, and historicizes (relativizes) them. Critical literacy is linked to other critical discourses, especially those of multiculturalism and interculturalism, in that it questions power relations and critically exposes the ideologies that operate within them. For example, the identity issue raised by interculturalism reveals and challenges the dominant ideology operating in the rhetorical background that constitutes identity in a society. Critical literacy also crosses identity boundaries. Because critical literacy is a discourse and pedagogy that resists the dominant hegemony. From this point of view, Aronowitz's and Giroux's definition of critical literacy is significant:

> "critical literacy would make clear the connection between knowledge and power. It would present knowledge as a social construction linked to norms and values, and it would demonstrate modes of critique that illuminate how, in some cases, knowledge serves very specific economic, political and social interests. Moreover, critical literacy would function as a theoretical tool to help students and others develop a critical relationship to their own knowledge."[18)]

In *Pedagogy*(1970), Freire analyzes the cultural behaviors that developed from anti-conversational matrix, which implies the meaning of critique of power that critical literacy issues.[19)]

Ⅳ. Conclusion

This article examines the philosophical meaning of intercultural communication and critical literacy in terms of language, reflection, and critique of power. In intercultural communication, language is the medium of communication and has the pragmatic premise. Based on the rationality inherent in language, intercultural communication seeks to reach an unforced agreement and understanding between different cultures. Along with the rationality inherent in language, the subjects living in culture communicate with heterogeneous cultures through rational self-understanding and critical reflection on culture. Furthermore, intercultural communication implies criticism of unjust power based on formal and material ethical principles.

In critical literacy, language is the medium for world understanding and critical

18) Stanley Aronowitz and Henry Giroux(1985). *Education under siege*. South Hadley, MA:Bergin-Garvey. p.132. Ira Shor, op. cit., p.21.

19) Freire(1970), Chap.4. Anti-conversational behaviors have these four characteristics: subjugation, division, manipulation, cultural erosion.

thinking. Critical literacy seeks to change the subject's social situation into a better one through dialogue, and praxis for this change includes thinking and action. For the emergence of the critical consciousness pursued by critical literacy, it is necessary to move to the consciousness that the existential situation of the subjects is changeable. Such consciousness is necessarily accompanied by reflective consciousness. The main feature that distinguishes critical literacy from other literacy is the premise of a critique of power. Critical literacy aims at problem-posing education, criticizing the anti-dialogue behavioral patterns that hinder genuine democratic dialogue. Anti-dialogue patterns are linked to the ideology of the ruling elites, and this ideological critical aspect of critical literacy is in line with intercultural communication.

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Session 2

- **Taeho Kim (Japan)**

  Cultural exchange between Japan and Silla in ancient times : Focusing on the Sahari kitchen Utensils made in Silla in the Shosoin collection of Todaiji Temple

- **Katharina Süberkrüb (Germany)**

  Korean and European perspectives on 19th century Chosŏn culture: Kyŏngdo chapchi versus ethnographic collections

Cultural exchange between Japan and Silla in ancient times : Focusing on the Sahari kitchen Utensils made in Silla in the Shosoin collection of Todaiji Temple

Taeho Kim
(Japan)

Abstract

Inside Todai-ji(東大寺) Temple in Nara, the Shosoin(正倉院) houses a remarkable collection of Sahari kitchen utensils originating from the Silla Kingdom. Notably, Saji(匙), Juwan(重鋺), Ban(盤), and Wan(鋺) are among the Sahari(佐波理) kitchen utensils that have been preserved. These utensils were introduced to Japan during the exchange between Japan and Silla in the 8th century. The Shosoin office, responsible for the maintenance of Sahari kitchen utensils, has encountered diverse interpretations and terminology regarding these artifacts in historical records. Over time, from the Nara period until the present, the nomenclature for Sahari underwent changes, as documented through investigations conducted on brass objects. The etymology of Sabari is Sabari(사바리) in the Korean Gyeongsang dialect of Sabal(사발), and in Japan, the name of the container is misidentified as the name of the material. In Japanese society, only chopsticks are used for eating, and it is considered that Sahari kitchen utensils were used not for eating, but for memorial services at Todai-ji Temple, in light of the eating etiquette and usage of tableware. On the other hand, the Sahari Juwan has his name and number written in ink, and the Sahari Ban has verdigris and gold paint attached to it, indicating it was made by Zotoudaijisi(造東大寺司). It was also used as a painter's tool. At the end of the 8th century, Zotoudaijisi, the owner of Sahari kitchen utensils, went out of business, and these utensils were stored in the double storehouse of Kenjakuin(羂索院), and restored at the end of the 10th century. These objects were moved to Shosoin, now known as Nanso.

Keywords: Shosoin(正倉院), Kitchen Utensil, Sahari Kaban(佐波理加盤), Sahari spoon(佐波理匙), Sahari dish(佐波理皿), brassware

Introduction

The Todai-ji Shosoin in Nara, Japan has inherited the spoons, wans, and plates of Sahari kitchen Utensils brought from Silla. Since the terminology surrounding these Sahari goods can be complicated and unclear, we will clarify what kind and how much of it has been passed down while providing accurate definitions where possible. This investigation will also reveal details about the exchange relationship between Japan and Silla, during which these Sahari goods were brought to Japan. This study will also consider the use of Sahari Products, and the circumstances and storage that ultimately led to their being stored in Shosoin.

First of all, Shoso was a storehouse used for storing goods in government offices and large temples during the Nara period (710-794). Its original function was to serve as a storehouse for paying taxes. Todai-ji Temple in Nara also had a Shoso, of which only one remains, and that is the Shosoin. At first it was not clear exactly when the Shosoin was built, but records of the storage of treasures in Tenpyohoji 3 (759), later revealed that it was built in 759.

This paper will focus on the food culture of Silla brought to Japan from the Korean Peninsula in ancient times, namely Sahari kitchen utensils. Through this study, it was possible to clarify the terminology surrounding the Sahari kitchen utensils made by Silla, which is owned by the Shosoin, and the overall picture of Sahari Products used at the time. By extension, we believe that the exchange between Japan and Silla will be clarified through the analysis of its use and the process of its introduction.

1. Brass kitchen utensils

Various terms are used for brass kitchen utensils brought from Silla that have been handed down and preserved at Shosoin. This section will take a look at Sahari, the names of kitchen utensils, and the changes that took place for the names of spoons, Wan, and plates themselves. Finally, accurate terminology for the various items will be presented.

1-1. The term Sahari

Traditional studies use the term Sahari prefixed with brass kitchen utensils such as spoons, wans, and plates. For example, there are names such as Sahari spoon, Sahari kaban, and Sahari Dish. On the other hand, the names used by the Shosoin office were different. 1）. Some examples of these different names are 'Copper spoon' without Sahari, 'Sahari Kaban,' and 'Sahari Dish.'

However, in the historical material 'Baisiragibutsuge', which will be discussed later, there is no mention of the term 'Sahari' for kitchen utensils made of brass.2) In fact, the names 'Saura(迊羅) Gojuwan(五重鋺),' ' Cupronickel(白銅) Gojuwan,' 'Sauraban(迊羅盤),' 'Cupronickel Ban,' and 'Cupronickel Chopsticks.' The terms 'Gold Wan,' 'Bowl,' 'Large Ban,' 'Wan,' 'Spoon Chopsticks,' and 'Chopsticks" are confirmed in this text. In other words, the names of kitchen utensils are written as Juwan, Ban, bowl, and chopsticks instead of Kaban, Wan, and plates. In addition, Baisiragibutsuge puts 'Gold,' 'Cupronickel,' and 'Saura' in front of the product to indicate the material instead of Sahari. There is for example, 'Gold Wan,' 'Cupronickel Ban,' 'Saura Ban,' and 'Cupronickel Gojuwan.' This summary of various uses of names for these items demonstrates that there is no uniformity in terminology found in conventional research, the Shosoin office, and historical materials.

In this way, among various names, there are material names that match the terms found in historical documents, but there are also names that do not match. In addition, the size of the product, rather than the material, may be indicated in front of the product. For example, use of the term 'Large Ban' has been confirmed. Based on this point of view, it can be said that 'Saura' in 'Baisiragibutsuge' is equivalent to material or size. The size of some Gojuwan is written on the back, so 'Saura' is probably the material.

So, why the name Sahari came to be used, let's unravel the problem of the terminology. For this reason, we will examine the records of the "Wamyoruijusho," a Chinese-Japanese dictionary from the middle of the Heian period (794 to the end of the 12th century).

In the 'Kibutsuno-bu' section of the "Wamyoruijusho", the following was written.[3)]

鈔鑼 唐韻云鈔鑼二音与沙羅同俗云沙布羅今案或説云新羅金椀銅器也
出新羅国後人謂之雑羅者新之訛也正説未詳

According to the above records, although the correct theory is unknown, Silla's Gold Wan, (copperware Sahura) may have affected the sound of ‘Silla.’ In short, it can be said that spoons and chopsticks were not the objects in question, because Silla's Gold Wan copperware is written as 'Sahura.' On the other hand, the term 'Saura' is confirmed in the historical material Baisiragibutuge.

Furthermore, it can be understood that 'Saura Gojuwan,' which is the golden shovel of Silla, is also referred to as Sahura. Although the term Sahari is used in previous studies, there is no sufficient explanation as to why Sahura is sometimes referred to as Sahari.

In the encyclopedia "Wakansansaizue" compiled by Terasima Ryoan (1654-?) in Shotoku 2 (1712) of the Edo period, the following text was found.4)

さはり
白銅佐波 用唐金分量加用錫十分之一、是亦作鉢皿、或作菜刀、勝於真鍮刀、凡忌鉄者利
用之食

In this historical material, the word 'Cupronickel,' which is the material of the kitchen utensils found in the Baisiragibutuge, ‘Sahari’ is written above the characters 'Cupronickel.’ This is an example of Cupronickel referred to as Sahari, but from this content, not only Cupronickel, which is the material found in Baisiragibutuge, but also Saura, is used. Even copper utensils can be called Sahari. Moreover, copper spoons and chopsticks can also be called Sahari. This is because Cupronickel and Saura have different colors depending on the ratio of alloys such as copper and tin, as can be confirmed from the cited historical materials. Therefore, we think that the copper products Hakudō and Saura can be regarded as Sahari, because they both represent material names. However, in "Shosoin no Kinko," the copper products in the Shosoin collection are classified in modern terms as Cupronickel, red copper, and brass.5) Other changes can be confirmed in the names and writing style of Sahari. In the Tenpo 7 (1836) "Tōdaiji Shosoin Treasure Catalog" (owned by Waseda University Library), there is no kanji notation, and it is written as 'Sahari.' In the 1924 Shosoin Gyobutsu Mokuroku (Nara Imperial House Museum), 'Sahari' can be found in the descriptions of '佐波理鋺壱口' and '佐波理加盤四百弐拾口四拾五重.'

The Baisiragibutsuge(買新羅物解) of Tenpyoshoho 4 (752) in the Nara period mentions 'Saura,' and during the Heian period, "Wamyoruijusho" was used. 'Sahura' appears in the "Wakansansaizue" of Shotoku (2nd year of the Edo period), and 'Sahari' in the "Todaiji Shosoin Treasure List" (Tenpo 7th year), and the term 'Sahari' (佐波理) is found for the first time in the 1924 Shosoin Gyobutsuroku.

This study will not analyze the history of this name, and use the term Sahari in previous studies. In his book "A Study of Eating Habits in Nara Period," Sinryu Sekine said that 'Saura' meant Sahari.6)

Suzuki Yasutami inherits Sekine Sinryu's view that Sahura is Sahari. Today in Korea, Sahari is called 'Sabal(사발).' The name Sahari is said to have originated from the word 'Sabal' as a utensil in Korea, which changed to the material name.7)

The composition that the name of the container '사발', is changed to the name of the

material; the idea is valid that Sahari, which is a Cupronickel material in ‘Wakansansaizue,’ extends to the '사발' of the vessel. However, it is difficult to imagine that 'Cupronickel' and 'Saura' were 'Sahura' in the Nara period, and that it was recognized as 'sabal' for vessels. However, without knowing the exact meaning, it is possible to conceive that 'Cupronickel' and 'Saura' products were used as Sahura.

Suzuki Yasutami further claims that Sahari is the 'Sabal' of Korean objects, but the explanation from sahari to 'Sabal' is sufficient. not done. Therefore, from a linguistic point of view, the pronunciation of 'Sahari' in "Wakansansaizue" 沙鉢 has the same pronunciation as 'Sahari' found elsewhere 佐波理. This is because in the pre-modern era, it was written as 'Kanjiwo manahi,' and now is written as 'Kanjiwo manabi,’ which can also be written as 'Sahari' or 'Sabari.' These Korean phonetic notations are '사하리(Sahari)' and '사바리(Sabari)'. In other words, the Korean notation '사바리(Sabari)' of 'Sabari' is the Gyeongsang-do dialect of '사발(Sabal). ' The Japanese and Korean sounds are similar and can be understood. Based on the premise that Sahura became Sahari, 'Sahari' is '사바리' in Gyeongsang-do dialect, which is a corrupted version of '사발.' Geography seems to support this finding, as Gyeongju, the capital of Silla, is a region of Gyeongsang-do. 8)

The Korean word '사발' basically refers to crockery '사기', but the reason for this is thought to be the kanji notation 'shabachi.' With the development of white porcelain during the Joseon Dynasty, there is a high possibility that the kanji notation of 'Shabo' for '사발' is a phonetic equivalent.

1-2. Product name of Sahari

In previous studies, the names 'Sahari Spoon,' "Sahari Kaban,' and 'Sahari Dish' are used. However, the Baisiragibutsuge describes them as 'Juwan' (unit is jo), that is, Gojuwan. Juwan literally means kitchen utensils, which are made up of several layers of different sizes of chopsticks.9) The characters nanae, yae, kyue, and tōe are written in ink on the Juwan itself in the collection of the Shosoin.10)

It is therefore necessary to consider 'Kaban' along with the term 'Saharikaban,' to grasp its meaning. Ban in Kaban is a combination of 'Ban + Sara,' meaning a large boat. In the kitchen, this refers to a flat, circular bowl-like vessel in which food is served. In addition, '加' in Kaban means the layering or stacking of these circular bowl-like disks on top of each other in slightly different sizes. In short, Kaban is a bowl-like kitchen utensil made up of several layers of circular disks of different sizes, otherwise known as 'Juwan.' The meaning of Juwan is confirmed in the Baisiragibutsuge, and six instances of Kaban that are written in ink on the six containers themselves owned by the Shosoin can

also be confirmed.

See below for a photograph to of the characters 'Kaban' written on the Kyujuwan itself.

Below, (Photo 1), (Photo 8), and (Photo 10) are from "Metalwork of Shosoin." The other photos were provided by the Shosoin Office.11)

(Photo 1) Kaban

No. 4 Kaban: Collection of Shosoin Nanso

From (Photo 1), you can see traces of ink writing on the vessel itself, which reads, '九重加盤二口'. In this instance, we can see that Kyujuwan is referred to as 'Kaban.' This Kaban is considered to be Juwan, and the Ban seen in historical materials is considered to be 'plate.'12)

In the Baisiragibutsuge, the terms Juwan and Wan (unit is gu) can be found, but it is important to note that this is not an overlapping Juwan, but an individual term. In the Baisiragibutsuge, the terms bowl (unit: ko) and ban (unit: ko) can be seen. A bowl is considered to be an individual vessel that is slightly deeper than a wan.

Through the investigative process outlined above, we are now able to present an accurate name based on the terms related to Sahari found in previous research, the Shosoin Office, and historical materials. Throughout history, this terminology has gone through various transformations, leading to confusion, so we will proceed with the discussion while a closer look at each of the various terms.

2. Sahari kitchen Utensils made by Silla

In the Shosoin, imported Sahari kitchen utensils related to Silla have been preserved over time, and these representative utensils will be used to help clarify the overall situation as to their history. Various aspects of the kitchen utensils will be considered, comparing their sizes, features, characteristics, and historical and practical uses.

2-1. Sahari Spoon

Shosoin has a total of 345 spoons, including the bronze spoons made by casting and forging (Photo 2), (Photo 3), and (Photo 4).13)

Regarding the name of the utensils in (Photo 2), (Photo 3), (Photo 4), the Shosoin Office uses the term copper spoons, while the conventional research refers to them 'Sahari Spoons.'

The spoons in (Photo 2) have two types, one with a circular surface and the other with a leaf shape.14) This bound state remains the same as in the 8th century, and since it is wrapped with scrap paper from Silla, it is considered to be made in Silla.

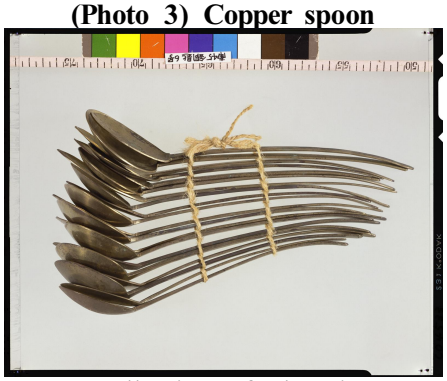
(Photo 2) Copper spoon

No. 1: Collection of Shosoin Nanso

A spoon with the same shape as (Photo 2) was excavated from Anapuji in Gyeongju, Korea.15)

Shosoin also has the spoon shown in (Photo 3), but the shape of the wrapping is slightly different from that of (Photo 2). The spoon in (Photo 2) is in an untouched state since it was obtained, while the spoon in (Photo 3) is thought to have been used somewhere and then bound again in a shape similar to (Photo 2).

(Photo 3) Copper spoon

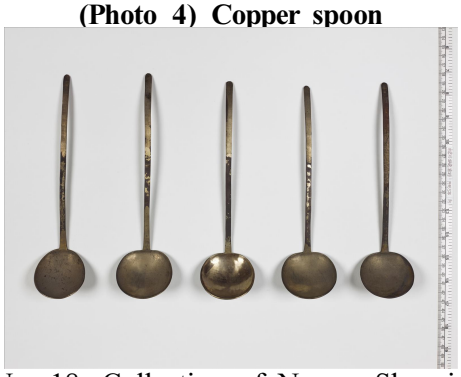


No. 6: Collection of Shosoin Nanso

The spoons in (Photo 3) are returned to almost the same state as in (Photo 2).16)

The spoons in (Photo 4) were stored separately after being used for some purpose, without being returned to the state shown in (Photo 3).

(Photo 4) Copper spoon



No. 18: Collection of Nanso, Shosoin

The spoon in (Photo 4) is also made by casting and forging like (Photo 2) and (Photo 3), so it must be made by Silla. In Shosoin, aside from the spoons shown in (Photo 2) and (Photo 3), there are an additional 305 unbound spoons also in the collection.

Additionally, a gold and silver spoon (Photo 5) have also been preserved in the Shosoin. It is the only silver spoon in the collection.17) The actual material is silver-plated copper, and the surface of the spoon is leaf-shaped.

(Photo 5) Gold and silver spoon

No. 43: Collection of Shosoin Nanso

(Photo 5) displays a spoon and chopstick set kept by the Shosoin Office, and as you can see from the photo, the chopsticks are a set of two. However, this name does not reflect the existence of chopsticks. This is considered to be an item corresponding to the 'white copper spoon and chopsticks' found in (Document 1) Baisiragibutsuge.

Korean silver spoons are still rooted in our lives. In Korean society, there is a custom of giving silver spoons for the 1st birthday and silver spoons for the 60th birthday.18)

2-2. Saharikaban

The name Saharikaban is a term coined by the Shosoin Office and previous research. It is described as 'Juwan' in historical materials. As mentioned above, there are six cases where 'Kaban" is written in ink on the vessel itself. Kaban is the shape of Juwan, which is made by stacking Wan, as shown in (Photo 6) and (Photo 7). This Juwan can be classified into two types.

The first type is a shape without a foot and without a lid, as shown in (Photo 6). The second type seen in (Photo 7) has a foot and a lid.

(Photo 6) Saharikaban

No. 15: Collection of Shosoin Nanso

(Photo 6) is a hemispherical shape with 4 flat-bottomed spatula nesting together.19)

It is a vessel without a lid and without a foot. On the outer surface of the largest paddle, the character for 'five' is written in black ink, and between each Wan, a scrap paper from Silla documents was sandwiched as cushioning/protective material.20)

This Silla document was destroyed and reused as cushioning material for Saharikaban (Photo 6). The waste paper also serves as proof that the product (Photo 6) was made in Silla.

(Photo 7) shows a Wan with a lid. Here, the lid and main body have a base, and when the lid is turned upside down, it can be used as a vessel. The main body has 8 nuggets nested together.21)

(Photo 7) Saharikaban

No. 6: Collection of Shosoin Nanso

Inscriptions such as '八重 加盤二口' are written in ink on the outer surface of the lid, and the names of many people and 'Ban' are written on the Juwan. It is almost the same shape as the Korean Wan with a lid.22)

In the Shosoin, there are 436 ko, including the Saharikaban including (Photo 6) and (Photo 7), and the lid and Shoban.23) This type of Shoban is shown in (Photo 10).

