Canadian Diaspora in Korea and Adaptation

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Abstract

This paper investigates the state of Canadians living abroad in the Republic of Korea. Specifically, what brings them here, and what may be involved in their adaptation process. Research for this paper involved both primary and secondary data resources through archival research and web-based research. Findings show that there is an upward trend for Korean citizens to renounce their citizenship in favor of Canadian citizenship, and that the ‘Canadian diaspora’ is still rather a murky concept.

Keywords: Canadian diaspora, adaptation, republic of Korea

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I. Introduction

As the world becomes more interdependent, and people leave their homeland to seek opportunities abroad, a web of complexities arises from this relocation for both the person who has uprooted themselves to go to this new land, and the new host country. This paper seeks to investigate the state of Canadians living abroad in the Republic of Korea (hereafter Korea) and to examine some theories, factors and models involved in an individual’s adaptation process when moving from their original home country to establish themselves in a new land. It is of interest to observe and study how it is not only citizens of so called ‘less fortunate’ countries whom are migrating and establishing themselves on new lands, but those of so called “first nation” countries also that are also re-positioning themselves and their families and migrating. For this purpose, Canada was chosen as a country to investigate. The purpose of this paper is to look at the state of the Canadian diaspora in Korea as they may have future ability to influence policy both in their native land of Canada, and/or within Korea.

Diaspora refers to ‘immigrant communities who distinctly attempt to maintain (real and/or imagined) connections and commitments to their homeland and recognize themselves and act as a considered diaspora’ (Toloyan, 1996). Moreover, diaspora are usually formed when the immigrant community in question does not find its culture represented in the mainstream host culture and ‘they experience the erasure and silencing of their culture by the host culture’. (Bhatia & Ram, 2009). To date, it is to the current researchers’ best knowledge that Canadian diaspora in Korea has been given little exploration and academic consideration, and it is the intention of this paper to contribute in part to the academic literature in this area.

Zhang(2007, 2009) has done extensive research on Canadians living abroad with the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, his most recent publication (2011) in collaboration with Don DeVortetz indicates 9%, or 2.8 million Canadians live abroad; currently there are nearly 26,000 Canadians living in Korea (Korean Immigration, 2015). The number of Canadians living abroad is larger than some other countries which are more well-known for their diaspora communities, such as United States, Australia, China and India(Zhang, 2009). How many of these people can be considered ‘diaspora’ is not clear, in part due to the definition and accounting for such people.
In fact the concept of ‘diaspora’ itself is not clear in the literature. Toloyan (1996) states that people who live outside their country of origin cannot be considered diaspora, however, Sinatti and Horst(2015) research on migrants state that the way diaspora is construed is important to understand, and that often diaspora is a ‘useful descriptive and analytical academic category,’ but that in fact ‘it should be studied as a socially constituted formation’, as migrants themselves generally don’t act in unity. Their work examines the understanding of the diaspora discourse. In so doing, they call out the notion that definitions which create boundaries, are rather unsubstantial in reality, though needed all the same. According to them, diasporas are communities of people who share the same nation as a home, and sharing a group identity. By contrast, a “sojourner” is considered to be a person who temporarily resides in a place, who “travels outside the country of his or her birth for a period of time and then returns” (Hultquist, 2007: 23), or someone that has a “temporary between-culture contact” (Ward et al., 2001). How long this “temporary” residing period has not been made explicit in the literature and may be anywhere from several days to years. So though one may begin their journey as a ‘sojourner’, through time, the sojourner may transition into a member of the diaspora community. Often an individual may start off on their journey in life as a tourist within a new country, not knowing that their future holds for them one day to adapt and contribute as an active member of a diaspora community. Therefore, for purpose of this paper, and understanding the tables of statistics presented below, it must be kept in mind that there is no clear time-element considered here, and that researchers’ definitions are vague, but attention must be brought to the notion that the amount of time an individual spends in another country would have a great deal of baring on an individual feeling integrated into their new community, and hence, a contributing diaspora member. As a sojourner is an individual; whereas a diaspora is a collective group. However there is a need to see these two entities as one at times, and separately at other times, because the collective is made up of individuals.

Research for this paper involved both primary and secondary data resources through archival research and web-based research. Web-based searches included the use of Google Scholar and university search engines to investigate such terms as “Canadian diaspora”, “Canadians Abroad”, “Canadians in Korea”, “Canadians in South Korea”, and “Canadians in ROK” and various search terms for adaptation abroad. Primary data source collection
included contacting directly to Korean Immigration Service to obtain current data which
was not available through a web-based search.

II. Literature Review

1. The Canadian connection with Korea: What brings them here?

Canadians can be said to have had ‘four waves’ of contact with Korea; the first wave
being diplomatic, involving the sending of infantry to assist in the Korean War (c.
1950/53); the second wave Humanitarian/Educational (c.1980s/90s), involving English
teachers, the third wave private business (c. 1990s), involving the establishment of the
Canadian Chamber of Commerce, and the fourth wave being a resurgence of the
diplomatic, through the international- intergovernmental business (c. 2015), which the
Canada-Korea FTA is to enact.

Canada and the Republic of Korea (hereafter Korea) first established a diplomatic
relationship in 1963, and cooperate through organizations such as the OECD, G20 and
APEC. Prior to this Canadians were sent to assist in the Korean War through the United
Nations, with 26,000 Canadian troops being dispatched, and about 312 Canadians not
returning to Canada (Watson, 2002). Many Canadians in the 1980s became familiar with
the TV series M*A*S*H, which depicted the relationship between Koreans and the foreign
troops during the Korean War.

The Canadian Chamber of Commerce, a business-orientated organization to help Canadian
companies integrate into the Korean market, was established as late as 1995. This was
established under the time period of the first democratically elected Korean president,
President Kim Young-sam, who came to office in 1993. The Canadian Chamber of
Commerce, in conjunction with the Canadian embassy, helps to promote various events for
Canadians living in Korea, as well as to promote the Canadian image to Koreans within
Korea. The Canadian Chamber of Commerce on its website states its purpose as “to be the
preeminent business organization for networking and policy representation for the
Canadian/Korean business communities in Korea.” To do so, it uses “core strategies of
collaborating with the Canadian Embassy, of having a serious program of local and
international speakers, of attracting visiting dignitaries and politicians, of providing trade information and assistance and, of engaging the community in highly-effective and engaging networking opportunities. Individual membership is 250,000 Won ($300 CAN) a year, with platinum membership reaching as high as 5,000,000 Won ($6000 CAN) a year. Its membership therefore is rather exclusive for business, and is the primary reason these organizations exist. Those Canadian persons who are not connected to the business realm somehow with Korea have no interest for this organization.

Collaborative programs between the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Korea and the Canadian Embassy include, but are not exclusive to, hosting a Canada Day event on July 1st each year, supporting Canadian films at the Busan International Film Festival, and promoting studying in Canada through the Canadian Education Fair. Such events, which are mainly business and education in theme, are primarily aimed at promoting Canadian culture and investment to Koreans.

Another group of Canadians who have contributed to the landscape of Korea is the Native English Teachers. From about 1988, after the Seoul Olympics, Canadian graduates started to come to Korea to teach at private English institutions, and in 1995, the Korean government started a program to recruit English teachers from one of the 7 officially recognized English-speaking countries, to teach in their elementary, middle and high schools. This program has since been discontinued, and showed a sharp drop during the ‘IMF (International Monetary Fund) period’ as known to all Koreans in 1996/7, when their Won currency was cut to half the value against the American dollar. It was hard for schools to maintain their Native teachers when the government switched from paying the teachers in dollars to paying them in won, many Native teachers left their positions. However, with a global crisis of employment in many Western countries these days, and the Korean won having regained itself from that time, many Canadians have returned again to teach English at private institutions, after-school programs or colleges/ universities. Though it is not possible to know the exact number of English teachers in Korea, as the visa-type is ambiguous, statistics in Table 1 below indicate the number of Canadians on working visas in Korea.

More recently, Canada and Korea are making new inroads with diplomatic, business and increasing cultural ties. The FTA signed in 2015 between Korean President Park Geun-hye and Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper has promising expectations of promise for
both countries involved. In an interview with the Canadian Ambassador to the Republic of Korea, Mr. Eric Walsh, said “My No. 1 goal is to get value out of the Canada-Korea free trade agreement, which came into force this year” (Lee, 2015). This ‘value’ is to be realized through promoting cooperate awareness of the free trade agreement; increasing the annual strategic dialogue with concrete initiatives, and strengthening cooperation in science, technology and innovation. Currently a $1million annual budget from the Canadian government’s Economic Action Plan has been put towards cooperation in science and technology. Boyle and Kitchin(2011) research on the Canadian diaspora support this initiative, stating that the Canadian diaspora are “well-resourced and well-endowed” and that there is interest within Canada to “formulate a Canadian diaspora strategy to enhance and build relations with this ‘secret province’.

The Canadian diaspora in Korea, even as murky in definability as it may currently be, has great potential for influencing development-policy issue, as governments’ have traditionally been keen on diaspora for the potential economic gain homelands may obtain from their contributions. The 2003 World Bank Global Financial report shows that diaspora remittances outweighed official development assistance (Raghuran, 2009; Sinatti & Horst 2015). Singh’s (2012) research with the Indo-Canadian community shows how much influence diaspora groups can have, even influencing economic domestic policy through their lobbying. Currently the Canadian cabinet has three Indian cabinet ministers of Indian heritage, the first such time in Canadian history, which also shows the influence of the Indian community on the governmental level.