The name Sahari Wan is a term used by the Shosoin office.24) Although the object shown in (Photo 7) is not Juwan, it has a similar main body with a foot (Photo 7). The shape is similar to Juwan with a foot, but it is a single Wan.

(Photo 8) Sahari Wan

Collection of Shosoin Nanso (32)

One notable feature of (Photo 8) is that it has a high base, but it is not a Juwan kaban and has a deep bottom without a lid. Therefore, it can be said that it is a 'Sahari Bowl' because it is a bowl that is neither Kaban nor Wan.

In this way, (Photo 6) and (Photo 7) are similar in terms of Kaban, which is the shape of stacking vessels. On the other hand, (Photo 6) does not have a foot and a lid, and (Photo 7) has a foot and a lid. (Photo 8) is not Juwan, and it does not have a lid, but it does have a foot and is similar to (Photo 7).

2-3. Sahari Dish

There are many Sahari dishes left in the Shosoin, with 700 dishes in the collection.25) The name Sahari Dish is a term coined by the Shosoin Office.

(Photo 9) Sahari Dish

No. 1-1: Collection of Shosoin Nanso

The plate in (Photo 9) is large and thick.26) According to "Metalwork of Shosoin," this dish had a blue tint added to it. It can be confirmed that other plates also have gold paint, vermilion, and chalk.

The following (Photo 10) is named "Sahari Shoban" by the Shosoin Office. A Shoban is originally a plate with a base, but (Photo 10) does not reveal the base.27) One distinct feature of this vessel is that it is shaped like a plate with a platform inside. The Shosoin Office classifies Shoban into the category of Kaban, but considers it to be a vessel that is part of the plate.

(Photo 10) Saharishoban

No. 2: Collection of Shosoin Nanso (47)

The brass kitchen utensils shown in (Photo 2) and (Photo 10) were imported from Silla, and all of them have been curated in Shosoin Nanso. To summarize some terminology; a Juwan is a Kaban, and a Wan is a single bowl that is not a Juwan, and a Ban is a plate.28)

As mentioned above, Sahari Kitchen Utensils of Silla, otherwise known as brassware, were produced in the later Joseon Dynasty, and were a specialty of Anseong. Therefore, the proverb '안성맞춤' (literal translation: tailor-made for Anseong, translation: ‘perfect fit’) originated from Anseong was born. In other words, it means that Anseong's order is perfect for brassware. The brassware produced during the Silla period was exported to Japan, and production continues during the Joseon period (1392-1897) and even today.

3. Japan- Silla exchange and Sahari products

Silla destroyed Baekje in 660 and Goguryeo in 668, and had exchanges with Japan even before the unification of the three kingdoms. Putting aside the political relationship between Japan and Silla, in the 8th century there were active exchanges through Silla envoys dispatched from Silla to Japan and vice versa. Among these envoys, this study will focus on the exchange that brought Sahari products from Silla to Japan in the 8th century.

3-1. Envoys to Silla and Envoys to Silla

It is understood that the Sahari Kitchen Utensils in the Shosoin collection are products from Silla; next we will investigate how they were brought to Japan. This paper will examine the exchange relationship between Japan and Silla in the 8th century. Below, we will focus on the envoys to Silla who brought Sahari Kitchen Utensils to Japan during these exchanges.

(Table 1) Envoys to Silla in the 8th century (according to "Nihonshoki," "Shokunihongi," and "Nihonkoki")

番号	時期			使者及び人数	目的	訪問先	備考
	西暦	日本年号	新羅年号				
①	703年1月	大宝3年	聖徳2年	金福護	告哀	入京	700年:遣新羅使、703年:遣新羅使
②	705年10月	慶雲2年	聖徳4年	金儒吉	貢調	入京	704年:遣新羅使
③	709年3月	和銅2年	聖徳8年	金信福	方物	入京	706年:遣新羅使
④	714年11月11日	和銅7年	聖徳13年	金元静ら20人	朝貢	入京	712年:遣新羅使
⑤	719年5月	養老3年	聖徳18年	金長言ら40人	調物	入京	718年:遣新羅使、719年:遣新羅使
⑥	721年12月12日	養老5年	聖徳20年	金乾安		大宰府	721年:日本は元明太上天皇崩御のため新羅使を帰す
⑦	723年8月8日	養老7年	聖徳22年	金貞宿ら15人	貢物	入京	722年:遣新羅使は元明太上天皇崩御の報告ため
⑧	726年5月24日	神亀3年	聖徳25年	金造近	調物	入京	724年:遣新羅使は聖武天皇即位を伝えるため
⑨	732年1月22日	天平4年	聖徳31年	金長孫ら40人		入京	732年:遣新羅使は新羅使を送るため
⑩	734年12月6日	天平6年	聖徳33年	金相貞		入京	734年:日本は新羅が王城国と名乗ったこ

							とで新羅使を追い返す
⑪	738年1月	天平10年	孝成2年	金想純ら147人		大宰府	736年:遣新羅使は734年の新羅使への答礼
⑫	742年2月5日	天平14年	景徳元年	金欽英ら187人		大宰府	740年:遣新羅使、742年:日本は失礼があるとして新羅使を追い返す
⑬	743年3月6日	天平15年	景徳2年	金序貞		筑前国	
⑭	752年3月22日	天平勝宝4年	景徳11年	王子金泰廉ら700人		入京	752年:遣新羅使
⑮	760年9月16日	天平宝字4年	景徳19年	金貞巻		大宰府	753年:遣新羅使、760年:日本は新羅使の身分が低いとのことで追い返す
⑯	763年2月10日	天平宝字7年	景徳22年	金体信ら211人		入京	
⑰	764年7月19日	天平宝字8年	景徳23年	金才伯ら91人		大宰府	
⑱	769年11月12日	神護景雲3年	恵恭5年	金初正ら226人		大宰府	
⑲	774年3月4日	宝亀5年	恵恭10年	金三玄ら235人		大宰府	
⑳	779年10月9日	宝亀10年	恵恭15年	金蘭蓀	唐使案内	入京	799年:遣新羅史

Table 1 summarizes the exchanges between Japan and Silla in the 8th century, where records indicate that Silla sent envoys to Japan 20 times during this period.29)

Tenpyoshoho 4 (752) is the year when the Great Buddha Consecration Ceremony was held at Todai-ji Temple. In line with this situation, Prince Kim Taeryeum of Silla came to Japan with a large-scale mission of as many as 700 people. I believe that the delegation from Silla was not unrelated to the event of consecrating the eyes of the Great Buddha at Todai-ji Temple, which took many years to create.

According to the Tenpyoshoho 4 (752) article of the Shokunihonngi, on January 25, Japan appointed Yamaguchi Imiki Hitomaro as the envoy to Silla. After that, although the details of the activities of the envoys to Silla are unknown, (Table 1) ⑭ Kim Taeryeum, the prince of Silla, and other Silla missions arrived at Dazaifu on March 22nd. The procession entered Naniwa by sea, passed through the Yodogawa River, arrived at Nara on June 14th, prayed for the Emperor, and after presenting a diplomatic appointment to Emperor Koken, the official diplomatic schedule began. A feast was held on the 17th of June, and on the 22nd, they paid their respects to the Buddha at Daian-ji and Todai-ji. After that, the prince stayed at Naniwa no yakata on the 24th.

According to the "Todaiji Yoroku"30), the Todai-ji Rushanabutu consecration ceremony was held in April before the arrival of the Silla delegation in Nara, which included Prince Kim Taeryeum of Silla. Records indicate the ceremony finished on the 9th. This evidence implies part of the usage of Sahari Kitchen Utensils made by Silla.

3-2. Silla Envoys and Sahari Kitchen Utensils

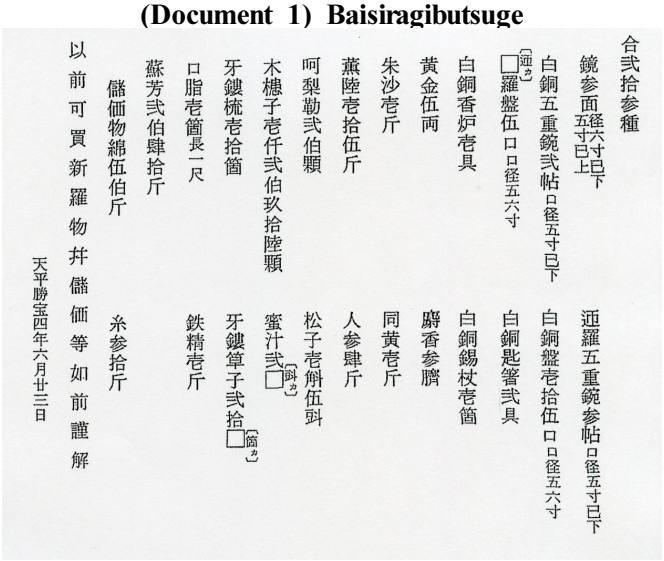
The Sahari Kitchen Utensils collection curated in the Shosoin over the centuries was

first transported to Japan during the exchange between Japan and Silla in the 4th year of Tenpyoshoho (752). We will consider how Japan obtained the Sahari Spoons, Sahari Kaban, and Sahari Dishes of Silla.

As seen in (Table 1), when the 20 Silla envoys visited Japan, trade was carried out while they entered Kyoto and stayed in Dazaifu.31) A document has been preserved which can shed light on a part of the purchase called Baisiragibutsuge. This Ge(解) is a document to a ministry official that listed the contents of the purchase. In order to purchase products from Silla, the fifth and higher nobles of Japan, the imperial family, temples and shrines, etc., submitted this Baisiragibutsuge document to the Ministry of Okurasho and Naizoryo, which were in charge of trade with Silla.32)

26 Baisiragibutsuge have been preserved. Next, this paper will consider one of these, (Document 1), from the 4th year of Tenpyoshoho dated June 23. The date of creation of this key document coincides with the period of stay of the Silla mission in Japan from June 15th to July 8th. This document was created to conduct public trade and purchase various goods with the Silla mission. In other words, the Silla mission was in charge of not only diplomatic missions but also trade.

(Document 1) Baisiragibutsuge


合弐拾参種
鏡参面径六寸已下
五寸已上
白銅五重鋺弐帖口径五寸已下
□〔垣カ〕羅盤伍口口径五六寸
白銅香炉壱具
黄金伍両
朱沙壱斤
蕪陸壱拾伍斤
呵梨勒弐伯顆
木槵子壱仟弐伯玖拾陸顆
牙鏤梳壱拾箇
口脂壱箇長一尺
蘇芳弐伯肆拾斤
儲価物綿伍伯斤
以前可買新羅物幷儲価等如前謹解
天平勝宝四年六月廿三日
逓羅五重鋺参帖口径五寸已下
白銅匙箸弐具
白銅錫杖壱箇
麝香参臍
同黄壱斤
人参肆斤
松子壱斛伍斗
蜜汁弐□〔斛カ〕
牙鏤箪子弐拾□〔箇カ〕
鉄精壱斤
糸参拾斤

(Document 1) The items of Baisiragibutsuge include kitchen utensils such as Gojuwan, Ban, and chopsticks. Sahari Kitchen Utensils of materials described as 'Saura' and 'Cupronickel' have also been confirmed. The articles of Silla that have been curated over time in the Shosoin were brought by a delegation including Kim Taeryeum, Prince of Silla, who came to Japan in the 4th year of Tenpyoshoho.33)

4. Use and storage of Sahari Kitchen Utensils

The Sahari Kitchen Utensils made in Silla have been handed down in the Shosoin Nanso of Todai-ji and are currently under the control of Kunaicho. Sahari Kitchen Utensils examines who acquired the items, for what purpose, and how they came to be stored in the Shosoin.

4-1. Uses of Todai-ji Temple and Sahari Kitchen Utensils

According to "Todaiji Yoroku," Todai-ji originates from Konshu-ji, which was built at the foot of Mt. Wakakusayama in 733 (Tanpyo 5). The existence of Kenjakudo and Senshudo can also be confirmed. In 742, the name of the temple was changed to Konkomyoji. Later, in the 17th year of the Tenpyo era (745), the construction of the Great Buddha (Rushanabutu) began at the site of what is now Todai-ji Temple at the request of Emperor Shomu. The characters Todai-ji(東大寺) were most likely used.

An organization called Zotodaijisi was set up for the construction of Todai-ji, as well as its management, maintenance, and workshop. This organization was first created in 748 (Tanpyo), according to historical records. Zotodaijisi included Mandokoro, woodworking factories, tile-making factories, foundries, sutra-copying factories, building factories, Buddhist-making factories, Tagamiyama Works, and Izumitsu Kiyado.

Zotodaijisi, as shown in Table 1, appears along with the Silla envoys led by Prince Kim Taeryeum when he visited Japan in the 4th year of the Tenpyoshoho era (752), which brought the Sabari kitchen utensils made in Silla. Zotodaijisi acquired the Sahari Kitchen Utensils made in Silla, but it was the trading envoy who was responsible for the purchase of the supplies.34)

Therefore, when Zotodaijisi bought the Sahari Kitchen Utensils, Japanese food culture and the environment were considerations in the purchase.

In the "Gisho" written at the end of the 3rd century "Sangokusi" era by Chinju (223? - 297?) of the Western Jin (265-316), 'Wajinjo,' in otherwise known as 'Gisiwajinden,' indicates that in Japan, food was eaten by hand. However, according to Yamauchi Hisasi, chopsticks became popular in Japan during the Heian period, and people started eating with chopsticks around the end of the 8th century or the beginning of the 9th century.35)

Kim Taeho clarifies that in Japanese society, the use of only chopsticks as a tableware has created a dining etiquette for eating by picking up the tableware, and has influenced other tableware, gozen, and dishes.36) In short, the food culture of using

chopsticks for eating spread in Japan, and the etiquette of eating by holding bowls and bowls was also formed. Under this eating etiquette, only chopsticks are used when eating; no spoons, that is, no Sahari spoons were used. Metallic Sahari, that is, Kaban (Juwan), Ban (Dish), and Wan (Bowl) have high thermal conductivity, rendering them difficult to lift and eat hot food. Therefore, it is difficult to incorporate Sahari Kitchen Utensils under Japanese dining etiquette. These facts make it clear that Zotodaijisi did not purchase the Sahari Kitchen Utensils made by Silla for eating purposes.

On the other hand, Kim Taeho notes that chopsticks were not only utilized for eating in pre-modern Japanese society, but they were also used in ceremonies for the imperial court and court nobles, events of samurai families, and the entertainment of Korean envoys.37)

Sekine Sinryu put rice, barley, water, sake, and sucrose into a Sahari Juwa with traces of rice grains, and was also known to put food into a Sahari Dish. Furthermore, according to documents of the Shakyojo, the Sahari Spoon was not a personal utensil, but a soup ladle used to pour and serve individual dishes. It was the upper classes who used them, and eating with chopsticks and spoons was the Western style at the time. While the Sahari Spoon, Kaban, and plates are intended for offerings to Buddhist deities, he also points out the possibility that the spoon may have been used with meals for the upper classes.38)

It is difficult to imagine that Sahari Kitchen Utensils were used for meals, considering the manner in which only chopsticks were used as eating utensils at that time. However, if the Sahari Wan (Photo 8) is a Bowl, it cannot be denied that the Sahari Spoon was used for monks' meals. Therefore, next we will consider the Bowl of 'Sobo Gujo' in "Wamyoruijsho."

鉢 四声字苑云鉢博末反俗学仏道者食器也
云波智

As can be confirmed from historical sources, bowls were used as tableware for those who study Buddhism. In short, if the Bowl is a monk's tableware, then the Sahari Bowl is not accepted under normal Japanese dining etiquette. This is because metal bowls cannot be eaten by hand if they are filled with hot food.

However, considering that the priests of the Zen temple Eiheiji used spoons, if the priests of Todai-ji used the Sahari Bowl for their meals, the Sahari Bowl would have been placed on the table when used for eating.39) In order to eat with a Sahari Bowl on

the table, it would also be necessary to use a Sahari Spoon brought from Silla. This dining etiquette, which differs from Japan, is the dining etiquette of Korean society, in which a spoon is used while the Bowl is placed on the table. Coincidentally, Sahari Kitchen Utensils are still a part of Korean dining etiquette to this day.

On the other hand, Suzuki Yasutami does not mention Sahari Spoons, but rather states that the small Sahari bowls and small metal plates were used by the painters and sutra masters of Todai-ji Temple. In other words, although the Sahari products are kitchen utensils, they were used for other purposes. The reason for this is that gold paint, green blue, vermilion, and chalk are attached to the plate, and that many names of people are written on the Wan.40) The "Metalwork of Shosoin," which was edited after researching Sahari Kitchen Utensils in Shosoin, also describes that various powders have been adhered to the plates.41) These Sahari Kitchen Utensils are undoubtedly items used by Zotodaijisi. Although they were not originally intended as kitchen utensils, Kaban and plates were also tools used by painters and sutra masters at Todai-ji Temple.

There are traces of rice grains on a small part of a Sahari Juwan, and evidence that sucrose was added to the Sahari Dish, as well as the painter's name and number, and traces of paint. These facts are deeply related to the arrival of the Silla envoy, including Prince Kim Taeryeum of Silla, to Nara in the 4th year of Tenpyoshoho (752). The Silla mission arrived at Dazaifu on March 22nd, and later arrived at Nara on June 14th, so the items could not have been used as an offering vessel for the eye opening ceremony which happened on April 9th. The Sahari Kitchen Utensils had no use as vessels for large-scale offerings, and instead were used as tools for the painters and sutra teachers of Zotodaijisi. However, four years after the opening ceremony, Tenpyoshoho was 8 (756) years old, and the memorial service was held at Todaiji after the death of Emperor Shomu in Tenpyohoji 3 (It can be surmised that some of the Sahari Kitchen Utensils were used for the 4th anniversary of Emperor Shomu's death in 759).

In this way, Sahari Kitchen Utensils were used for ceremonies at Todai-ji Temple, such as the eye-opening ceremony, and as utensils for copying sutras and paintings. Traces of grains of rice remain on the Juwan, and the Sahari Bowls were used for food in some cases, so the possibility that the Sahari Spoons were actually used for food cannot be completely ruled out either. In short, Sahari Kitchen Utensils were introduced into Japanese society in the Nara period from Silla, and were mainly used as tools for memorial services at Todaiji Temple and Zotodaijisi, but not for yet eating purposes in normal Japanese society.

4-2. Introduction and Storage of Sahari Kitchen Utensils

The Sahari products from Silla that have been preserved in the Shosoin include not only kitchen utensils, but also a wide variety of items such as incense burners, bottles, and canes. It is speculated that some of these Sahari products were not imported from Silla but are made in Japan, while other views have been expressed that it is difficult to distinguish between them.42)

These various Sahari products, especially kitchen utensils such as Sahari Spoons, Sahari Juwan, Sahari Ban, and Sahari Wan, were sold in Japan, but it is difficult to determine where they were made. As pointed out above, in Japanese society, only chopsticks are used when eating, and this is the origin of Japanese eating etiquette. Therefore, there is little need in Japanese society to produce Sahari Spoons, Sahari Juwan, Sahari Ban, and Sahari Wan for food. In short, since Sahari is a metal with good thermal conductivity, the tableware becomes hot and cannot be lifted by hand when eating, so generally Sahari tableware is not placed on the Japanese dining table. Simply put, Sahari products were not suitable for the Japanese diet and eating habits. On the other hand, it is not realistic to think of manufacturing Sahari tableware in Japan for use in Buddhist memorial services.

These kitchen utensils such as Sahari Spoons, Sahari Juwan, Sahari Ban, and Sahari Wan brought from Silla are kept in Shosoin Nanso. However, they have not been stored in the Shosoin Nanso from the beginning. After these items were used as containers for Zotodaijisi, the function of Zotodaijisi was abolished in 789, and the items used were kept at Todai-ji Temple. At first, they were stored in the twin storehouses of Kenjakuin. In the 4th year of the Tenryaku era (950), the items stored in the double storehouses of Kenjakuin were moved to Shosoin Nanso.43) According to the Tenpo 7 (1836) "Todaiji Shosoin Treasure Catalog" (owned by the Waseda University Library), the storage conditions used then were not as they are today. These Sahari Kitchen Utensils have been handed down in the Shosoin Nanso, but it is understood that they were also stored in the Nakakura during the Tenpo period.44)

In addition, the main entity managing the Shosoin also changed over time, and until the Edo period, it is said that the Hokuso and Chuso were under imperial orders, and the Nanso was under a rope.45) In 1875, Hokuso, Chuso, and Nanso were all placed under imperial decrees, and have remained so to this day.46)

Conclusion

Many Sahari Kitchen Utensils brought from Silla have been preserved over time in the Shosoin of Todaiji Temple in Nara. The Shosoin Office does not disclose everything it stores. Therefore, there is a constraint that we have no choice but to proceed with the analysis by relying only on the limited information disclosed by the Shosoin Office. Under these circumstances, the Sahari Kitchen Utensils that were brought to Japan from Silla during the exchange relationship between Japan and Silla in the 8th century were examined for this study.

In the discussion above, this paper clarifies and presents the differences between the terminology used for Sahari Kitchen Utensils in the Shosoin Office, previous studies, and historical documents, and finally also clarifies the usage of the term Sahari. First, the Juwan found in Baisiragibutsuge is regarded as Kaban, Ban as Dish, and Wan as Bowl. The materials 'Saura' and 'Cupronickel,' which precede the Juwan and Ban in Baisiragibutsuge, have undergone the following changes. In the Heian period "Wamyoruijusho," Silla's Gold Wan was called Sahura, and in the Edo period Shotoku 2 (1712) "Wakansansaizue," the material Cupronickel was referred to as Sahari, and in Tenpo 7 (1836) “Todaiji Shosoin Gohobutsu Mokuroku" (owned by Waseda University Library), 'Sahari,' and in the 1924 "Shosoin Gyobutsuroku" (Nara Imperial Museum), it is described as Sahari(佐波理). The etymology of this Sahari is 'Sabal' in the Gyeongsang Province, South Korea, and in Japan, the name of the 'Sabari(사바리)' container was misidentified as the name of the material.

The spoon, Juwan(重鋺), Ban(盤) and Wan(鋺) of Sahari Kitchen Utensils were brought to Japan from Silla during the exchange relationship between Japan and Silla in the 8th century. Japanese buyers of the fifth rank and above wrote Baisiragibutsuge to purchase Silla goods and submitted them to the Ministry of Finance and Juraryo to purchase from the Silla missions. These Sahari Kitchen Utensils were obtained from Zotodaijisi and were used by that organization.

When considering the purpose of this Sahari Kitchen Utensils, as well as the underlying Japanese food culture, it is clear that they were not obtained to be used as eating utensils. At that time, Japanese society did not incorporate spoons into their meals, and evidence indicates that Ban and Wan were not adopted either. Judging from this situation, it can be assumed that the Sahari Kitchen Utensils were not used for food but rather for memorial services at Todai-ji Temple. On the other hand, there is a vessel with the name and number are written in black ink on the Juwan, and the Ban is coated with

verdigris and gold paint. Juwan, Ban, and Wan were used for memorial services, but they were also used as tools for sutra masters and painters of Zotodaijisi.

Eventually, at the end of the 8th century, the owner of the Sahari Kitchen Utensils, Zotodaijisi, went out of business, and these utensils were stored in the Sokura of Kenjakuin until the end of the 10th century. Later, the collection was moved to Shosoin and is now kept in Nanso.

Notes

1） In 1944, the Shosoin Administration Office system was enacted, and in 1956, the Shosoin office was established as an organization to manage facilities within the Kunaicho. In addition to preserving and managing the treasures of the Shosoin and the volumes of the Sacred Scriptures, the office was responsible for surveying, researching, organizing, repairing, and reproducing them, as well as managing the buildings and land of the Shosoin, the Sacred Texts, and the East and West Treasure Houses.

2） Twenty-six Baisiragibutsuge have survived, according to Haruyuki Tono’s 'Research on Torige Tatsume's Documents Affixed to the Bottom of a Folding Screen: A Basic Consideration of Baisiragibutuge' ("Shirin" 57-6, Historical Kenkyukai, 1974) pp. 28-37.

3） "Wamyoruijusho (Kozannjibon)" New Tenri Library Good Book Series (Volume 7), Yagi Shoten, 2017.

4） "Wakansansaizue" Volume 95, Toyobunko, Heibonsha, 1985.

5） Edited by the above-mentioned Shosoin Office, "Metalwork of Shosoin" pp. 13-14.

6） Sinryu Sekine, "A Study of Eating Habits in Nara Period", Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1953, pp. 313-314.

7） Yasutami Suzuki, 'Fundamental Research on the Documents Attached to the Sahari Kan Board of the Shosoin' ("Chosen Gakho" No. 85, Chosun Gakkai, 1977), p. 52.

8） ibid.: Masataka Sekine's "A Study of Eating Habits in Nara Period"p.314, Sahura(沙布羅) is presumed to be read as 'Soura'.

9） In the 'Horyuji Engi narabi Ryu Ki Shizaicho', it is found that '五重鋺壱牒' is also a unit of Juwan.

10） ibid.: Shosoin Office, "Metalwork of Shosoin" p.116.

11） ibid.: Shosoin Office, "Metalwork of Shosoin" p.242.

12） In modern Korean society, Ban means '상', which means a table or table where

bowls, bowls, and plates are arranged during meals, as seen in Soban.

13) ibid.: "Metalwork of Shosoin" p.47 and Shosoin HP.

14) The length of the spoon is 20-25cm.

15) Cultural Properties Management Bureau "Aanabchi Excavation Report" (Korean Studies Institute, 2022, Korea)

16) The length of the circular spoon is 21.5-24.1 cm, and the length of the leaf-shaped spoon is 21.4-25.1 cm.

17) It measures at 29.5 in length, 4.0 cm in width, and weighs 124 grams.

18) Tae Ho KIM 'Japanese and Korean Table Manner: Focus on Their Development and Differences' ("The Journal of the Institute for Language and Culture"11Vol. Konan University The Institute for Language and Culture, 2007) p.111.

19) 22.0 cm in diameter and 9.2 cm in height.

20) The size of the waste paper, which is named 'Sahari Kaban Huzoku Monjo' in the academic world, is 29cm long and 13.9cm wide. There are various theories about the contents and function of the document, which will be discussed in another manuscript.

21) The outer vessel is 17.1 cm in diameter and 14 cm in total height.

22) Wan in Korea is called '주발', but in modern times it is called 'Bapguluk'.

23) ibid.: "Metalwork of Shosoin" p.8 and Shosoin HP.

24) (Photo 8) is p.165 of "Metalwork of Shosoin", edited by Shosoin Office. It has a caliber of 9.1, a height of 6.2 cm, and a weight of 160 grams.

25) ibid.: "Metalwork of Shosoin"p.109.

26) Diameter 27.1, height 4cm, cast.

27) (Photo 10) is p. 166 of "Metalwork of Shosoin" edited by Shosoin Office. Diameter 15.5, height 2.9cm, weight 209 grams.

28) ibid.: "Wamyoruijusho" 'tiles' says that this type of board is a 'Sara,' but this is

referred to as a plate today.

29) Although diplomatic relations between Japan and Silla were not good, Japan sent envoys to Silla ten times in the seventh century after Silla unified the three kingdoms. According to "Nihonshoki," "Shokunihongi," and "Sangokusiki," envoys to Silla were dispatched in 668, 670, 675, 676, 681, 684, 687, 692, 695, and 698.

30) "Todaiji Yoroku" 1. Todaiji Series, Hozokan, 2019)

31) ibid.: Tono, 'Study on the documents attached to the bottom of the Torigeritujo no Byobu - A basic consideration of Baisiragibutsuge', p.8. A messenger be sent to Dazaifu to purchase Silla goods in the early Heian period.

32) ibid.: Tono, 'Study on the Documents Affixed to the Bottom of the Torige Tatsujo Folding Screen: A Fundamental Consideration of Baisiragibutsuge', p.11. Twenty-six articles from Baisiragibutsuge, which wrote about the items Japan wanted to trade, are taken up on pages 28-37. In addition, Masaki Minagawa, 'Reexamination of Baisiragibutsuge and Tenpyoshoho's 4th year visit to Silla' ("Senshu Shigaku", No. 63, Senshu University Historical Society, 2017) p.2.

33) 'Reading Historical Documents: Ancient Times' (Asahi Encyclopedia Japanese History, Separate Volume "How to Read History" Asahi Shimbun, 1992), pp. 30-32.

34) ibid.: Suzuki, "Fundamental Research on Saba Rikaban Annexes of Shosoin", p.64.

35) Yamauchi Hisasi, "Food Tools" (Hosei University Press, 2000) P.119.

36) Taeho KIM 'The Relationship between Cutlery and Low Dining Tables, Tableware and Food in Japan and Korea: Study on the Function of Cutlery' ("The Association for Northeast Asia Regional Studies journal" 14, The Journal of Northeast Asia Studies, 2008) pp.83-98.

37) ibid.: Tae Ho KIM 'Japanese and Korean Table Manner: Focus on Their Development and Differences'pp.107-108.

38) ibid.: Sekine, "A Study of Eating Habits in Nara Period", pp. 315-317, pp. 345-346.

39) ibid.: Taeho KIM 'The Relationship between Cutlery and Low Dining Tables, Tableware and Food in Japan and Korea: Study on the Function of Cutlery' p.92.

40) ibid.: Suzuki, 'Fundamental research on the supplementary documents of the Shosoin Sahari Kaban", pp. 64-67.

41) ibid.: "Metalwork of Shosoin" p.49.

42) ibid.: Suzuki, 'Fundamental Research on the Shosoin Sahari Kaban Annex' p.53, it is not unnatural to assume that Sahari products were also made in Japan. On page 18 of "Metalwork of Shosoin", it is mentioned that there are also items made by Japanese craftsmen.

43) Yoshihiko Hashimoto, "History of Shosoin" (Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1997) pp. 19, "Shosoin Treasures Exhibition Catalog" (Tokyo National Museum, 1959) pp.5-6.

44) ibid.: pp. 20-21 of "History of Shosoin" by Hashimoto mentioned above, it is pointed out that the deposits of the Hokuso and Chuso were moved to the Nanso in order to repair the imperial order.

45) ibid.: p. 20 of Hashimoto's "History of the Shosoin", it is said that the Chuso was an imperial seal during the Heian period.

46) ibid.: "Shosoin Treasures Exhibition Catalog" pp. 5-6.

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Korean and European perspectives on 19th century Chosŏn culture: Kyŏngdo chapchi versus ethnographic collections

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Abstract

After the opening of the Chosŏn Dynasty to foreign powers in 1876, European interest in the Korean peninsula included the collection of objects of material culture, art, and science. The objects collected toward the end of the Chosŏn dynasty range from gifts from the Chosŏn court, private collections donated to museums, artifacts collected at the request of German museums, acquisitions from the ethnographic market, and antiquities and archaeological objects collected by chance. The image of Korean culture in Europe was transculturally shaped by Korean and European intermediaries.

This presentation will focus on the perspectives of the Korean Sirhak scholar and historian Yu Tŭkkong (柳得恭, 1748 - 1807) and the German physician, anthropologist, and ethnologist Georg Thilenius (1868 - 1937) on late Chosŏn dynasty culture. Yu Tŭkkong is the author of the Kyŏngdo chapchi (京都雜志), a late 18th or early 19th century Korean primary source that lists and explains the material culture of the upper class of late dynastic Korean society and describes holidays, festivals, and customs. In his position as director of the Hamburg Museum of Ethnology, Georg Thilenius wrote a multi-page wish list to a collector in Korea of objects he wanted to add to the museum's collection in the early twentieth century. By filtering out the categories and subcategories of Korean material culture mentioned by the authors, a corresponding ontology can be created. This helps to understand the different views of Korean material culture.

Session 3

- **Hui-jin Mun, Hyun-Sik Choi (Korea)**

  Intercultural Communication and Literary Representation of the Vietnam War in Multicultural Novels

- **Young Yun (Korea)**

  Current Status and Future Directions of Korean Language and Cultural Education for Multicultural Members: Focusing on Marriage Immigrants and Children of Multicultural Families

Intercultural Communication and Literary Representation of the Vietnam War in Multicultural Novels

Hui-jin Mun, Hyun-sik Choi
(Korea)

Abstract

This paper sought to present the direction of mutual cultural education by exploring the complex relationship between the literary expression of the Vietnam War and cultural communication in multicultural novels. To this end, this paper explored the appearance and attitude of characters in the works, events highlighted by mixed views, situations in which the characteristics of the Korean people are prominently revealed, and the background of the work, the place, and the social background of the times.

The Vietnam War has taken an important place in history as its influence extends beyond the physical boundaries of the countries involved. As society becomes increasingly multicultural, examining how this historical event is portrayed in literature and how it contributes to cross-cultural understanding is essential.

This study aims to shed light on how writers use literary devices and strategies to convey interactions between cultures in the context of the Vietnam War through a comprehensive review of related literature and analysis of selected multicultural novels,

The analysis of these multicultural novels shows various experiences and interpretations of the Vietnam War. It emphasizes the importance of cross-cultural communication in bridging the gap between people from different cultural backgrounds and promoting empathy. Expressing war in literature serves as a platform for intercultural dialogue and promotes a deeper understanding of historical events and their effects in today's multicultural society.

In addition, it contributes to the existing system of knowledge by providing insight into the role of multicultural fiction in cross-cultural communication and the depiction of

the Vietnam War. Emphasizing the importance of literature as a medium for cultural exchange and understanding allows readers to participate in various perspectives and challenge their preconceptions.

Keywords: Multicultural novels, Vietnam War, literary reproduction, intercultural communication, intercultural education

I. Introduction

This study aims to examine the composition of multicultural novel[1] sanctions in order to use multicultural novels as a medium for intercultural education. To this end, I would like to analyze novels dealing with the Vietnam War as the main subject.

The Vietnam War in Korea was recognized as a driving force for the Park Chung-hee regime's political opportunities and economic revival (Bang Eun-soo, 2019, p. 132), and began to draw attention as a problem of defoliant damage to Korean veterans (Yoon Jae-hyun, 2022, p.128). For this reason, the Vietnam War in Korea was remembered as the "motor of economic revival" and the "sacrifice of veterans." However, since the late 1990s, claims of the massacre of Vietnamese civilians by Korean veterans have changed social memory a lot (Kwon Ye-jin and Choi Eun-bong, 2023, p. 157. In Korea, the Korean government's insufficient policy implementation of the past history between the two countries has sparked opposition from the Vietnamese government and the people (Kim Jong-wook, 2017, p. 62). This controversy is not over until now, 50 years later.

Meanwhile, according to the status of foreigners staying in Korea (as of April 2023), 45.1% (662) of naturalized people are from Vietnam, and 73,784 (35.6%) of Vietnamese students account for the largest proportion. In addition, the number of Vietnamese migrants has continued to increase and decrease over the past decade, accounting for the second largest proportion after China at 256,750 (10.9%), this study examines Vietnamese war novels as sanctions for mutual cultural education that can promote understanding, respect, and communication between different cultures.

Research related to multicultural fiction education is a study that examines specific cultural situations and objects reproduced by novels such as nomadic subjectivity, identity patterns, dual hospitality, marriage migrant women, and multicultural fantasy. (Shim Young-ui, 2013; Son Hye-sook, 2020; Seon Joo-won, 2011; Jeong Seon-ju, 2014; Song Myung-hee, 2011; Multicultural, Mun-sik, 2019). Among them, research on Vietnamese war novel education is mainly conducted on memory and perception patterns (Lee So-jung, 2022; Kim Jong-wook, 2017).

Accordingly, more research is needed in terms of analyzing the components of multicultural novels and using them as educational sanctions in order to use novels based

1) Multicultural novels refer to novels that include the voices of others who have migrated into our society within our hearing rights (Yoon Dae-seok, 2014, P. 212)

on the Vietnam War in education. To this end, research should be actively conducted to analyze the contents of the novel and to propose educational methods and strategies using it.

II. The Vietnam War and Multicultural Novels

Since the 2000s, the influx of migrants has become active in Korea, and as of April 2023, the number of foreign residents was 2,354,083, a 10-fold increase from 219,962 in 2000. Until the 2000s, the population of immigrants from China was large, but since then, the influx of immigrants from Vietnam has increased rapidly (Ministry of Justice, 2023). It is the first time that a Korean man married a Vietnamese woman in the wake of the Korean military's participation in the Vietnam War from the late 1960s to the early 1970s (Chae Ok-hee and Hong Dal-baby, 2007, p. 2).

Research related to Vietnam in Korea began in the mid-1960s, focusing mainly on political issues and the Vietnam War. Since 1975, Vietnam's unification has reduced interest in Korea. However, with the Vietnam reform policy in 1986 and the establishment of Korea-Vietnam diplomatic relations in 1992, the demand for research in the process of expanding economic cooperation between the two countries began to increase (Lee Han-woo, 2013, p. 132). These changes are also being reproduced in literary texts.

Korea and Vietnam have Confucian culture, have experience under Japanese rule, and have historical commonalities that were divided into the South and the North (Song Myung-hee, 2012; 42-43). Above all, as a country that participated in the Vietnam War, novels based on the Vietnam War have been continuously published in Korean novels since the 1970s (Ko Myung-chul, 2003: 293).

Before and after Korea-Vietnam diplomatic relations, novels based on the Vietnam War were published by Hwang Seok-young (1985)'s "Shade of Weapons," Lee Won-kyu (1986)'s "The Order and the Gulle," Ahn Jung-hyo (1989)'s "White War," Park Young-han (1996)'s "Red Ao Xi," and Park Hyun-mi's "Time of Eating" (2002) and "Hwan Lee Dae-soo's (2004). Through this, it can be seen that Korean novels continue to reflect on the Vietnam War.

Still, the perception of the Vietnam War is changing in Korean society. In the past, war was justified by emphasizing economic development, but now various discussions are taking place considering various aspects. In particular, along with the trend of democratization, the injustice of war and the tragedy of slaughter are emphasized. As a result, there is a growing interest and need for education and discussion on the Vietnam

War (Kim Jong-wook, 2017, p. 74). Literature serves to reproduce historical events. Accordingly, this paper aims to lay the educational foundation for mutual cultural understanding and coexistence by analyzing the Vietnam War reproduced in multicultural novels.

Ⅲ. Research Method

1. Target of Analysis

This study aims to analyze the components of multicultural novels in order to use novels based on the Vietnam War educationally. The text to be analyzed is as follows. First, it is a multicultural novel based on the Vietnam War, and second, it was published after 2000,[2] Third, it is a novel that reveals mutual communication between Koreans and Vietnamese. Based on these criteria, three Vietnamese war novels were selected, and are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. List of novels to be analyzed

	Title	writer	publisher	Year
1	The Form of Existence	Bang Hyeon-Seok	JoongangBooks	2003
2	Xin Zhao, Xin Zhao	Choi Eun-young	Munhakdongne	2016
3	The Wetlands of Memory	Lee Hye-Gyeong	HYUNDAE MUNHAK	2019

Hwang Soon-won's " The Form of Existence " is about the lives of Korean "Jae-woo, Moon-tae, Chang-eun" and Vietnamese "Legitui," while Choi Eun-young's "Xin Zhao, Xin Zhao" is about the conflict between Vietnamese family "Ho, Nguyen, Tui" and "Korean Family" mom, dad, and younger brother Da-yeon." All of the works presented are based on the Vietnam War and depict the interaction between Koreans and Vietnamese, but the background of the story is "Vietnam, Germany, and Korea," depicting stories in different places.

2. analysis framework

M. De Carlo (played by Jang Han-up, 2011, p. 78) presented three requirements for good literary works for mutual cultural education. First, it is a work that reveals a

2) Since 2000, interaction and understanding between migrants and residents have been important as multicultural education has been emphasized in Korean society, and since the time distance from the Vietnam War has widened enough, I would like to look at the characters and situations in the work from an objective perspective.

situation in which various interpretations are possible due to conflict, contradiction, and unexpected situations, second, a work that includes various perspectives that highlight the same social phenomenon as "mixed eyes," and third, a language expression that positively or negatively expresses the behavior of a nation or social group.

Based on the requirements presented above, this study reconstructed the analysis framework suitable for the purpose of this study based on the basic components of the novel, such as characters, events (situation), and backgrounds. These are as follows.

The analysis framework of the contents of the Vietnam War novel was largely divided into 'people, events, and backgrounds'. Looking at this in detail, the 'character' tries to analyze it focusing on appearance and attitude. Appearance' also includes a description of smell, and 'attitude' refers to emotions, values, and ways of behaving toward others. By looking at the description of these characters, I would like to look at how the characters are portrayed in a multicultural society.

Next, the "incident" will focus on events that highlight mixed gaze and events that reveal scenes expressing a nation. The "Event that highlights the mixed gaze" analyzes the situation in which the conflict of views and perspectives between the characters is highlighted among the events in the novel. This plays a role in revealing different perspectives by comparing and contrasting the perspectives and values of different characters. These events can affect the personal growth and changes in values of characters through conflicts and confrontations between various characters. The "Events Revealing Scenes Expressing a Nation" aims to analyze the scenes in which the characteristics or culture of a nation stands out among the events in the novel. This plays a role in conveying the characteristics of a nation with a specific cultural or historical background through events in the novel. For example, we can look at the situation in which the identity and unique aspects of a nation are described and emphasized through the consciousness, tradition, language, and event of a specific nation.

Finally, 'Background' aims to examine the place where the novel occurs, the historical and social background, etc. The period refers to the background of the times in which the novel is set, and the place refers to the place where the story unfolds. In addition, the social background includes the social reality, culture, and historical issues contained in the novel. This background is an important factor to help understand and interpret the novel. In particular, the background of the times in novels based on the Vietnam War depicts life during or after the Vietnam War from the 1960s to the 1970s. Accordingly, I would like to examine the historical context of the war, social changes, and human experiences through the background of the times.

Ⅳ. Symbolism and Cultural Significance of Appearance and Attitude

1. Appearance

The description of the appearance of the characters in the Vietnam War novels will be examined, including the description of the smell. First of all, foreign workers, Vietnamese deliverymen in "The Form of Existence," and the parents of a Vietnamese stepfather in "The Wetlands of Memory" have different nationalities and situations, but they express their appearance in similar vocabulary as "dark" and "black." This same description of the exterior can be seen as that "foreign workers" and "marriage migrant women" are recognized as groups with socially similar characteristics.

There is no external description in "Xin Zhao, Xin Zhao," but the sweat smell of the character "Tui" is described as "coins and onions heated in the sun," expressing the unique smell of Vietnamese characters. This may be the artist's intention to emphasize the personality or cultural background of a specific character through smell.

In "The Form of Existence" it was expressed as a contrasting description between Vietnamese and Koreans, and in the Wetlands of Memory, it was expressed as a contrasting description of local (country) people and urban people interacting with Vietnamese marriage migrant women.

In "The Form of Existence" Koreans may have expressed "white" hands and Vietnamese may have expressed through appearance characteristics that Koreans and Vietnamese have different cultures, and "white" may have expressed social upstream by connecting to the lower class in the countryside. In addition, the fact that rural people are described as "wrinkled" in the Wetlands of Memory may be to express the natural appearance of rural people and their experiences and lives in the countryside. On the other hand, the expression of urban people as "white" may emphasize the privileges and image of the upper class given by living in the city and economic benefits. These appearance descriptions and expressions may contain the artist's intention to emphasize the individuality, social background, and cultural characteristics of certain characters.

As such, the description of the appearance of characters in Vietnamese war novels was mainly shown through comparison with Vietnamese, Koreans interacting with them, and Koreans living in cities (Seoul).

2. Attitude

The description of the characters' attitudes in the Vietnam War novels can be examined through the way the characters treat others. First, the way Koreans behave toward Americans is as follows.

Through the above quote, Koreans in "The Wetlands of Memory" show their impressions and wonders of the advancement and military power of the United States. This can be interpreted as Koreans expressing the recognition of advanced culture and technology in the United States. In contrast to this expression, it is the way Koreans behave toward Vietnamese. These are as follows.

In the "The Form of Existence," Koreans living in Vietnam, Jae-woo and Hee-eun, ignored and criticized the Vietnamese delivery man, Young Man. This can be interpreted as recognizing that Koreans have a relatively low status against Vietnamese. In addition, the "mother-in-law" in "Memory Wetlands" distrusts her daughter-in-law, who is a "Vietnam marriage migrant woman," and thinks positively about her passive actions, "a decent good personality" and "kitchen work that learns quickly," but looks negatively at "going out of town to study Korean."

However, her closest being, a Korean 'husband,' supports her life as she studies Korean. This shows the status and family discrimination between Koreans and Vietnamese. In addition, Pilseong, a Vietnam War veteran who lives in the same neighborhood, tries to communicate with her in Vietnamese that she knows. This reveals the relationship between married migrant women and their mother-in-law.

This contrasting behavior shows that unequal treatment and discrimination against Vietnamese immigrants still exist in Korean society. However, at the same time, various perspectives and attitudes exist as characters such as "husband" and "pilseong," who show positive behavior toward Vietnamese immigrants, appear. This shows that there are various perceptions and attitudes in Korean society, and that there are differences in attitudes toward migrants depending on individual tendencies and experiences. Finally, I would like to examine the interaction between Koreans and Vietnamese.

In "Xin Zhao, Xin Zhao," Koreans and Vietnamese greet each other in Vietnamese and Korean to form a friendly relationship. In addition, the relationship between Vietnamese and Koreans can be seen in the scene where the aunt suggests writing her name to her mother in Chinese characters. Through this, cultural commonalities between Korea and Vietnam are shared. In addition, Pilseong, who knows that it is not easy to

adapt to other countries due to his participation in the Vietnam War, will study Vietnamese to communicate with Nguyen, a Vietnamese marriage migrant woman. This emphasizes positive interaction and understanding between Vietnamese and Koreans, and shows empathy and solidarity between mutual cultures.

As such, the description of the attitudes of the characters in the Vietnam War novels can look at the contrasting behavior between Koreans and Americans, and Koreans and Vietnamese. Koreans have a high impression and respect for Americans, and recognize and respect the advancement of the United States. In contrast, Koreans' behavior toward Vietnamese tends to give them low status and criticize them. This shows that unequal treatment and discrimination against Vietnamese immigrants still exist in Korean society. However, at the same time, there is a scene that shows positive interaction and understanding between Koreans and Vietnamese. Through this contrasting behavior, it can be seen that multicultural novels can also examine the relationship between Koreans and other countries, the problem of migrants, and the importance of mutual understanding and coexistence in a multicultural society against the backdrop of a Vietnam war novel.

Tui in "Xin Zhao, Xin Zhao" is an immigrant from Germany and is taking classes at a German school. Disputing the German teacher's words about the Vietnam War, he reveals the truth about the Vietnam War. In response, the head of the team Yinga says Vietnam is the only country to beat the United States in the war, and many people, both American soldiers and Vietnamese, have died.

The above quote shows the difference in conflict and understanding between Germans and Vietnamese about the Vietnam War. The Vietnamese suffered from the loss of their families and witnessed the violence and attacks of American soldiers. In contrast, Yinga, the class president, is proud of his knowledge, telling the story of the Vietnam War he saw on television. Through this, historical and political conflicts and differences in understanding between Vietnamese and Germans are revealed. Finally, the difference in views between 'Vietnamese' and 'Korean' about the present, which is the result of the Vietnam War, is as follows.

"The Form of Existence" shows the difference in the perspective of Vietnamese and Koreans. Moon-tae asks Regitui whether many people were sacrificed in the Vietnam War, and as a result, Vietnam wanted to be the country. In response, Regitui says, all they wanted was a world where they were not hungry and no foreign troops invaded Vietnam. Also, Moon-tae looks at the girl selling the lottery and raises questions, but Regitui says the current generation should finish their work and hand over the work to

the next generation.

Moon Tae raises questions about the current situation, which is not stable compared to the sacrifices of Vietnamese who suffered a lot from the war, but Regitui has achieved what he wants through the war and insists that the next generation should be given a chance to solve new problems.

V. Conflict between diversity and race and ethnic identity

1. Events from various perspectives

The "distorted incidents" in Vietnam War novels can be divided into conflicts between "Koreans and Vietnamese" or "Vietnamese and German" over the "situation" of the Vietnam War. In addition, it can be seen as a difference in the perspective of "Koreans and Vietnamese" on the present, which is the result of the Vietnam War. First, the conflict between Koreans and Vietnamese over the "situation" of the Vietnam War is as follows.

"Xin Zhao, Xin Zhao" deals with various perspectives on the situation of the Vietnam War. The perspectives of Koreans and Vietnamese differ in understanding and interpretation of the situation. "I," a Korean child, claims that nothing bad happened to the Vietnam War, as I learned at Korean schools, because I wanted to maintain a good image of Korea. However, 'Aunt Nguyen' and 'Aunt Ho' refer to the fact that Vietnamese were killed by Korean troops in the Vietnam War. The mother, who did not know such a fact, apologized to Uncle Ho and Aunt Nguyen. However, 'Daddy' is reluctant to say sorry and reveals the pain of losing his brother. Through this, the difference between the pain and perspective of Koreans and Vietnamese on the Vietnam War is revealed. As such, "Xin Zhao, Xin Zhao" shows various perspectives on the Vietnam War and its results through conflicts of various characters.

The conflict between Koreans and Vietnamese over the Vietnam War can also be seen through the Wetlands of Memory. These are as follows.

Unlike "Xin Zhao, Xin Zhao", "The Wetlands of Memory" is revealed as an indirect conflict, not a direct conflict. The main character "I" learns Vietnamese and is interested in Vietnam to communicate with his new Vietnamese wife (a Vietnamese marriage migrant woman). At first, the new Vietnamese wife also showed favor. However, when

I learned that "I" was a Korean soldier, my relationship with her became distant. If you search for the word "pongni" to find out why, you will find out that there is a massacre of the Blue Dragon Corps. This is an incident that has hurt the Vietnamese greatly, and it seems that she misunderstood that there was "I" in the group.

As such, "The Wetland of Memory" shows the difference in conflict and understanding between Koreans and Vietnamese through the experiences of the main character "I" and his family. It deals with how the violence and massacre of the Korean military in the Vietnam War left scars and trauma for the Vietnamese, and shows how differences in conflict and understanding are formed and conveyed. The following is an incident in which the conflict between the "Vietnamese" and the "German" in "Xin Zhao, Xin Zhao" was revealed.

In "Xin Zhao, Xin Zhao," "Tui" is an immigrant from Germany and is taking classes at a German school. Disputing the German teacher's words about the Vietnam War, he reveals the truth about the Vietnam War. In response, the head of the team Yinga says Vietnam is the only country to beat the United States in the war, and many people, both American soldiers and Vietnamese, have died.

The above quote shows the difference in conflict and understanding between Germans and Vietnamese about the Vietnam War. The Vietnamese suffered from the loss of their families and witnessed the violence and attacks of American soldiers. In contrast, Yinga, the class president, is proud of his knowledge, telling the story of the Vietnam War he saw on television. Through this, historical and political conflicts and differences in understanding between Vietnamese and Germans are revealed. Finally, the difference in views between 'Vietnamese' and 'Korean' about the present, which is the result of the Vietnam War, is as follows.

"The Form of Existence" shows the difference in the perspective of Vietnamese and Koreans. Moon-tae asks Regitui whether many people were sacrificed in the Vietnam War, and as a result, Vietnam wanted to be the country. In response, Regitui says, all they wanted was a world where they were not hungry and no foreign troops invaded Vietnam. Also, Moon-tae looks at the girl selling the lottery and raises questions, but Regitui says the current generation should finish their work and hand over the work to the next generation.

Moon Tae raises questions about the current situation, which is not stable compared to the sacrifices of Vietnamese who suffered a lot from the war, but Regitui has achieved what he wants through the war and insists that the next generation should be given a chance to solve new problems.

2. Situations that reveal the characteristics of a nation

The situation in which the characteristics of the people in the Vietnam War novels were revealed can be largely examined through "food," "weather," and "language." First, the following are examples of the characteristics of 'food'.

In all novels of "The Form of Existence," "Xin Zhao, Xin Zhao," and "The Wetlands of Memory" the characteristics of the nation are described through food. In this novel, Vietnamese and Koreans' food preferences for other countries, food characteristics, and cultural conflicts caused by food appear.

In "The Form of Existence," Vietnamese people's favorite wrap pork is introduced. Through this, ssam pork is emphasized as a special food as one of the Vietnamese foods. In addition, it is described that the main character, Jae-woo, thought that a fairy tale about food was made while living in Vietnam, but his love for food disappeared over time. This shows that it was difficult to adapt to food due to cultural differences.

In "Xin Zhao, Xin Zhao," the food given by Uncle Ho is emphasized as light and comfortable. Through this, it can be seen that Vietnamese food feels light and comfortable to Koreans.

In "The Wetlands of Memory," the new Vietnamese wife has a hard time eating rice noodles, a food that is hard to find in rural Korea. In addition, among Korean couples who traveled to Vietnam, their wives rarely ate local food, and they show difficulties in adapting to food, such as picking cilantro from rice noodles. Through this, it can be seen that food plays an important role in understanding the characteristics of culture and ethnicity. Next is an example of the characteristics of 'weather'.

In "The Wetlands of Memory," Koreans feel the weather in Vietnam hot, and describe the weather, as well as the characteristics of Vietnam, where there are many motorcycles and bicycles. In addition, in "Xin Zhao, Xin Zhao", the characteristics of German weather were described as dry weather for Koreans and cold places for Vietnamese in Germany, and they had difficulty adjusting. Through this, the weather shows the difference between culture and the environment, and shows the difficulty of understanding and adaptation between ethnic groups. Next is the characteristic of 'language'.

In "The Form of Existence," the main character, Jae-woo, describes Vietnamese. Jae-woo appreciates the fascinating sense of Vietnamese tone and the ever-changing

feeling, and expresses that it cannot be expressed in Korean. The tone of Vietnamese is on top of words to express sadness and humor, which appears to be a tricky factor that puts Jae-woo in despair when he first learns Vietnamese. Through this, language differences can make communication and understanding between ethnic groups difficult, and Vietnamese tones have unique characteristics that cannot be expressed in Korean.

Taken together, through various perspectives and conflicts in war novels, various perspectives on the Vietnam War and its consequences, and the characteristics of the people appear. Through this, readers can understand and recognize the Vietnam War and its impact through various perspectives.

Ⅵ. Cultural Change and the View of the Social Landscape

1. Place

The 'place' in the Vietnam War novel can be divided into Vietnam, Korea, and Germany. First, Vietnam is depicted in the background as follows.

The background of "The Form of Existence" is "Vietnam," and the novel describes Vietnam's specific climate and environment through the description of the rainy season in Vietnam. In addition, the scene of bicycles, motorcycles, and cyclos spacing out on the side of the road shows urban life in Vietnam, and you can see the surrounding environment and social situation through the eyes of the main characters. The following is an example set in Germany.

"Xin Zhao, Xin Zhao" depicts the main characters returning to Germany. Previously, he lived in Berlin and returned to Korea, but a year later, he depicted returning to Germany.

In "The Wetlands of Memory", the novel mainly deals with Korean villages and rural landscapes, and conveys a specific place and atmosphere of Korea through the story of the main character. In the novel, you can see the social phenomenon of international marriage with Vietnam in Korea through the phrase "a married immigrant" written on the banner. In addition, in the novel, there is also a scene where a portrait photographing event is held for the residents of Samhwan Village. Through this, you can see the appearance of small village society and the daily situation of residents.

2. The social background of the times

Here, we would like to examine the 'social background of the times' in Vietnamese war novels by dividing them into 'the times' and 'society'. First, the following are examples of describing the 'background of the times'.

In "The Form of Existence," social division and political conflict are reflected by the controversy over the South Vietnamese government's violation of the agreement and the use of the term "anti-agreement people" in the answer to Jae-woo's question. In addition, Korean companies' attitudes and worker problems describe social problems through cases of treating Vietnamese workers with violence in overseas factories of Korean companies. The following is an example of the 'background of the times'.

The "The Form of Existence" shows that the mental and emotional aftereffects of the war experience of "Legitui" remain. Also, "Legitui," a warrior who passed the Ho Chi Minh route, jokingly throws the slogan of the Liberation Front. Through this, it conveys the situation and experience of the war period to the reader. This background describes the effects of the war that remain to this day. The following is the background of the times that appeared in "Xin Zhao, Xin Zhao".

In “Xin Zhao, Xin Zhao”, Plauen is described as a small city that used to be East Germany. Previously under the influence of East Germany, traces and changes in East Germany can be seen through abandoned buildings, desolate parks, and men sitting at tram stops. Through this, readers can look at the changed situation after reunification with East Germany. Finally, it is the background of the times that appeared in “The Wetlands of Memory”.

In "The Wetlands of Memory," a "mother" who suffered from the pain of the Korean War sends her son to the battlefield again. This shows the pain and contradiction of humans who are forced to participate in the war in the reality that the war continues despite the tragic experience of the war. In addition, the reality of Korea's multicultural society is described through the situation in which people from various countries such as Vietnam, Myanmar, Thailand, and Russia live together in Korea. Finally, "Pilseong," who has survived the war, still suffers from aftereffects from nightmares caused by trauma in the Vietnam War, showing how war can affect humans.

Taken together, Vietnamese war novels are set in Vietnam, Germany, and Korea, and describe the historical and social background through each place. Through this, readers can understand and sympathize with the historical events and social problems of each country, and experience more diverse indirect experiences through various cultural and social backgrounds.

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Current Status and Future Directions of Korean Language and Cultural Education for Multicultural Members: Focusing on Marriage Immigrants and Children of Multicultural Families

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Abstract

The foreign resident population in the Republic of Korea accounts for approximately 4.19% of the total population. To foster coexistence in a multicultural society, effective communication among diverse individuals is crucial. However, there is a lack of comprehensive research on the current state of Korean language and culture education for multicultural members, particularly focusing on marriage immigrants and their children. Therefore, this study aims to examine existing Korean language education programs and identify the challenges and issues faced by marriage immigrants and multicultural children. In-depth interviews were conducted with six Korean language instructors specializing in teaching these groups to gain a deeper understanding of the on-site situations and issues. Based on the results, this study proposes the direction for Korean language and cultural education for marriage immigrants and multicultural children. This research is significant as it suggests the necessary direction for Korean language and cultural education based on the direct and practical opinions of instructors who work with marriage immigrants and multicultural children, rather than relying solely on existing theories or materials.

Keywords: multicultural society; marriage immigrants; children of multicultural families; Korean language and culture education; in-depth interviews.

I. Introduction

As of November 2021, the population of foreign residents in Republic of Korea reached 2,134,569, constituting approximately 4.19% of the total population, as reported by the 2021 Population and Housing Census. Although this percentage reflects a slight decrease of around 0.2% compared to 2019 when it peaked at 4.3% in 2019, it's essential to take into account the retricted entry condition imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic[1] Considering these circumstances, the progress towards building a multicultural society in Republic of Korea is not far off. Effective communication among diverse individuals is a crucial aspect of coexistence in such a society. Therefore, prioritizing Korean language education policies become a primary measures necessary for the successful integration of a multicultural society in Republic of Korea (Seo *et al*., 2023).[2]

This study aims to investigate the current state of Korean language and culture education for multicultural members who are on the verge of integrating into Korean society and identify ways to further enhance these educational practices. Multicultural members encompass individuals with diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds, including international marriage families, international students, migrant workers, and defectors from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) (An *et al*., 2020). With a specific focus on international marriage families, who constitute the primary target among multicultural members, this research aims to present an overview of the present situation, identify challenge, and propose potential solutions concerning Korean language and culture education for marriage immigrants and their children. To achieve this, relevant studies have been reviewed, and in-depth interviews have been conducted with Korean language instructors who specialize in teaching marriage immigrants and multicultural children in order to gain insight into on-site situations and issues that cannot be solely determined through academic research.

1) OECD classifies a country as multicultural or multiethnic when the immigrant population exceeds 5% of the total population.

2) The most crucial issue related to Korean language education policy is the establishment of the Korean Language Basic Act in 2005. The Korean Language Basic Act includes key provisions regarding the establishment and operation of departments responsible for Korean language education policy, the separation of Korean language education for Koreans and foreigners, and the global dissemination of Korean language education. It has contributed to the establishment and implementation of the Korean language education policy, including the development of frameworks for policy formulation and implementation. Furthermore, the Korean Language Basic Act, along with the "Law on Support for Education of Overseas Koreans" enacted in 2007, has laid a solid foundation for the formulation of domestic and international policies related to Korean language education (Seo *et al*., 2023:534).

II. Theoretical Background

1. Korean Language and Cultural Education for Marriage Immigrants

The primary emphasis of Korean language and cultural education for marriage immigrants is predominantly on women. As of November 2022, the Ministry of Justice's Immigration and Foreigner Policy Bureau reported that the number of marriage immigrants reached approximately 169,800, which is about five times higher compared to 34,710 in 2002. Marriage immigrants are not temporary visitors but individuals who settle in Republic of Korea and require adaption and integration into Korean society and family life. Korean language education is considered fundamental and essential for their successful integration.

Previous research studies, such as Sang-min Sim (2014), Hyun-hwa Kang (2015), Hae-jun Yu (2016), and Wol-lang Ju (2018), have highlighted the need for diverse research topics and approaches in Korean language education for marriage immigrants, as well as the activation of advanced-level education for proficient learners. Additionally, Ha-ra Jeong and Young-san Gu (2023) emphasize the importance of discussing Korean language education areas that support social integration, capacity building, re-education, and continuing education for marriage immigrants, particularly focusing on advanced-level education related to vocational training or specialized fields. There is a demand for practical field research that addresses the execution of education accommodating the diverse socio-cultural needs of marriage immigrants and examines its effectiveness.

One of the notable programs for Korean language education targeting marriage immigrant women is the Korea Immigration & Integration Program (KIIP)[3] conducted by the Ministry of Justice and Multicultural Family Support Centers. The program comprises a basic course (15 hours), elementary levels 1 and 2 (100 hours each), intermediate levels 1 and 2 (100 hours each), and level 5 (70 hours for the basic stage and 30 hours for the advanced stage). Level 1 to 4 primarily focus on teaching Korean language based on the textbook 'Korean Language and Korean Culture', while level 5 covers a comprehensive understanding of Korean society, including law, politics, and education. Completion of the

3) The objectives of <Korea Immigration & Integration Program>are as follows: First, it aims to facilitate the rapid acquisition of the Korean language and culture for immigrants, enabling smooth communication with Korean nationals and easier integration into local communities. Second, it aims to standardize various support policies for resident foreigners through the KIIP. Those who successfully complete the program are provided with incentives such as exemption from the written naturalization test, offering voluntary and active participation opportunities. Third, it aims to measure immigrants' social adaptation index in order to develop necessary and appropriate support policies and identify specific areas of support. The results of this measurement are intended to be reflected in immigrant support policies and related initiatives (Source: Ministry of Justice Immigration & Social Integration Network, www.socinet.go.kr).

level 5 course is required for obtaining permanent residency or naturalization.

Marriage immigrants are incentivized to attend Korean language education provided by the KIIP, as it is grant exemptions from the Korean nationality acquisition written test. However, there is a need for more flexible operations due to challenges regarding time and distance. Many individuals face difficulties in completing the education program and end up dropping out (An Il-seon, 2022).

Multicultural Family Support Centers, managed and supervised by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family's Korea Health and Welfare Information Service, also offer options for Korean language education. However, there has been a decrease in independent Korean language education programs due to concerns about lack of differentiation in the target learners and educational content compared to the KIIP administered by the Ministry of Justice. Currently, Korean language education mainly focuses on the KIIP, which is associated with permanent residency and naturalization. Even within the group education at Multicultural Family Support Centers, the KIIP classes play a dominant role.

Moreover, supplementary Korean language classes, such as topic-based classes, basic Korean language classes, and speaking classes, are conducted with minimal resources and without a systematic curriculum at the centers. Similarly, the 'Multicultural Families Learning Korean Together' (consisting of two sets and eight volumes)[4] developed by the National Institute of Korean Language in 2019 is rarely utilized in group education and is limited to home visit education. The supplementary classes, such as topic-based classes, basic Korean language classes, and speaking classes, are conducted at the discretion of the individual instructor without specific textbooks or a systematic educational curriculum.

2. Korean Language and Cultural Education for Children of Multicultural Families

The number of multicultural students has been increasing steadily, from 99,186 in 2016 to 160,056 in 2021, representing a rise in the proportion of multicultural students within the total student population from 1.7% to 3% (Ko, Han, & Park, 2023). Among multicultural students, there are 111,640 elementary school students, 39,714 middle school students, and 16,744 high school students, with elementary school students being the largest group (Figure 1).

4) The National Institute of the Korean Language revised the existing textbook "Korean with Marriage Immigrants (published from 2009 to 2013)" and published two sets of eight volumes of "Korean with Multicultural Families" in 2019. However, it is reported that these textbooks are not widely utilized in practice.

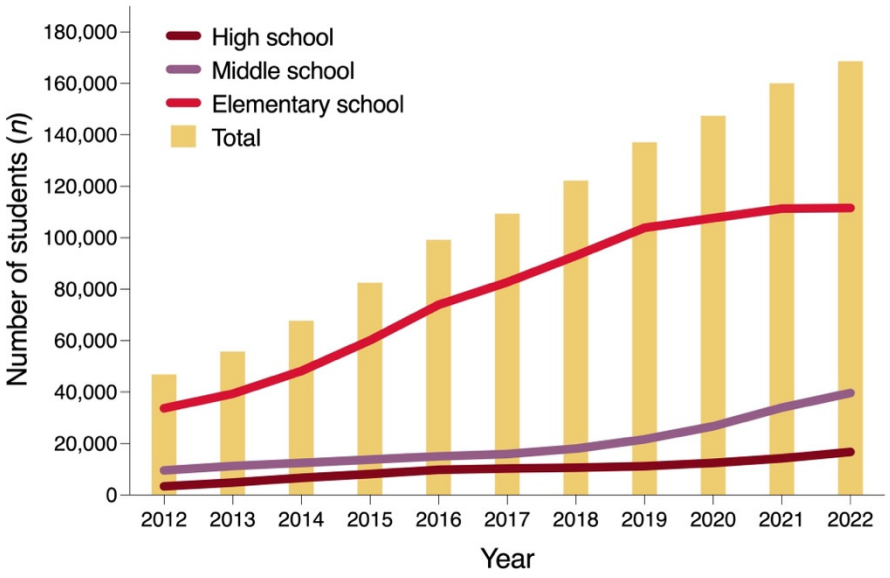

Figure 1. The number of multicultural students (2022 Education Basic Statistics Survey)

Despite the declining school-age population, there has been a rise in the number of multicultural students. Consequently, the government and local communities have expanded their support for multicultural youth. However, these individuals continue to encounter various challenges in adjusting to their daily lives. One recurring issue is their struggle with language. Limited proficiency in Korean hampers their academic performance, social integration, and interpersonal relationships. In essence, attaining a sufficient level of Korean language proficiency is vital for multicultural youth to lead a basic life and significantly contributes to their overall adaptation (Lee & Lee, 2019).

To address these issues, the Ministry of Education has introduced various initiatives to support multicultural students. These included the 'Advanced Measures for Multicultural Student Education' (2012), followed by the 'Support Measures for Education of Multicultural Family Children' (2016), and the 'Multicultural Education Plan' (2019). These plan aim to respond to changing demographics within school populations and establish a multicultural education system within public schools. Korean language education programs are implemented in schools based on the specific needs of the target learner.

Two notable examples of existing programs are the 'Multicultural Education Policy School' (Korean language class) and 'Outreach Korean Language Education'. The 'Outreach Korean Language Education' is tailored educational program for multicultural students enrolled in formal schools who face difficulties in adapting to school life due to

limited Korean language proficiency. The program receives financial support from the education office, which covers instructor fees and program support, and is implemented through the Multicultural Education Support Center. This support is provided to schools where students in need of Korean language education, such as mid-term immigrant students or foreign students, are enrolled. The overall management and responsibility of the 'Outreach Korean Language Education' program rest with the Ministry of Education, with support from provincial education offices, the Central Multicultural Education Center, and the National Institute of the Korean Language, each fulfilling their specific roles and tasks (Moon & Yoon, 2020).

On the other hand, the 'Multicultural Policy School' aims to create an inclusive educational environment where all students coexist. It serves as a leading model for implementing multicultural education. In the Multicultural Policy School, the scope of multicultural education is expanded to include all students, and customized support is provided to multicultural students who require assistance (Youn-jeong Lee, 2023).

According to the 2021 guidelines from the Ministry of Education regarding Multicultural Policy Schools, the programs of the 'Multicultural Policy School' encompass various aspects, such as multicultural education, customized educational support for multicultural students, creating a multicultural-friendly environment, and program evaluation. The goal is to foster multicultural sensitivity not only among multicultural students but also among Korean students. The school provides bilingual education, counseling services, basic learning support, career exploration opportunities, and other forms of assistance for multicultural students. Additionally, it works towards transforming the school environment to promote familiarity with multiculturalism and conducts training programs for instructors and parents. Regular evaluations are conducted to assess the outcomes of the programs and incorporate the results into future improvements.

While the 'Outreach Korean Classroom' only provides tailored Korean language education for a small number of multicultural students in schools, the 'Multicultural Policy School' can be seen as comprehensive system that helps multicultural students thrive and fulfill their roles in Korean society. It achieves this by increasing multicultural sensitivity among all students, instructors, and parents, and providing diverse forms of support for multicultural students.

Ⅲ. Research Method

This study aim to examine the actual challenges faced in educational settings by conducting in-depth interviews with six Korean language instructors who teach marriage immigrants and multicultural family children from April 28 to June 25, 2023. A semi-structured questionnaire was developed to gather information on the current status and issues of Korean language and cultural education for marriage immigrants and multicultural family children.

The interviews commenced by inquiring about the students currently teaching, including their characteristics, encountered difficulties , and any suggestions the instructors would like to propose, thereby allowing the interviewees to naturally express their thoughts. Initially, the interviews were conducted via Zoom (a cloud-based videoconferencing service), and additional written materials were exchanged for further inquiries. When reviewing the written materials, any necessary additional questions or insufficient explanations were addressed through phone calls or text messages. The information about the participants interviewed is presented Table 1.

Table 1. Information about the research participants[5)]

Participant	**Target learners**	**Career period**	**Institution or Program:**
A	Marriage Immigrants	15 years	Multicultural Family Support Center
B	Marriage Immigrants	10 years	Multicultural Family Support Center
C	Marriage Immigrants	2 years	Multicultural Family Support Center
D	Children of Multicultural Families	3 years	Multicultural Education Policy School (elementary school)
E	Children of Multicultural Families	3 years	Visiting Korean Education (elementary school)
F	Children of Multicultural Families	1 year	Visiting Korean Education (middle school)

5) In this study, interviews were conducted with instructors who teach elementary school (2 instructors) and milled school (1 instructor) students, who account for the highest proportion among children from multicultural families.

Ⅳ. Results & Discussions

1. Current Situation and Issues

The current situation and issues can be divided into textbooks and curriculum, educational conditions, problems in class execution, and others.

1) Current Situation and Issues of Korean Language and Culture Education for Marriage Immigrants

(1) Textbooks and Curriculum

The Korean language education for marriage immigrants at Multicultural Family Support Centers is primarily conducted through the Ministry of Justice's KIIP. According to interviews with instructors, although the KIIP textbooks have recently been revised, they still have a large volume, resulting in insufficient class time and difficulties in conducting cultural education. The mixed levels of beginner and intermediate difficulty in the textbooks have been a common concern among Korean language instructors. The KIIP usually lasts for 100 hours per semester, with a total of 2-3 semesters. However, due to time constraints and the focus on proficiency assessments for naturalization, cultural education is rarely conducted.

> "I am currently teaching the KIIP, but the curriculum is too extensive to cover within the 100-hour timeframe. The transition from Level 2 to Level 3, from beginner to intermediate, poses sudden difficulties for the students, and they struggle with the content. I previously expressed my opinion about the excessive content in the previous textbook. Although the new textbook has reduced the number of chapters, the overall amount of material remains the same, making it challenging for the students. I also wish to make cultural lessons more enjoyable and experiential by integrating them with the lesson content, but the limited time prevents me from doing so. Additionally, the cultural content in the textbook often feels unfamiliar." (Participant A)

> "The majority of the current learner are Vietnamese students who are aiming to acquire nationality quickly. They are learning Korean through the KIIP. However, students who find it difficult to attend group education due to pregnancy, childbirth, childcare, transportation issues, or distance receive Korean language support through home visits. Marriage immigrants and their spouses prefer cultural education due to conflicts arising from cultural differences, but there is no time for cultural classes due to proficiency assessments and preparation for acquiring nationality." (Participant B)

As evident from the aforementioned interview, there is a clear demand for cultural education, yet no dedicated time is allocated for it. In light of this, Korean language instructors have proposed improvements to the curriculum, including extending the current 100-hour course in the first semester to approximately 120 hours to accommodate cultural education. They also emphasize the importance of incorporating direct experiential learning rather than solely relying on textbooks. Additionally, participants suggest that the cultural content in the textbooks should be relevant and essential for marriage immigrants..

Apart from the Ministry of Justice's KIIP, there is a lack of diverse Korean language programs available at the Multicultural Family Support Centers. Currently, the offerings are limited to TOPIK (Test of Proficiency in Korean) preparation classes and basic Korean language classes, which pose challenges due to the limited availability of classes for different proficiency levels. Furthermore, there is no specific textbook provided for TOPIK classes, and instructors conduct the classes based on their discretion. Some participants express a desire for a broader range of classes that cater to learners' needs beyond just TOPIK classes.

> "Due to the limited class options at the center, it becomes difficult to provide education tailored to individual proficiency levels, leading some learners to give up halfway. As marriage immigrants primarily focus on acquiring nationality, they mainly participate in the Ministry of Justice's KIIP, showing less interest in separate TOPIK classes, resulting in low participation rates. Currently, our main focus is on TOPIK classes, but it would be beneficial to offer classes on daily Korean or Korean culture." (Participant C)

While the KIIP is primarily targeted towards marriage immigrants for the purpose of naturalization, there are no Korean language classes available after completing the program. Therefore, there is a need to establish intermediate-level or advanced Korean language classes that address various topics

> "It would be ideal to provide classes that engage students' interest. Currently, the KIIP places excessive emphasis on exam preparation. Instead, it would be advantageous to have classes that focus on the stable settlement of marriage immigrants, specialized Korean language classes for employment, or practical speaking classes that are useful in daily life. Additionally, it would be beneficial to have advanced Korean language classes available even after completing the fourth level of the KIIP." (Participant A)"

In summary, the Korean language programs offered by Multicultural Family Support Centers have been significantly reduced due to the overlapping nature of the Ministry of Justice's KIIP and the programs provided by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. Within these policy frameworks, there are challenges in creating or modifying the curriculum. However, it is crucial to conduct a demand survey and consider opening educational programs that are necessary for the lives and social adaptation of marriage immigrants in Korea. This should include Korean language education related to culture and employment, as well as advanced Korean language classes, which are currently not adequately covered in the KIIP.

(2) Educational Conditions and Online Class Environment

The interviews revealed significant challenges faced by the Multicultural Family Support Centers in terms of inadequate classroom environments and a lack of proper teaching materials, which hinders the efficiency of classes:

> "Unlike universities, Multicultural Family Support Centers often lack computers or projectors in classrooms, resulting in classes primarily relying on chalkboard writing. This limitation makes it difficult to incorporate various video or photo materials during lessons. Additionally, the classrooms are small and cramped." (Participant B)

> "Some classrooms are well-equipped, while others are not. As a result, when conducting student satisfaction surveys, all other aspects receive high ratings except for the satisfaction level regarding the classroom environment." (Participant A)

Another prominent concern raised is the absence of childcare facilities, which prevents individuals who want to learn Korean from participating in classes:

> "Before the onset of coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19), volunteers used to provide childcare services at the KIIP, which received positive feedback from marriage immigrants. However, it appears that due to budget issues, such a system is no longer available. Consequently, childcare cannot be provided, leading to the rejection of applications from KIIP applicants with children.." (Participant A)

> "Temporary childcare arrangements were not offered at the center, preventing some students from attending classes." (Participant B)

Furthermore, due to the COVID-19 pandemic since 2020, the Multicultural Family Support Centers have been unable to conduct classes at the physical centers and have shifted to online classes. Here are some reactions from participants regarding online classes:

"When COVID-19 was severe, we had online classes, but now all KIIP classes have switched to in-person (*a.k.a.*, face-to-face, offline) instruction. It becomes difficult for marriage immigrants to attend classes once they start working. However, for the KIIP, the attendance rate needs to be over 80%. They seem to appreciate online classes because they can participate in the evenings or weekends. Moreover, online classes allow for the incorporation of numerous photos and videos, which is advantageous. Nevertheless, conducting writing classes online appears to be challenging. Additionally, attending classes at the center also serves the purpose of making friends. Both online and in-person classes have their pros and cons, so it would be beneficial to utilize both methods appropriately." (Participant A)

"Due to the COVID-19 situation, we have been using an app called Cisco for online learning. Even now, the TOPIK class is conducted via Zoom at night for learners who cannot come to the center due to work, childcare, or distance. However, the students are unable to concentrate, and the learning efficiency is decreasing. It seems that the information is not conveyed as well as in face-to-face classes. It is also difficult to check homework and assess individual differences among students. Immediate feedback is also challenging, and the instructor leads the class unilaterally, which reduces interest." (Participant B)

"We conducted the TOPIK classes through Zoom, and the 'writing' class was difficult, but we were able to proceed with the 'listening' and 'reading' classes without major difficulties. Active participants in the class successfully passed the advanced TOPIK level." (Participant C)

In summary, there were varied opinions among Korean language instructors regarding real-time online classes. Both instructors and marriage immigrants had to adapt to online instruction for the first time during the COVID-19 situation. Initially, they encountered difficulties in efficiently delivering online lessons and had to proceed with classes without the option for in-person education. The quality of the classes might have differed based on the instructors' ability to adapt to online teaching methods. As the COVID-19 situation has somewhat stabilized, many classes have transitioned to in-person instruction. Interviews revealed that in-person classes are necessary for writing courses and fostering student camaraderie. However, online classes have proven beneficial for students who are unable to attend in-person due to work or childcare responsibilities, and they have been effective in such cases.

(3) Other issues in class progress

When participants were asked about various issues encountered during classes, the

following opinions were expressed:

> "After the class starts, new students keep being added, which can disrupt the class. They have mentioned that the registration process will be improved in the future, so I hope this aspect gets better. Additionally, since most of the students are female marriage immigrants, they often miss classes due to childcare or work obligations, resulting in a low attendance rate." (Participant C)

Currently, there is a limited offering of classes, making it difficult to cater to the diverse proficiency levels of the learners. The continuous addition of new students during ongoing classes poses additional challenges. Furthermore, some participants face difficulties attending Korean language classes due to their responsibilities related to childcare and work.

> "Marriage immigrants have limited social relationships outside their spouses at home. Therefore, they value the collective education provided at the center, where they can form social connections with friends, instructors, and center staff, and participate in various programs. I hope that the center and classroom environments can be improved." (Participant B)

In summary, Multicultural Family Support Centers play a vital role for marriage immigrants, serving as places not only for learning Korean but also for forming social connections with other immigrants from various backgrounds and Koreans. Recognizing the commitment of marriage immigrants who actively participate in these centers despite facing difficult circumstances, it is crucial to improve the overall environment of the center and the Korean language classrooms.

2) Current Status and Issues of Korean Language and Culture Education for Children from Multicultural Families

(1) Textbooks and Curriculum

Both the 'Multicultural Education Policy School' and the 'Outreach Korean Language Education' classes have been utilizing the revised and published 'Standard Korean Language' textbook since 2019. Here are some opinions regarding the textbooks:

> "We are using the 'Standard Korean Language' textbooks for lower grade and upper grade elementary school students. I believe it's a good textbook for students who are learning Korean for the first time. However, there isn't much differentiation between the content of the lower grade and upper-grade textbooks, making it relatively easy for

6th-grade students in the upper grade. I feel that there is a lack of content to challenge the upper-grade students. Therefore, personally, I incorporate more dictation or writing exercises for them." (Participant E)

"The topics and vocabulary in the textbooks are related to school life, allowing students to learn about school life and student culture simultaneously. It appears to be a user-friendly textbook for students. There are numerous sample sentences that students commonly encounter and use in school. Listening exercises can be easily accessed by students using QR codes, and the textbook organizes vocabulary, grammar, listening, reading, writing, and culture in a sequential manner, facilitating comprehensive study. However, the grammar practice questions are too simple, which is somewhat disappointing." (Participant F)

According to the instructors' opinions, the textbooks have several advantages, such as providing engaging content that relates to students' school life. However, the upper-grade textbooks lack differentiation and pose less challenge for 6th-grade students. The grammar practice questions are also relatively straightforward, indicating the need for additional activities or materials to complement the textbooks.

Here are the opinions regarding the curriculum. While the 'Multicultural Education Policy School' has certain standards for the overall curriculum, the 'Outreach Korean Language Education' classes leave it up to the instructor's discretion.

"At the Multicultural Education Policy School, we cover about one and a half to two textbooks per year. The current school I teach at has many Korean language classes, and the students' levels are carefully differentiated, making it easier to conduct lessons. However, last year at another Multicultural Education Policy School, a significant number of students with mid-term enrollment entered the class. There were significant language proficiency differences among the students, which made teaching challenging. In such cases, we would form groups within the classroom or receive support from bilingual instructors to facilitate the lessons. As for cultural education, it largely depends on the instructor's discretion." (Participant D)

"The class management is somewhat flexible. While teaching Korean language, I also incorporate additional content related to the school curriculum, such as Korean language and social studies. However, I have four students in one class without considering their grade level. I first teach the upper-grade students and then attend to the lower grade students. For cultural education, we mainly focus on the content necessary for school life based on the textbook." (Participant E)

"Classes are progressed at the instructor's discretion, according to the level of the students. Usually, we complete one textbook in a semester, and for slower learners, it may take 8 to 9 months to finish one book. In cultural education, we integrate the cultural content provided in the textbook. Alternatively, we study by connecting the cultural content with books or videos. Culture constitutes around 10% of the overall lessons." (Participant F)

In summary, in 'Multicultural Education Policy School' classes, students were divided into different levels based on the students' proficiency, allowing for level-specific instruction. In cases where there was a sudden influx of mid-term immigrant learners, the assistance of bilingual instructors was available. However, in 'Outreach Korean Language Education' classes, there were mixed-grade levels in one class, posing difficulties in teaching due to the varying proficiency levels. Cultural education was entirely at the discretion of the instructors. In the case of the KIIP program for marriage immigrants, there was limited class time and a significant burden associated with exams, resulting in little emphasis on cultural education. However, in Korean language classes for children from multicultural families, there was relatively less pressure regarding assessment and curriculum, allowing for a greater focus on cultural education.

(2) Educational Conditions and Online Class Environment

Regarding online classes and the development of online Korean language education content, the instructors shared their opinions as follows:

"When COVID-19 was prevalent, we had online classes, and there were pros and cons. The upper-grade students enjoyed taking classes online without coming to school and actively participated. However, for lower-grade students, pronunciation guidance was crucial, but it was challenging to provide direct guidance by imitating the instructor's mouth shape through online classes, so there were limitations. Also, it seemed to take some time for lower-grade students to develop trust and familiarity in an online class setting from the beginning. It would be great if systematically developed online courses that cater to students' interests and allow differentiated learning by proficiency level are available. In Korean language education, there is a lack of online materials and insufficient resources." (Participant D)

"I attended in-person classes while wearing a mask. In cases where there is a significant disparity in students' proficiency levels, offering online classes as supplementary lessons would be advantageous. If students struggle with understanding the subject matter, conducting online classes alongside regular classes could be beneficial for them. Although each school may have different circumstances, at the school where I teach, it typically

takes around a month and a half to assign a Korean language instructor after a mid-term immigrant student enrolls. It would be beneficial to have online classes available for those who cannot immediately start Korean language classes due to mid-term immigration or during vacation periods." (Participant F)

In 'Multicultural Policy Schools', Korean language education is conducted in a relatively systematic manner due to the high number of multicultural students. Even during the COVID-19 period, classes were held through Zoom. However, in 'Outreach Korean Language Education', the focus is on a smaller group of students, leading to face-to-face classes even during the COVID-19 period, typically on a one-on-one basis. In cases where face-to-face classes were challenging due to the severity of COVID-19, students did not attend school and made up for the missed classes later.

Regarding online classes, there was a perspective that they are effective for higher-grade students, while lower-grade students benefit more from face-to-face classes. Furthermore, it was suggested that the development of online Korean language content based on proficiency levels could help narrow the proficiency gap among students in the classroom and support self-study before a Korean language instructor is assigned or during vacation periods.

Some instructors also raised concerns about the inadequate classroom environment:

"When conducting Korean language classes, we usually use available classrooms in the school. However, some classrooms lack computers and televisions, which makes it challenging to conduct classes. When there is only one student, we can study together using a laptop, but presenting materials on a laptop becomes inconvenient when there are multiple students." (Participant F)

In summary, while the situations may differ across schools, in the context of 'Korean language education for multicultural families', there have been cases where schools have requested the presence of a Korean language instructor upon the enrollment of multicultural students. Additionally, there were no specific classrooms or equipment dedicated to Korean language classes.

(3) Other issues in class progress

Discussions were held regarding the attitudes and perceptions of schools and instructors regarding Korean language education for students from multicultural families, along with the importance of having diverse teaching materials.

"The 'Multicultural Policy Schools' and 'Outreach Korean Language Education' differ significantly in their perceptions of multiculturalism and Korean language education. In the case of 'Multicultural Policy Schools', even the school instructors show a lot of interest in the Korean language classes for multicultural students. The instructors come and check the progress, determine which textbooks to use, and the students also communicate with their homeroom instructors." (Participant D)

"At first, it seemed like the school viewed Korean language classes as a daycare rather than focusing on actual teaching. This raised concerns about how to approach the lessons. However, over time, the students' attitudes improved, and they became diligent in studying Korean, allowing me to solely focus on teaching Korean. It is necessary for school instructors to recognize that Korean language classes are not just a daycare but a class that helps students adapt to school life and regular subjects (Participant E)

"At the school I currently teach, I have the freedom to teach students freely, but there is little interaction with the school instructors. Occasionally, subject instructors or homeroom instructors come and ask for assistance in conveying information to the students, but apart from that, there seems to be little interest. I also find this aspect a bit disappointing." (Participant F)

Multicultural policy schools emphasize multicultural sensitivity among staff and parents. Additionally, due to the presence of many multicultural students in the school, there is a lot of interest in the students and an awareness of the importance of Korean language education. However, in the case of 'Outreach Korean Language Education', where only 1 to 4 multicultural students are enrolled in the school, there is relatively less interest in multicultural students, and Korean language classes are left to the discretion of the instructor.

"It would be great if separate teaching materials for writing, speaking, and other skills were developed to supplement what each student finds challenging. Some students excel in speaking but struggle with writing, so having dedicated materials would be beneficial." (Participant E)

"After improving their Korean language proficiency, I would like to incorporate activities such as reading books to enhance reading comprehension and vocabulary skills. However, it is difficult to find books that are suitable for the students' level. Especially, students find subjects like science or history challenging, so it would be great if books that adjust grammar and vocabulary using content from these fields are developed, which multicultural students can read. If developing books is challenging, it would also be good to create a shared list of books that multicultural students can read, in collaboration with multiple instructors." (Participant F)

In summary, currently, Korean language classes for multicultural children from multicultural families utilize an integrated textbook called ‘Standard Korean’, which covers speaking, listening, reading, and writing. However, due to variations in students’ proficiency levels across different skills, there is a suggestion to develop separate supplementary materials. Furthermore, there is a desire to find books that are related to school subjects and can enhance students’ reading comprehension and vocabulary skills, in addition to Korean language textbooks. However, it was mentioned that finding such books is challenging. This highlights the importance of conducting research and developing diverse materials beyond the existing textbooks.

2. Suggestions for future development

1) Recommendations for the direction of Korean language and culture education for marriage immigrants:

(1) The need to establish a variety of Korean language courses that reflect the demands of marriage immigrants

There is a need to offer Korean language courses that not only focus on acquiring nationality and daily-life communication but also address the various demands of marriage immigrants, providing practical assistance in real-life situations. Examples include Korean for employment, Korean for enhancing job skills, Korean for parenting and education, and advanced practical Korean. Despite receiving long-term Korean language education, marriage immigrants still face difficulties in Korean language proficiency during job searches and workplace activities, as reported by Eil-Sun Ahn (2022). This study suggests the development of Korean language education approaches that go beyond communication-centered instruction and are tailored to employment-related needs.

Currently, despite the diverse demands of marriage immigrants, the Korean language classes offered by Multicultural Family Support Centers have significantly reduced, and the existing classes do not fully meet their needs. Opening various Korean language courses, such as employment-focused Korean and practical Korean, at Multicultural Family Support Centers can help avoid overlap with the Ministry of Justice’s KIIP classes.

(2) The need to secure class time for cultural education.

KIIP classes primarily focus on obtaining permanent residency and nationality, and students must pass level evaluations to progress to the next level. This emphasis on

evaluations may limit the time dedicated to cultural education. However, as mentioned earlier, marriage immigrants and their families have a high demand for cultural education. To promote better understanding within families and facilitate stable integration into Korean society, it is crucial to allocate sufficient class time for cultural education. If the current curriculum lacks time for cultural instruction, alternative options such as adding extra class time specifically for cultural education should be considered.

(3) The need to improve the classroom environment and provide childcare facilities at multicultural family support centers

Multicultural Family Support Centers not only serve as Korean language learning spaces but also provide a place for marriage immigrants to form social relationships with instructors, staff, and other learners from diverse cultural backgrounds, moving beyond the confines of their homes. This has resulted in many learners participating in group education even in challenging circumstances. Therefore, there is a need to improve the current inadequate classroom environment to enhance the efficiency of learning and establish childcare facilities within the centers to prevent learning interruptions due to childcare responsibilities.

(4) The need for a blended approach to online and offline classes and the development of high-quality online content

As previously discussed, online Zoom classes during the COVID-19 pandemic proved beneficial for marriage immigrants who faced challenges attending classes due to employment or childcare responsibilities. Although KIIP classes have transitioned to in-person instruction, both in-person and online classes are essential teaching methods for marriage immigrants. Thus, a blended approach that incorporates both teaching methods appears necessary in the future. Furthermore, it is recommended to develop high-quality online content. If it is challenging to offer diverse classes, such as employment-focused Korean or advanced practical Korean, through in-person instruction, the government should take the lead in developing high-quality content that can be made available in various regions. This would be advantageous for learners who are unable to participate in classes due to factors such as childbirth, childcare, work, transportation, or distance constraints.

2) Recommendations for the Future Direction of Korean Language and Cultural Education for Children from Multicultural Families

(1) The need for a paradigm shift in education from face-to-face instruction

The COVID-19 pandemic has provided valuable insights into the effectiveness of online classes, especially for upper grade students in multicultural families. Moving forward, it is crucial to embrace online learning environments and experiences, and actively seek transformative changes in Korean language education. While face-to-face classes offer advantages, instructors have expressed the need for the development of online content that supports self-learning, particularly for students with varying proficiency levels. By creating tailored online video content, students can continue learning Korean during vacations or before being assigned a Korean language instructor upon arrival. This approach enables self-directed learning, repetitive practice, and a deeper understanding of the language. Seung-ah Hong (2022) also highlighted the benefits of online video classes for multicultural children, as they can review materials at their own pace and adjust the speed of instruction to their comprehension level. However, careful integration of online and face-to-face classes, along with appropriate design and utilization of online/offline instruction, is essential. Korean language instructors serving multicultural children not only teach the language but also act as mentors for school adjustment and facilitators of friendships. Therefore, finding efficient ways to combine online and offline learning while maintaining the importance of face-to-face interaction is crucial. When utilizing video content, instructors should monitor students' progress and provide constructive feedback to foster a conducive learning environment. If learners' proficiency levels can be partially addressed through online video learning, face-to-face classes can focus on interactive activities like games and speaking exercises to enhance engagement and interest.

(2) The need for diverse supplementary materials in addition to the core textbooks

In addition to the ‘Standard Korean’ textbooks, core textbooks, it is recommended to provide diverse supplementary materials for upper elementary students or students with advanced Korean language skills. Incorporating reading classes and creating teaching methods based on short and easy books can improve multicultural students' reading and vocabulary skills. Since students' proficiency levels can vary across different language domains, separate materials tailored to each domain, such as speaking, listening, reading, and writing, would be helpful in addition to the core textbooks.

(3) The need for research and development of cultural lessons suitable for elementary school students

It is crucial to develop various cultural lessons that elementary school students can participate in joyfully. Students who arrive midway through their education not only need to learn the unfamiliar Korean language but also adapt to a new environment. Researching approaches that allow natural learning of the Korean language and culture through integrated cultural lessons and academic subjects can greatly benefit these students. Developing various cultural education methods for multicultural children will contribute to their overall education and integration into Korean society.

(4) The importance of changing the perception of educators and staff involved in 'outreach Korean language education'

The Multicultural Policy School aims to create an educational environment where all students coexist together (Youn-Jeong Lee, 2023) and places importance on the multicultural acceptance of school members. However, schools and instructors involved in 'Outreach Korean Language Education' have shown a lack of interest and understanding towards multicultural children and their education. To guide multicultural students in adapting well to school life and settling stably in Korean society, a change in perception is necessary for school instructors and staff. Education should be provided to increase multicultural acceptance among instructors, staff, and students in schools operating 'Outreach Korean Language Education'. Moreover, perceiving Korean language instructors and multicultural learners as transient individuals hinders the development of a multicultural society. It is crucial to recognize that multicultural Korean language classes conducted in public education settings are not just care rooms but serve as crucial classes that support students' academic performance and adaptation to school life.

(5) The need for manuals and improvement of instructor treatment in 'outreach Korean language education'

To enhance the effectiveness of 'Outreach Korean Language Education', it is essential to develop systematic and specific manuals for its operation. Currently, the implementation of these classes varies across educational authorities and individual schools, lacking clear guidelines and defined student-instructor ratios. The intermittent joining of learners during the lecture period is also identified as a challenge. Therefore, there is a need to create comprehensive manuals that address these issues and ensure consistency in the overall operation of the classes. These manuals should be systematically developed and shared to provide guidance and support to instructors.

Furthermore, the instructors involved in ‘Outreach Korean Language Education’ are typically short-term workers who sign contracts for approximately six months and may work in multiple schools. Despite their crucial role in facilitating the adaptation of multicultural students to school and improving their Korean language skills, they often face unstable employment conditions, inadequate income, and substandard working environments. It is unfortunate that Korean language instructors describe themselves as ‘peddlers who move around looking for Korean language education spaces’, while schools perceive them as ‘temporary visitors’. However, these instructors not only teach the Korean language but also serve as counselors for school-related issues and friends with whom students can share their stories. They play a vital role in supporting the learning and well-being of multicultural children. Therefore, there is an urgent need for improved treatment and recognition that aligns with their diverse responsibilities and contributions. This includes providing stable employment conditions, fair remuneration, and a supportive working environment that acknowledges the importance of their role in fostering the development and integration of multicultural students.

Ⅴ. Conclusion

Effective communication among diverse individuals is crucial to foster coexistence in a multicultural society. However, comprehensive research on the current state of Korean language and culture education for multicultural members, specifically marriage immigrants and their children, is lacking. This study aimed to address this gap by examining existing Korean language education programs and identifying the challenges and issues faced by marriage immigrants and multicultural children. In-depth interviews with six specialized Korean language instructors were conducted to gain insights into the on-site situations and issues.

Based on the research findings, this study proposes specific directions for Korean language and cultural education for marriage immigrants and multicultural children. Firstly, it is necessary to establish diverse Korean language classes for marriage immigrants that cater to their specific needs. Additionally, allocating time for cultural education, improving the classroom environment of multicultural family support centers, and providing childcare facilities are essential. Moreover, a blended approach that combines online and offline teaching methods should be adopted, along with the development of high-quality online content.

Regarding multicultural children, their varying levels of proficiency in Korean present

challenges for instructors. To address this, the development of online video content tailored to different proficiency levels would enable learners to study independently, allowing them to learn Korean during vacations or before the assignment of a Korean language instructor. Furthermore, it is recommended to develop and provide various supplementary materials in addition to the textbook ‘Standard Korean’ and offer training to shift the perception of teachers and staff within schools regarding Korean language classes.

This research is significant as it suggests the necessary directions for Korean language and cultural education based on the direct and practical opinions of instructors working with marriage immigrants and multicultural children, rather than relying solely on existing theories or materials. However, it is important to note that this study had limitations as it only focused on six Korean language instructors in the Gwangju area, and therefore, the results cannot be generalized. Future quantitative studies validating the results of this study are expected to provide more specific directions for Korean language and cultural education targeting marriage immigrants and multicultural children. Additionally, further research should be conducted to explore in-depth Korean language and culture education for marriage immigrants and multicultural children separately. Given the varying situations and issues faced by multicultural policy schools and outreach Korean language education, diverse studies are needed to explore educational approaches for each of these groups.

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Session 4

- **Jihye Kim (United Kingdom)**

  Hallyu and Immigrant Entrepreneurship: Korean Restaurant Businesses in Frankfurt

- **Jingeum Lee (Germany)**

  Intercultural business communication in Korean MNCs near Frankfurt am Main

- **Joohyun Justine Park (Germany)**

  Social Anchoring: Socio-psychological Stability and Future Mobility Intention of Skilled Migrants in Korea

Hallyu and Immigrant Entrepreneurship: Korean Restaurant Businesses in Frankfurt

Jihye Kim
(United Kingdom)

Abstract

In recent decades there has been a dramatic increase in Korean restaurants in Frankfurt, Germany. Based on ethnographic research conducted in Frankfurt in 2022, this research explores multiple situational factors across socio-structural layers influencing Korean restaurant owners in their decision to open their business. The study found that the economic, cultural, and social contexts in Germany, such as visa and settlement schemes, market conditions, and the cosmopolitan lifestyle in Frankfurt have been vital factors, while the ethnic networks and resources so important for previous generations of Korean immigrants have largely lost their relevance for more recent immigrants. Korean restaurant owners in Frankfurt also contribute greatly to the shaping of trends in terms of interest in Korean food and culture in the host society through their own agency and in their interactions with local people. In the context of a rapid rise in popularity of Korean culture and food internationally, this study points to an uneasy fit between the case of Korean restaurant owners in Frankfurt and the prevailing conceptual frameworks of immigrant entrepreneurship in Europe, leading to the need to approach their case from new angles..

Keywords: Korean Immigration, Germany, Immigrant Entrepreneurship, Hallyu, Korean Restaurant Business, Frankfurt

Intercultural business communication in Korean MNCs near Frankfurt am Main

Jingeum Lee
(Germany)

Abstract

In the global economy, MNCs expand their business internationally over multiple countries. In the operation of MNC`s subsidiaries, there is a wide-ranging debate about ethnocentric, polycentric, regiocentric, and geocentric orientation. To manage the goal incongruence and exercise their power to intervene in subsidiary management, many MNCs rely on expatriates and also on PCNs. Cultural distance between expatriates and local employees as well as local employees classified as PCNs, HCNs, and TCNs lead to internal conflicts and difficulties in communication. Cultural diversity is a key determinant of international HR management. Hofstede(1980) analyzed the differences in work attitudes and values of employees of various nationalities across more than 50 countries at IBM. He showed how the culture of a society affects the values of its members, and how these values relate to behavior. Hofstede`s cultural dimensions theory is a framework for cross-cultural communication based on understanding of the cultural differences. Furthermore, Shenkar et al. (2008) proposed the concept of cultural friction and pointed out the importance of contextual variations in which distance may cause conflict. Luo & Shenkar(2011) pointed out that cultural friction emphasizes the actual cultural contact between exchanging entities in an environment where multilevel yet intertwined cultural differences simultaneously occur. In order to study the cultural distance and cultural friction among employees of various nationalities in the subsidiaries of South Korean MNCs(henceforth Korean MNCs), first of all, it is necessary to understand the unique corporate culture of Korean corporations. It can be characterized by tangible aspects, such as strict hierarchies and top-down decision, and intangible aspects, such as paternalistic leadership, clan management, and personal loyalty. In an increasingly diversified global work environment, the ethnocentric Korean-style management and their unique corporation culture are receiving both reputation and criticism. Studies on Korean MNCs and their subsidiaries have been conducted in various aspects, mainly in the United States and

China, where the largest number of Korean MNC`s subsidiaries are located. Starting with Samsung in the 1990s, many Korean companies based in Germany began to expand their global business in Europe. In 2005 and 2013, as the residence and work permit of Koreans in Germany were relaxed, various Korean companies entered Germany, and the number of Korean immigrants for the purpose of professional activities increased. However, there is a lack of research on HR management or intercultural business communication within Korean MNCs in Germany. My doctoral dissertation is a qualitative research by in-depth interviews with managers and employees of various nationalities and positions in Korean MNCs in Germany. The ultimate goal of this research is to establish a training framework for intercultural business communication between Koreans and Germans, and furthermore, Europeans. This paper introduces the theoretical background, purpose, and method of my research.

Keywords: cultural distance; cultural friction; Korean MNCs; international HRM; intercultural business communication

I. Introduction

Corporations expand their business globally to earn more profits, diversify the business, and provide a reliable service to their international clients. A corporation that operates in two or more countries and conducts business internationally is called 'Multinational corporation' (MNC, also known as multinational enterprise, MNE). The EPRG framework introduced by Permutter(1969) categorized four orientations for global marketing, staffing, and management: ethnocentric, polycentric, regiocentric, and geocentric. There is a wide-ranging debate of to behave like local firms, resemble their parent company, or follow global standards. Even MNC`s that adapt to local environments may not be completely free from the influence of their country of origin(Yang, 2014). MNCs rely on expatriates to manage the goal incongruence and exercise their power to intervene in subsidiary management. Such interventions create cultural fault lines, especially when there are cultural differences between expatriates and local employees(Singh et al., 2019). Cultural differences between the home and host countries has emerged, as a key determinant of the subsidiary staffing composition(Gong, 2003a; Shenkar et al., 2008; Singh et al., 2019). One of the important dimensions in determining local staffing in MNCs is the choice between PCNs (Parent-country nationals) and HCNs (Host-country nationals) and furthermore there is also the choice of TCNs (third country nationals). In culturally distant locations, MNCs are more likely to rely on PCNs for subsidiary staffing(Gong, 2003a; Singh et al., 2008) as MNEs can exert greater cultural control using PCNs and easily transfer firm-specific knowledge to subsidiaries, leading to higher subsidiary performance(Singh et al., 2008; Gaur et al., 2007). However, a high presence of PCNs could also lead to the cultural difference between PCNs and HCNs, internal conflicts, and difficulties in managing subsidiaries(Gong, 2003a; Shenkar et al., 2008; Singh et al., 2019). Reliance on expatriates and PCNs in their subsidiaries is common in MNCs that take an ethnocentric management approach. Korean MNCs are representative examples of ethnocentric management. Many studies show that there are cultural differences and internal conflicts among the employees at Korean MNCs, and they lead to a lack of communication and difficulties of subsidiaries management. What I mean by communication is not simply a problem of communication that comes from a lack of linguistic knowledge. In a broad sense, communication encompasses to information media level and content level as verbal and non-verbal as well as relation level as interaction. And communication is a matter in which various elements are related and conventionalized, and it is culturally dependent. This paper gives an overview of my doctoral dissertation in progress. First, I introduce the theoretical background related to cultural distance and friction, and furthermore, corporate culture of Korean companies.

And then I review previous research related to Korean MNCs around the world. Finally, the purpose and method of my doctoral dissertation are introduced.

II. Theoretical Background

1. Cultural distance and cultural friction

Hofstede(1980) collected data on the work attitudes and values of employees of various nationalities within IBM and explained the differences in work-related values of people in 50 countries in the cultural domain. He defined that “culture” is precisely that its essence is collective mental programming: it is that part of our conditioning that we share with other members of our nation, region, or group but not with members of other nations, regions, or groups(Hofstede 1984). In other words, culture is collective but intangible, and is a factor that distinguishes one group from another. However, he emphasized what characterizes a national culture does not mean that all individuals within that culture are mentally programmed in the same way. A national culture is a sort of average pattern of the various beliefs and values that individuals in that country share. When describing national culture, we refer to common elements within each nation, but we should not generalize to all individuals within that nation. In ‘Culture`s Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values’, published in 1980, he introduced the cultural differences of 50 countries in the dimension of “Individualism /Collectivism”, “Power distance”, “Uncertainty avoidance”, “Masculinity/Feminity”, and later added “Long/Short-term orientation”. And he applied these cultural differences to aspects of organization, leadership, and motivation, and presented the impact of cultural differences between different nationalities on management decisions. And he argued that ethnocentric management approach cannot be supported given these cultural differences.

Many research since Hofstede’s cultural dimensions model focused on cultural distance to conceptualize and measure cultural differences. However, Shenkar et al.(2008) proposed the concept of cultural friction, pointing out that a focus on cultural distance overlooks contextual variations in which distance may cause conflict (Koch et al., 2016; Singh et al., 2019). Luo and Shenkar(2011) defined cultural friction as “the extent to which two or more entities from different countries culturally resist (i.e., think or act in opposition, shaped by implicit beliefs and tacit values) with one another in real contact or interactions over the course of international business activities or transactions.” Luo & Shenkar(2011) added that unlike cultural distance, cultural friction emphasizes the actual cultural contact between exchanging entities in an environment where multilevel yet

intertwined cultural differences simultaneously occur. Therefore, the notion of cultural friction posits that the source of problems may not be the cross-national cultural distance per se, but the difficulties and resistance that arise when two or more entities, such as organizations, units, teams, groups, and individuals, from different countries resist each other in their international business interactions (Popli et al., 2016; Singh et al., 2019). It should be noted that the interaction between individuals and organizations from culturally diverse countries has the potential for developing a shared understanding, which can potentially reduce the conflict between them (Mukherjee et al., 2012; Stahl et al., 2015; Singh et al., 2019).

2. Korean corporate culture

In order to study the cultural differences and cultural conflicts among employees of various nationalities in the subsidiaries of Korean MNCs, first of all, it is necessary to understand the unique corporate culture of Korean corporations. Korean style management, also known as k-style management, has been a critical factor in Korea's economic growth and success. C.Y. Lee & J.Y. Lee(2014) summarized some interesting characteristics of Korean corporate culture as follows: First, the Korean corporate culture has integrated American corporate culture and Japanese corporate culture based on the principle and values of Confucianism. By adopting some western values, South Korean can organize their work as efficiently as Westerners, while having the ability to tolerate hardship and work as diligently as Easterners. Second, Many of the well-known enterprises in South Korea believe that they have the responsibility of developing the country`s economy. They have a national consciousness. In enterprises, individuals and the company itself work simultaneously to benefit each other. In Korea, most people believe that their own progress will eventually lead to a better company and a more advanced country. Third, the sense of harmony that comes from Confucianism has permeated the internal structure of Korean enterprises and has become an important part of an enterprise`s values. This kind of harmony can instill a sense of family into a company, which creates a sense of belonging and membership. Employees, therefore, make more contributions to their companies, rather than to themselves. Fourth, due to its lack of abundant resource and technology, South Korea has become very familiar with the significance of human resource development. Confucian culture centers on the role of human beings in the world. Therefore, it is natural for Korean corporations to create a people-oriented management model. This model has created a stronger sense of responsibility and self-respect among company employees. It encourages strong moral support for company`s employees. Fifth, although Confucian culture is deeply rooted in South Korea, Korea has also been influenced by American individualism. Therefore, the

corporate culture of South Korea has taken on the side of competition and individual talents. The traditional hierarchy that we have seen in Korean society was impacted and became less important. The individualism and competition in the American culture has more or less influenced the corporate culture of South Korea since then.

C.Y. Lee & J.Y. Lee(2014) emphasizes that the successful experience of Korean business based on its own corporate culture has also gained attention and praise from all over the world. Their research shows that the success of Korea gives new perspectives and ideas as a role model to countries at the beginning of building its own management culture and philosophy, such as China. In contrast, Froese et al.(2018) argues that the tight corporate cultures of Korean companies were considered a unique strength in the past and the Korean HRM system is well suited for a homogenous Korean workforce. He adds that the workforce of Korean companies is becoming increasingly diverse, at home and abroad, so the Korean corporate cultures are not compatible with an increasingly diverse workforce.

Froese(2020) also points out that the corporate culture of most Korean companies can be characterized by strict hierarchies, collectivism, paternalistic leadership styles, and long working hours. C.Y. Lee(2012) classifies the Korean management style tangible aspects, such as top-down decision making and hierarchical communication, and intangible aspects, such as paternalistic leadership, clan management, and personal loyalty. Yang(2014) realizes that these intangible aspects are realized via utilization of informal organization processes and complement their formal system. She took issues with the absence of informal organization processes, which led to a significant impact on both Korean managers and their local employees in the subsidiaries of Korean MNCs. She also points out that without these informal organizational processes, the formal management systems of Korean MNCs are left with authoritarian centralized decision-making processes where local employees may not feel able to participate and many Korean MNCs still encounter challenges in retaining and motivating local staff.

Ⅲ. Literature review

In an increasingly diversified global work environment, the ethnocentric Korean-style management and their unique corporation culture are receiving both reputation and criticism. In particular, Korean MNCs still suffer from the reputation of not taking good care of their local staff, and, consequently, Korean MNCs are not very popular employers for young talent in countries belonging to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations

(ASEAN) and India (Yang, 2014). Empirical Researches on Korean MNCs operating around the world cover a variety of topics.

Kang, Shen, and Xu(2015) empirically explores international training and management development policies and practices of expatriates and local employees in Korean MNCs in China. As a result of in-depth interviews with HCN managers and expatriate managers of 10 Korean MNCs, the research shows that Korean MNCs provide inadaquate and low-rigor predeparture cross-cultural training (CCT) and leadership training. Of course, language training is provided before departure or after arrival, and technical and professional training is provided regularly after arrival, but on-site training is conducted mainly for HCN production workers to improve productivity and work stability. Selected high-performance HCN middle managers and employees are sent as inpatriates to headquarters, but mainly as a reward for good performance, not for career development. The companies surveyed paid little attention to management development for both expatriates and HCNs, which negatively impacts employee`s organizational commitment and retention.

Glover & Wilkinson(2006) investigates the translation of modern management practices within a UK based subsidiary of a Korean-owned MNC. The Korean MNC tries to implement Western-style ‘soft’ HRM practices, emphasizing worker development and engagement. With semi-structured interviews at all levels of the organization, the research shows that the adoption and implementation of Western approaches within Korean MNCs is not necessarily straightforward and there are extra-, intra-, and internal-organizational factors that undermined successful implementation despite having associated structures and resources in place. In intra-organizational relationships with headquarter, the British manager has many problems. There are difficulties in influencing at Meetings with 30 Koreans and 1 European, forming a relationship or trust with the HQ due to geographical distance and language. In internal organizational relationships, management perspectives and approaches were different according to British managers and Korean managers. The British manager group is a ‘High-involvement’ group that attempts to communication and involvement practice, whereas the Korean manager group is a ‘command and control’ group.

E.B. Kim(2022) examines how Korean immigrants employed at co-ethnic MNEs perceive their work experience based on their past employment in the United States. With 63 in-depth interviews, she shows that Korean immigrants have different job attitudes and career prospects depending on their experiences of workplace discrimination in the USA. That means, immigrants who previously worked in the mainstream economy have

developed a higher level of racial/ethnic awareness through racialized experience than their counterparts who only worked for co-ethnic employers. She suggests that these perception gaps shape workers' job attitudes and career prospects, and once knowledge of the racial/ethnic stratification of the host society is established, it has a lasting impact on immigrants' lives and has a profound impact on immigrants' attitudes toward socioeconomic integration.

Singh, Pattnaik, J.Y. Lee, and Gaur(2019) examines the impact of cultural friction in foreign subsidiaries on subsidiary performance. Based on a longitudinal sample of 467 Korean MNEs in 63 countries, they argue that cultural friction, arising due to a high presence of PCNs in culturally distant locations, has a determinantal effect on subsidiary performance. And this effect is the strongest when the cultural friction is at the top management team (TMT) level and the weakest when friction is at the regular employee level. However, this relationship is contingent on factors that work as drags or lubricants for cultural friction between PCNs and HCNs. They identify governance mode and language differences between home and host countries as drag parameters and host country experience and subsidiary interdependence as lubricants that condition the effect of cultural friction on subsidiary performance.

Most studies have focused on Korean MNCs in China and the United States. Research on Korean MNCs in Germany mainly deals with the cultural differences between the two countries and the points to pay attention to in the business of the two countries. W.B. Lee(2002)'s dissertation is a study on the problems of Human resources and management within Korean companies in Germany.

Ⅳ. Overview of an empirical study

1. Research purpose

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea reports the ‘current status of overseas Koreans’ every two years to understand the current status of overseas Koreans and Korean nationals living or staying abroad. As of 2021, the most recent version, the number of overseas Koreans worldwide is about 7.32 million people, including all overseas Koreans, most of whom live in the United States(2.63 million, 36%) and China(2.35 million, 32%). The number of overseas Koreans residing in Europe is 680,000, less than 10% of the total. Among Western European countries, excluding the countries of the former Soviet Union, Germany has the largest number with 47,000, followed by

the United Kingdom with 36,000. Traditionally, the UK has been the most populated place for Koreans in Western Europe, but it has been declining since 2011, especially after Brexit. On the other hand, the number of Koreans in Germany is steadily increasing.

Table1. Number of Korean immigrants in UK and Germany

	2011	2013	2015	2017	2019	2021
UK	46,829	44,749	40,263	39,934	40,770	36,690
Germany	31,518	33,774	39,047	40,170	44,864	47,428

Koreans in Germany formed the first immigrant group, centered in North Rhine-Westphalia(in German, Nordrhein-Westfalen), starting as miners and nurses in 1963. In the 1980s, many college students came to Germany for the purpose of studying abroad, the Korean Student Association was formed, and the second Korean immigrant society centered on the students was formed. And starting with Samsung in the 1990s, many Korean companies based in Germany began to expand their global business in Europe. In 2005, the Agreement on Entry and Residence between Korean and Germany was signed, and in 2013, the requirements for the residence and work permit of Koreans in Germany' were relaxed. As a result, various Korean companies entered Germany, and the number of Korean immigrants for the purpose of professional activities increased. The Frankfurt area in the state of Hesse(in German, Hessen) became the center of the new Korean immigrant community.

Table2. Changes in the number of Korean immigrants in Germany

	Total in Germany	North Rhine-Westphalia	Hesse
2003	29,814	10,498	4,725
2005	31,966	9,000	4,972
2007	29,800	8,305	4,970
2009	31,248	8,427	5,397
2011	31,518	8,107	5,670
2013	33,774	8,320	6,565
2017	40,170	8,859	9,818
2019	44,864	10,104	11,009
2021	47,428	10,244	12,174

Based on the list of member companies of the Korea Economic and Business Promotion Association e.V. (KOEBAG), 72 Korean companies are registered as members. Excluding the Financial Supervisory Service, which is a public institution, 71 member companies are Korean MNCs doing business all over the world, and they are located in

and around Frankfurt. The Frankfurt area can be said to be the center for Korean MNCs to target the European market, and the move of LG Electronics proves this well. At the end of 2015, LG Electronics moved its European regional headquarters from London, England to Düsseldorf, North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany. And in 2017, both its subsidiary in Germany and the European regional headquarters were moved to the Frankfurt area. The reason for this is to focus on the auto parts business and home appliance business based on the location, transportation and infrastructure advantages in the Frankfurt area. As such, Korean MNCs in Germany are mainly focusing on the home appliance business and automobile business. In particular, for cooperation with German companies, a powerhouse in the automobile manufacturing industry, more mid-sized Korean MNCs are entering the Frankfurt area.

In terms of staff composition of Korean MNCs in Germany, first of all, it is largely divided into expatriate employees and local employees. The expatriates are usually dispatched as general managers and middle managers, usually every 4-5 years, and then return to the HQs in Korea. Local employees are divided into three types: PCN, HCN, and TCN. PCN can be further divided into three subgroups: Second-generation Koreans, so-called “Gyopo”, who were born and raised in Germany as children of first-generation Korean immigrants; university students who came to Germany for study and stayed without returning to their home country after studying; young skilled Koreans who come for employment in Germany without knowledge of the German language and culture. HCNs mainly work in general positions, but experienced HCNs familiar with the local situation are sometimes hired for top management. Since most Korean companies have production plants in Eastern European countries near Germany where costs are low, TCNs working in Korean MNCs are mostly office workers. As such, expatriates and local employees from various backgrounds work together in Korean companies.

The number of Korean immigrants in Germany is gradually increasing, and the activities of Korean MNCs are becoming more active. However, studies targeting Koreans are mainly based in the United States and China. Therefore, various studies related to management, HRM, corporate culture, and intercultural business communication within Korean MNCs in Germany are required. The purpose of this study is not to simply compare the cultural differences between the two countries, but to understand the work attitudes and values of people of various nationalities within Korean MNCs through an empirical research. And these research results are intended to provide the possibility of International Training(Cross-Cultural Training, Intercultural Business Communication Training) and management development(Leadership training) for managers and employees in Korean MNCs in Germany.

2. Research method

My doctoral dissertation is a qualitative research by in-depth interviews with managers and employees of various nationalities and positions in Korean MNCs in Germany. Prior to in-depth interviews, interviewees are asked about their personal and company backgrounds. By nationality, expatriates, PCNs, HCNs, and TCNs are classified, and German, English and Korean language skills are questioned. The positions within the company are classified into top management team, middle managers, and general employees, and job description is also asked. In terms of business size, it is divided into large corporations and mid-sized corporations, and in terms of type of business, it is divided into finished goods companies dealing with end customers, parts companies mainly working with local German companies, and raw material companies supplying raw materials to both German and Korean companies. The in-depth interviews are semi-structured and cover the following five subjects:

The first subject is ***'staff composition'***. Cultural differences between the home and host countries has emerged, as a key determinant of the subsidiary staffing composition(Gong, 2003a; Shenkar et al., 2008; Singh et al., 2019). First of all, focusing on expatriates and local employees, the proportion, the role of each, and their cooperation are discussed. And then, based on the 3 groups of local employees (PCN, HCN, and TCN), selection trends, reasons for selection, cooperation between them, and impact on management are analyzed. Froese et al.(2018) points out that a weakness of Korean HRM is that it mostly employs Korean men for upper management positions. According to Froese et al.(2018), the proportion of talented women and foreigners at the top management team of Korean companies is less than 5%, much lower than in other major industrialized countries. The issue of staffing at top management team is mentioned last.

The second subject is ***'management system'***. Although Korean large corporations, called 'chaebol', increasingly adopt Western management styles that are global standards, strict hierarchies, top-down and authoritarian centralized decision-making processes are still typical characteristics of Korean MNCs(Froese 2020). First of all, the thoughts on the management style of Korean MNCs are discussed with employees of various nationalities and positions. Glover & Wilkinson(2006) points out there is the gap between implementation(the degree to which the recipient unit follows formal rules implied by the practice) and internalization(where that practice is 'infused with values', i.e. accepted and approved by staff)(cf. Kostova, 1999; H. Kang et al., 2015). The agency relationship between HQ and subsidiaries of MNCs and the cultural distance between the home country and the host country lead to goal mismatch and disagreement(cf. Roth &

O`Donnell, 1996). I interview about the gap between implementation and internalization in the subsidiaries of Korean multinational corporations in Germany, and furthermore their localized management strategy and system. In particular, in the case of mid-sized corporations, I should start with more fundamental questions about whether HQs' operating system is well set up and whether it is well implemented to their subsidiaries.

The third subject is ***'leadership'***. The sense of harmony that comes from Confucianism is an important part of shared value in Korean corporate culture. This kind of harmony can instill a sense of family into a company, which creates a sense of belonging and membership. Employees, therefore, make more contributions to their companies(C.Y. Lee & J.Y. Lee, 2014). First of all, three intangible aspects of the unique k-style management are discussed: 'informal social ties and empowerment', 'paternalistic leadership', and 'a climate for reciprocal staff dedication as an informal clan control'. Yang(2014) points out that the intangible aspects are realized via utilization of informal organization processes and complement their formal organizational system. However, Yang(2014) took issues with the absence of informal organization processes, which led to a significant impact on both Korean managers and their local employees in Korean MNCs. In the in-depth interview, the presence or absence of an informal organization process and its impact on the local employees and expatriates in the subsidiaries are identified. In particular, most expatriates may not be aware of the routines and implications of their cultural expectations and behaviors in management of foreign subsidiaries (Yang, 2014). Finally, the current status and importance of expatriates`s training programs such as predeparture training, postarrival training, international training, and leadership training are discussed(cf. H. Kang et al., 2015).

The fourth subject is ***'motivation'***. Yang(2014) points out that the absence of informal organization overseas leads to different perceptions of leadership in Korean companies between home and overseas. She argues that the leadership is perceived as more authoritarian and there are lower levels of employees` empowerment and motivation in Korean MNCs overseas than at home. In Glover & Wilkinson`s study(2006), it was shown that the British manager group was a 'High-involvement' group and the Korean manager group was a 'command and control' group. In my in-depth interviews, employee`s involvement and motivation are discussed first, followed by work attitudes and career prospects. Froese(2020) points out that the ethnocentric staffing approach discourages foreigners to aspire management careers in Korean companies. However, this problem is not only a problem for HCN and TCN, but also for all local employees. In particular, PCN has a different point of view. E.B. Kim(2022) shows that immigrants who experience negative interactions or have a greater exposure to unfair treatment become

more critical of racial/ethnic issues and perceive them from an ideological and political perspective. She points out that when immigrants turn to co-ethnic employment out of disappointment and frustration through a series of discriminatory experiences in the mainstream economy, they may perceive the idea of ethnic solidarity imposed upon by co-ethnic employers as another form of unfair treatment. This issue is something that I would like to observe especially closely, because Korean students who have studied in Germany for a long time or Korean immigrants who grew up here often have difficulties when working for Korean companies.

The fifth subject is ***'language'***. Froese(2020) points out that the corporate language of most Korean MNCs is Korean, although Korean is not widely spoken outside of Korea. This severely limits the communication with foreign subsidiaries, employees, suppliers, and customers and limits the career opportunities for non-Korean managers. These communication difficulties eventually lead to employee dissatisfaction and employee turnover(Froese et al., 2016). First of all, I ask about the corporate language of Korean MNCs in Germany, the Korean, German, and English skills of their employees, and language courses for each employees such as expatriates, PCNs, HCNs, and TCNs. Luo & Shenkar(2011) identify language differences as an important parameter influencing cultural friction and moderating its effect on subsidiary performance. In an in-depth interview, I discuss the cultural friction caused by language within the subsidiaries of Korean MNCs in Germany and its impact on operational performance. Several Korean companies have already started adopting English as their corporate language, but with mixed results(Singh et al., 2019). Determining the corporate language is not easy in subsidiaries of Korean MNCs in Germany where expatriates mainly speak Korean and English, PCNs mainly speak Korean and German, and HCNs and TCNs mainly speak German and English. International business language-sensitive research has increasingly pointed towards the relationship between language and power in multinational organizations(Sliwa & Johansson, 2014; Gaibrois & Nentwich, 2020; K. Kim et al., 2023). K. Kim et al.(2023) argues that access to a company's dominant language is associated with participation in decision making and leadership. Finally, I discuss the possibility of English as a corporate language in the subsidiaries of Korean MNCs in Germany.

Ⅴ. Conclusion

Cultural diversity is a key element of international HR management and a recent challenge for many MNCs around the world. Korean MNCs, which still conduct ethnocentric management, need to be sensitive to communication problems within their subsidiaries that arise due to cultural differences and conflicts among members. My doctoral dissertation analyzes cultural differences in work attitudes and values among employees of different nationalities by conducting in-depth interviews in their subsidiaries of Korean MNCs in Germany. The ultimate goal of this empirical study is to establish a framework of operational development training(Leadership training)and international training(Cross-Cultural Training, Intercultural Business Communication Training). It aims for shared understanding between the employees from various nationalities in Korean MNCs in Germany.

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Social Anchoring: Socio-psychological Stability and Future Mobility Intention of Skilled Migrants in Korea

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Abstract

Attracting and retaining skilled migrants in Korea has become a pressing national agenda for addressing socio-demographic challenges and promoting sustainable economic development. Despite the Korean government's efforts to attract and retain foreign professionals, skilled migrants in Korea tend to work for a relatively short term and subsequently relocate to other countries. Identifying groups of skilled migrants more likely to leave and gaining insights into the factors that influence future mobility intentions are crucial tasks.

This study explores group differences in future resident intentions in Korea among skilled migrants by intersecting gender and race. Drawing on Grzymala-Kazlowska's (2016) concept of social anchoring, which emphasises the importance of socio-psychological stability for long-term settlement, this research investigates factors contributing to or diminishing skilled migrants' sense of psychological stability during their residence in Korea. The analysis utilises data from the 2021 survey on Immigrants' Living Conditions and Labour Force. The sample consists of 610 skilled migrants employed in Korea, holding professional staff visas (E-1~E-7).

The findings reveal that skilled female migrants, particularly non-Asian females, express lower intentions to stay in Korea after the expiration of their current visa and to apply for a permanent resident visa/Korean citizenship compared to skilled male migrants. Among the comparison groups, skilled Asian male migrants exhibit the highest inclination to stay in Korea in the future. One potential contributing factor to the group differences in future resident intentions in Korea is (the lack of) socio-psychological stability. Skilled female groups, compared to the males, are more likely to experience lower levels of socio-psychological stability, possibly due to family status, cohabitant status, and gender

barriers in the labour market. Meanwhile, for Asian skilled migrants, especially Asian males, wiring money to their families/relatives overseas might satisfy their need for family support, possibly promoting their socio-psychological stability regarding their stay and job in Korea.

Based on these findings, this study emphasises the need for national policies and corporate systems to guarantee the social-psychological stability of skilled migrants to facilitate their longer-term settlement in Korea. Moreover, this study underscores the importance of considering socio-demographic factors, such as race and gender, in developing these policies and systems.

Keywords: Skilled migrants; social anchoring; future mobility intention; socio-psychological stability; Korea

Ⅰ. Introduction

Korea faces intertwined socio-demographic challenges, including the lowest fertility rate in the world, an ageing population, and a brain drain (Moon, 2019; Shin et al., 2019). In December 2020, it marked the first drop in the annual population in Korea (Ministry of Public Administration and Security, 2021). Considering Korea will become the most aged society in the world by 2067, the shrinking working-age population has become a serious and urgent social issue (Kang, 2020). While small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) with fewer than 300 employees occupy nearly 87% of the total employment (OECD, 2017), the vast majority (92%) of unmet demand for industrial and technological personnel is concentrated in SMEs (Ministry of Trade, 2022). In particular, during the past five years, there has been a high shortage of industrial technical workforce in new industries (e.g., software, bio-health, and chemistry) requiring skilled and trained professionals (Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy, 2020). The demand for professionals with top-level skills from SEMs is unlikely to be met by the domestic labour force because they prefer to work in large firms (Moon, 2019).

To achieve sustainable economic growth, the Korean government needs to attract highly qualified migrants to Korea. Skilled migrants are critical human resources for enhancing technology, talent-oriented soft power, and productivity (Kang et al., 2018). In economic terms, Korea may become an attractive emerging migrant country. Korea moved from 12th to 10th in the world GDP ranking as of 2020, and the new top 10 GDP list is expected to remain the same until 2026 (IMF, 2021). The Korean economy is well-connected internationally (Froese, 2020), and attracting skilled migrants is an advantage as they can function as a transnational bridge between Korea and their home country (Shin et al., 2019). Considering that Korea is an economic and cultural hub, especially within the Asian region, Korea can become an attractive destination country, especially for Asian international students (Shin & Choi, 2015). Thus, the Korean government has opted to actively attract talented foreign labours in the fields of academics, workers/Startups in SMEs, and international students for the long term by executing several ongoing policies and a vast amount of budget since 1999 (OECD, 2019; Shin et al., 2019).

However, amid a competitive global war for talent, Korea tends to be turned over in recruiting and retaining more skilled migrants, and the multinational enterprises in this country are not perceived as attractive for even Asian skilled migrants (Froese & Kishi, 2013). According to the 2021 Global Talent Competitiveness Index of the European Institute of Business Administration, Korea ranked 68th out of 134 countries concerning

external openness (i.e., attracting foreign business and foreigners) (Evans et al., 2021), signalling that Korea faces a challenge in attracting skilled foreigner. In addition, global talents tend to move to Western countries or return to their home country instead of staying in Korea longer-term (Moon, 2019). Approximately 73% of skilled migrants in Korea stay for less than five years (Kang et al., 2018). Similarly, according to 2019 OECD data, the percentage of recent arrivals who stayed in their host country for less than five years in Korea is the most significant (60%) among OECD countries, while the average percentage of the OECD nations is 13% (OECD, 2019). Korea seems to be not considered a long-standing migration destination for the global brain.

Socio-demographic challenges, shortage of skilled workforce, and need for sustainable economic development have led to the societal and governmental interest in attracting skilled migrants. However, Korea has difficulties retaining mobile foreign talents for the longer term. A growing body of research at both academic and policy levels is realising the importance of understanding skilled migrants in Korea (Moon, 2019). In particular, more skilled migration research on their future mobility decision needs to be conducted to identify potential barriers that hinder their long-term settlement in the host society (Sapeha, 2017).

II. Theoretical Framework and Research Questions

1. Social anchoring as a theoretical framework

Korea is currently in a state of flux, complexity, and instability due to unprecedented socio-demographic and economic changes. Understanding the factors that influence skilled migrants' adaptation and settlement within its dynamic and constantly changing society is crucial in comprehending the phenomenon of skilled migrants' relatively short-term residence in the country. Although studies on migration often employ the concept of integration as their primary research framework, there have been ongoing questions regarding the adequacy of the concept of integration in understanding migrants who live in complex, fragmented, diverse, and transnationally connected societies (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2018; Urry, 2000). The concept of integration is commonly employed when examining the adaptation of migrants in traditional immigration countries (e.g., Canada and Australia), where immigrants are typically seen as individuals who migrate with the goal of permanent residency in the destination country. However, this concept may not adequately explain the processes of adaptation and settlement among migrants in new emerging destination countries (e.g., Korea and

Japan) (OECD/EU, 2018). Migrants in these countries may not necessarily have the intention of settling permanently in a single location and tend to maintain transnational relationships and networks (Faist, 2000).

Another limitation of migration research on integration is that many existing studies have focused on functional dimensions (e.g., education, employment, health, or housing) of integration (Fyvie et al., 2003). This integration of functional aspects is crucial because it serves as a starting point for migrants' adaptation and settlement in the host society. However, considering that various dimensions of life are interrelated, research on migrants' adaptation and settlement needs to study multidimensional integration aspects (e.g., social connections, employment, and language proficiency) (Cheung & Phillimore, 2017). In particular, in the age of insecurity (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2020), migrants are more likely to experience *ontological insecurity* (Giddens, 1991) in the process of adapting and settling down. Therefore, it is essential for them to experience psychological adaptation to the changed living environment (Grzymala-kazlowska, 2018). In this respect, the concept of integration has a limitation as it does not encompass the social and psychological need for stability and security of migrants (Cheung, 2013; Grzymala-kazlowska, 2018).

Grzymala-Kazlowska (2016) proposed the concept of social anchoring as a potential solution to address the shortcomings of conventional integration concepts (Grzymala-kazlowska, 2018). Social anchoring refers to the process of identifying significant footholds that empower migrants to attain socio-psychological stability, enabling them to effectively navigate and function in new life environments (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2018). Social anchoring theory emphasises humans' need for stability and safety, in line with Maslow's theory of needs (1954). This concept takes a more comprehensive approach than integration; it considers the psychological and emotional aspects that affect migrants' adaptation and settlement while also focusing on identifying tangible footholds and structural obstacles. During the adaptation and settlement, migrants are able to attain not only social and cultural anchors but also material, cognitive, and behavioural anchors (e.g., living with family, sense of agency and self-sufficiency, employment and work opportunity, home ownership, familiarity and attachment to local spaces) (Grzymala-kazlowska, 2018).

Social anchoring as a theoretical framework guides this study to understand skilled migrants' status of adaptation and settlement. The more skilled migrants experience socio-psychological stability in adapting and settling in Korea, the more anchors they gain; as a result, they may have more intention to settle in Korea in the longer term. On

the contrary, if they experience socio-psychological instability in the process of adapting to Korea, they will experience ontological insecurity. If these occur in various areas of their lives, they may have to consider moving to their home country or other countries faster than expected.

2. Research questions

Despite approximately 55% of skilled migrants residing in Korea having an Asian background and 40% being female professionals (Korea Immigration Service, 2022), previous literature on skilled migrants has primarily focused on male professionals who migrated from Western countries. In addition, a limited number of studies have investigated the group of foreign professionals living in Korea from the perspective of intersectionality. For example, Kim (2016) studied positions of female foreign academics at a Korean university. Depending on their gender, age, and academic status, foreign academic work experiences in Korea significantly differed. Dos Santos (2020) studied Black expatriates in the field of education in Korea and discussed the issues of discrimination and unfair treatment due to their skin colour and nationality. Viewing phenomena from an intersectional perspective entails understanding and analysing the intricate nature of the world, individuals, and human experiences, which are typically influenced by multiple factors in diverse and interconnected ways (Collins & Bilge, 2016).

Therefore, this study aims to examine whether there are significant differences in future residency intentions among the four intersecting groups (Asian males, Asian females, non-Asian males, and non-Asian females). Another objective of this study is to examine the variations in domestic and transnational relationships as well as labour market integration among the four groups of skilled migrants, which could potentially impact social-psychological (in)stability. Therefore, this study addresses two research questions:

1. What are the differences in the intention to reside in Korea among skilled migrants, considering their race and gender?

2. What are the differences in domestic and transnational relationships and labour market integration among skilled migrants when considering their race and gender?

Ⅲ. Research Method

1. Participants and dataset

This study utilised the 2021 Survey on Immigrants' Living Conditions and Labour Force data obtained through the Microdata Integrated Service (MDIS; mdis.kostat.go.kr). The survey has been conducted jointly by the Ministry of Justice and Statistics Korea annually since 2017. The survey aims to understand the living conditions, employment, and unemployment status of immigrants in Korea and use the findings to formulate and evaluate immigration policies. The survey questionnaire was provided in Korean and English, and face-to-face interviews were conducted. The target population of this survey includes foreign residents or naturalised citizens aged 15 and above who have been residing in Korea for 91 days or more. The survey data used a two-phase stratified simple random sampling method. In the first phase, immigrants were selected from 206 cities and districts. In the second phase, residence status and nationality were used as classification indicators to extract a sample of 25,000 immigrants (20,000 foreigners and 5,000 naturalised citizens). This study focused on a sample of 610 employees with professional staff visas (E-1~E-7). Among these respondents, there were 232 Asian male professionals (38%), 86 Asian female professionals (14.1%), 155 non-Asian male professionals (25.4%), and 137 non-Asian female professionals (22.5%).

2. Measurements

2.1. Future intention: Residency, Permanent residency/Citizenship

This study aimed to examine whether there were significant differences among the four groups formed by the intersection of race and gender of skilled migrants in terms of their future stay intention and intention to acquire permanent residency/citizenship. The survey utilised a binary variable which asked respondents, "Do you wish to continue staying in Korea after the expiration of your current visa period? (1=Yes, 2=No)." To create a new variable about the intention to acquire permanent residency/citizenship, the existing variables of *stay intention after visa expiration* and *desired stay method* were used to create a dummy variable (1=Desire to acquire permanent residency/Korean citizenship, 2=No desire). Gender and race-related variables were used to differentiate the groups. The race variable was created as a dummy variable (1=Asian, 2=Non-Asian) based on the respondents' foreign nationality code.

2.2. Social anchoring: Domestic and transnational connections

The survey included items related to the domestic and transnational social connections that can provide psychological stability during the process of adapting and settling in Korea. Firstly, existing items of *marital status* and *spouse's residency in Korea* were transformed into a dummy variable (1=Spouse resides in Korea, 2=No spouse or spouse does not reside in Korea). Next, the items of *the presence of children* and *the number of children residing in Korea or in countries other than Korea* were used to create a new variable (1=Children reside in Korea, 2=No children or children do not reside in Korea). Considering that there can be various forms of cohabitation beyond immediate family members, an item regarding *the presence of cohabiting individuals in Korea* (e.g., spouse, children, grandchildren, parents, grandparents, siblings, other relatives, colleagues) was used to create a new dummy variable (1=Living with others, 2=Living alone). Lastly, items *remittances to family/relatives outside of Korea* and *the frequency of remittances* were used to create a dummy variable (1=Remit six times or more annually, 2=Remit less than six times annually or do not remit). An item of *the annual amount of remittances* was used to create a dummy variable (1=Remit 5 million KRW or more annually, 2=Remit less than 5 million KRW annually or did not remit).

2.3. Social anchoring: Labour market integration

Two existing items related to *the duration of employment in the same workplace* and *the duration of employment in the same job sector* were used to create dummy variables (1=2 years or longer, 2= less than 2 years). A new dummy variable was created using a monthly income item (1= 3 million KRW or more, 2= less than 3 million KRW).

Ⅳ. The Results

1. Skilled migrants' future intention

The proportion of skilled migrants who wish to stay in Korea after the expiration of their current visa showed a statistically significant difference ($p< 0.05$) among the comparison groups. Table 1 shows that among the four groups, the group with the highest proportion of positive responses regarding future residence intention in Korea was Asian males, followed by non-Asian males and Asian females. Non-Asian females showed the lowest proportion of a future intention to stay in Korea. Similarly, when asked about the desire to obtain permanent residency (PR) or citizenship in Korea in the future, there was a statistically significant difference among the comparison groups. The group with the highest proportion expressing the intention to acquire PR or citizenship was Asian male professionals, followed by non-Asian males and Asian females.

Table 1. The future intention of the four skilled migrant groups

Intention	Response	Skilled migrants (%)				Chi-square difference *(p)*
		Asian Male	Asian female	Non-Asian male	Non-Asian female	
Future residence	Yes	210 (90.5%)	72 (83.7%)	132 (85.2%)	109 (79.6%)	8.94 (.03)
PR/Korean citizenship	Yes	35 (15.1%)	7 (8.1%)	18 (11.6%)	7 (5.1%)	9.60 (.02)

2. Social anchoring

2.1. Domestic and transnational relationships

As shown in Table 2, the proportion of Asian and non-Asian male skilled migrants who reported having a partner living in Korea was more than twice as high as that of female skilled migrants. Similarly, regardless of race, the proportion of male skilled migrants who reported having child(ren) living in Korea was more than twice as high as that of the female skilled migrant groups. Regarding the proportion of respondents who have cohabitant(s), the Asian male skilled migrant group showed the highest proportion, followed by the non-Asian males and Asian females. Most non-Asian female skilled migrants (approximately 85%) reported that they live alone.

Table 2. Domestic and transnational relationships of the four skilled migrant groups

Domestic and transnational relationships	Skilled migrants				Chi-square difference *(p)*
	Asian Male	Asian female	Non-Asian male	Non-Asian female	
Partner living in Korea - Yes	62 (26.7%)	11 (12.8%)	45 (29%)	15 (10.9%)	181.48 (<.001)
Child(ren) living in Korea - Yes	32 (13.8%)	6 (7%)	22 (14.2%)	6 (4.4%)	11.16 (.01)
Living together with one person or more in Korea- Yes	130 (56%)	26 (30.2%)	56 (36.1%)	21 (15.3%)	64.21 (<.001)
Wiring money to family/relatives who are living outside of Korea – Yes, six times or more annually	144 (62.1%)	34 (39.5%)	35 (22.6%)	37 (27.1%)	147.45 (<.001)
Annual overseas remittance amount – 5 million KRW or more annually	160 (69.0%)	35 (40.7%)	33 (21.3%)	31 (22.6%)	187.36 (<.001)

Next, the proportion of respondents who reported sending remittances to family members or relatives residing outside Korea at least six times a year was highest among the Asian skilled migrants, particularly among Asian male professionals (62%), compared to the non-Asian migrant groups. Similarly, the proportion of respondents who reported an annual overseas remittance amount of 5 million KRW or more was highest among Asian male skilled migrants (69%), followed by Asian females (41%).

2.2. Labour market integration

When comparing the proportions of the four skilled migrant groups who have worked in the same workplace for two years or longer, Asian male skilled migrants had the highest percentage, followed by non-Asian males and Asian females. The proportion of non-Asian females who had worked in the same workplace for two years or longer was only around 15%. Similarly, when comparing the proportions of the four groups who have worked in the same job sector for two years or longer, both Asian and non-Asian male groups had much higher percentages compared to the female group. Lastly, when examining the proportions of the four groups who responded that they receive a monthly salary of 3 million KRW (equivalent to about US $2,358) or higher, the percentages for Asian and non-Asian female skilled migrants were very low (around 8% and 9%, respectively), compared to the male skilled migrant groups. It is important to note that even though over 98% of non-Asian male and female skilled migrants had tertiary degrees (see note in Table 4), the proportion of non-Asian females receiving high salaries (around 9%) was much lower than that of non-Asian males (39%).

Table 3. Work periods and monthly income of the four skilled migrant groups

	Skilled migrants				Chi-square difference *(p)*
	Asian Male	Asian female	Non-Asian male	Non-Asian female	
Work period in the same workplace –2 years or longer	118 (50.9%)	25 (29.4%)	64 (41.3%)	21 (15.3%)	66.75 (<.001)
Work period in the same job sector – 2 years or longer	174 (75%)	45 (52.9%)	110 (71%)	67 (48.9%)	70.11 (<.001)
Monthly income –3 million KRW or more	59 (25.4%)	7 (8.1%)	60 (38.7%)	12 (8.8%)	89.98 (<.001)

Note. The proportions of skilled migrants who obtained tertiary degrees or higher are as follows: 1) Asian males 56%, 2) Asian females 53.5%, 3) non-Asian males 98.7%, and 4) non-Asian females 97.8%.

Ⅴ. Discussions

This study investigated potential group differences among skilled migrants based on their race and gender regarding their future intentions to reside in Korea and acquire permanent residency (PR) or citizenship. Furthermore, drawing upon the social anchoring theory (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2016), which posits that establishing socio-psychological stability facilitates long-term settlement, this study explored the variations among skilled migrants in terms of race and gender with respect to the factors that are likely to impact their socio-psychological (in)stability.

The results of this study, when comparing skilled migrants in four groups based on their race and gender, revealed that the group with a higher intention to stay in Korea for a more extended period and obtain PR/citizenship was skilled male migrants, particularly Asian males. On the other hand, skilled female migrants, especially non-Asian females, showed the lowest intention to stay in Korea after the expiration of their visa and obtain PR/citizenship.

Family and cohabitant status are the potential factors that likely contribute to gender differences in future intentions. Having their own family or deep and sustainable friendships are vital anchors for migrants (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2018). Specifically, the proportion of female skilled migrants with partners/children residing in Korea was significantly lower than male skilled migrants. Similarly, the proportion of individuals reporting cohabitation was also lower for female skilled, especially non-Asian females, compared to male skilled migrants. In this respect, skilled female migrants, particularly non-Asian females, may have a lower likelihood of securing stable relational footholds that contribute to socio-psychological stability during their stay in Korea, potentially negatively impacting their prospects in Korea.

Satisfactory access to the labour market is one of the decisive retention factors (Sapeha, 2017). From the perspective of labour market integration, this study found that the proportion of female skilled migrants who had worked for two years or more in the same workplace or job sector was significantly lower than male groups. These results imply that skilled female migrants may have a lower probability of continuously developing their connection with their colleagues at the workplace and expertise within their respective occupations, possibly negatively impacting their socio-psychological stability. In addition, considering wage level relative to the highest academic qualification, non-Asian female skilled migrants may face more difficulties and stress finding occupations that offer wages commensurate with their educational qualifications compared

to similar conditions for non-Asian male skilled migrants. Non-Asian female skilled migrants who work under relatively lower wages relative to their educational qualifications may be more likely to be dissatisfied with monetary rewards and their work position, potentially negatively impacting their psychological security and leading them to find better work opportunities in other countries (Sapeha, 2017). In summary, factors such as stable and intimate relationships in the host country, duration of employment within the same workplace/job sector, and wages level relative to academic qualification seem to affect skilled female migrants' socio-psychological instability during their residence in Korea, which in turn, may result in a decreased future intention to reside in Korea among skilled female migrants.

On the other hand, Asian male skilled migrants exhibited the highest proportions among the four comparison groups regarding their intention to reside in Korea and acquire PR/citizenship. This result may be related to the fact that the group is more likely to secure socio-psychological stability due to their intimate relationships with family or cohabitant(s) and stable employment conditions (work period and income). Another factor affecting their socio-psychological stability is their transnational ties. The data relating to overseas remittances indicates that more Asian skilled migrants, particularly Asian males, tend to send money to their families/relatives in their home country or other countries than non-Asian groups. This result signals that there might be a strong motivation and need for Asian migrants to work in Korea to support their families/relatives financially. The economic stability they can achieve by working in Korea and the psychological stability of being able to support their families and relatives overseas may act as motivating factors for them to continue residing in Korea. Especially for Asians, fulfilling obligations and supporting their families is a crucial role as members of society (Nisbett, 2004). Therefore, a stable job that allows them to use their agency by financially supporting their families/relatives can serve as an anchoring foundation, leading them to establish stronger ties in the host society (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2018).

This study was conducted by analysing secondary data, hence it had limitations in that it did not include measures for assessing socio-psychological stability. Consequently, it was impossible to determine how these factors influence the socio-psychological stability of skilled migrants nor to ascertain the impact of their socio-psychological stability on their future residency or mobility intentions. As a potential future research topic, it is encouraged to investigate how socio-psychological stability, as a mediating variable, is influenced by the degree of domestic/transnational social connections and labour market integration and how it affects the future residency or mobility intentions of skilled migrants.

In conclusion, this study found that female skilled migrants, especially non-Asian females, in Korea are more likely to consider relocating to other countries in the future than male skilled migrants. This study identified that domestic and transnational connections and labour market integration might affect socio-psychological stability, potentially influencing the longer-term residency of skilled migrants in Korea. In particular, female skilled migrants may face more significant difficulties than males in securing socio-psychological stability due to the gender barriers they experience in the labour market. Therefore, improvements in policies and institutional systems are necessary to promote greater gender equality of skilled migrants in the labour market.

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