The following <Table 1> shows the current distribution of Canadian citizens in Korea. The breakdown of what type of work the Canadians are doing in Korea is unclear, but many would be on English teaching visas (E-2) visas, but this information was not available. Also no information is provided for student visa category, however it can be assumed that compared to other country people studying here the number of Canadian students here was insignificant to warrant in the report. As the “Others” category shows a high number of people in it, it can be assumed that many of these “Others” have temporary visas which may include business visas that need to be periodically renewed. There is no tourist visa required between Canada and Korea, with the two countries having a reciprocal agreement that allows an individual can stay up to six months as a tourist.
Canadian Diaspora in Korea and Adaptation

<Table 1> Canadian citizens residing in the Republic of Korea as of 2015.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 On working visas</td>
<td>3,248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Koreans with Canadian citizenship (Visa type F-4)</td>
<td>14,902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Students</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Long-term residents(Visa type F-5)</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Others</td>
<td>7,565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Total</td>
<td>25,812</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Korean Immigration Service Entry and Exit Foreign Statistical Policy, April 2015

<Table 2> indicates that approximately 3,000 Korean citizens have each year for the last 5 years been giving up their Korean citizenship to become Canadian. Where these Korean-Canadians reside, be it in Canada or Korea, is unclear. Bauder’s (2014) research on citizenship, examines international migration and transnational mobility, and the complexity that is arising for governments in calling their citizens, ‘their citizens.’ His research reviews the different defining categories of citizenship historically. As can be seen from Table 2, there is clear desire for Koreans to ‘become Canadian’ as the number of Koreans forfeited their Korean nationality to gain Canadian nationality. Though it is difficult to document, a large number of these Koreans with Canadian citizenship decide to continue their residence in Korea while being Canadian. Such reasons for this would include the ability to access free education systems for their children if they are wanting to send them abroad for study, without paying the international fees; or to seek better employment opportunities within Korea, where jobs may be only recruiting non-Korean applicants.

<Table 2> Statistics on loss of citizenship to become Canadian by Koreans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of loss</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>Jan-April 2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>forfeit</td>
<td>2,933</td>
<td>3,067</td>
<td>2,785</td>
<td>2,698</td>
<td>3,204</td>
<td>1,177</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>renounce</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Korean Immigration Service Entry and Exit Foreign Statistical Policy, April 2015

— 241 —
2. What is involved in Diaspora Identity and Cultural Adaptation? Theories, factors, and models

1) Theories of Cultural Adaptation

Three theories are of particular interest when one considers the adaptation process to another culture: Uncertainty-reduction Theory, Intergroup / Intragroup Theory, and Contexting Theory.

The reducing of anxiety aids in adaptation and effectiveness for a person adapting to another culture. The extent that anxiety impedes learning is developed in Uncertainty-reduction Theory, which in part states that “reducing uncertainty and anxiety in turn influences interpersonal/intergroup adaptation and effectiveness” (Gudykunst & Nishida 2000).

Knowing how to communicate effectively within one’s own group and how to bridge the gap between groups is, in effect, to know what makes effective communication. When one is interacting with another culture, this would be considered “intergroup” interaction. Intergroup/intragroup theory lends itself to developing the concept of an “in-group” and an “out-group”.

In Hall’s (1976) ‘Contexting Theory,’ he suggests that all cultures’ communication styles can be classified as “high context”, or “low context,” varying on a continuum from ‘high’ to ‘low.’ In this theory, high and low culture communication is determined by factors such as: power distance, achievement/ascription status, relationships/rules, universalistic/particularistic, feelings/relationships, and specific/diffuse relationship involvement. Cardon’s (2008) meta-analysis on Hall’s Contexting theory found nearly an equal split of research that negate it as a model as support it. In general, high context cultures, “understand unarticulated moods, subtle gesture and environmental clues that people from low-context cultures simply do not process” (Hecht et al., 2000). Researchers that do not use the terms “high context” and “low context” still use some concepts that it represents, such as “collectivist” and “individualist” cultures (Thomas, 1998). Korea is considered a ‘high context culture, and Canada is considered a “low context” culture according to Hall. This means that Koreans would identify more strongly with group/community prioritization, less verbal and more implicit understandings of a context, upholding of traditional values; whereas Canadians would identify stronger with individualization, verbalization and explicit
communication, and more emphasis on innovation than tradition.

2) Factors influencing Adjustment

Though some researchers are concerned with the overall “big picture” of adjustment to another culture, such as can be seen in models of adjustment, others are concerned with “measurable” elements in adjustment, some of which may even be anecdotal. Some researchers believe that socio-biological factors such as ethnicity, age, nationality, educational background, profession and religion (Mamman, 1995) are important factors in intercultural communication effectiveness, whereas others consider emotional responsiveness (Matsumoto et al., 2013) to be important. Factors are usually “based on specific practical interests pertinent to specific situations of cross-cultural adaptation, not on rigorous theoretical reasoning” (Kim, Y., 2000). However, the most commonly held general domains for intercultural adjustment are socio-cultural adaptation and psychological adaptation (Zlobia et al., 2006; Ward & Kennedy 1993; Ward & Kennedy, 1992; Sear & Ward 1990). Of the socio-cultural factors, length of residence in the new culture is one of the most important factors for successful adjustment (Ward & Kennedy 1996). A summary of various sojourner adjustment measures and factors is shown in Table 3 below. This is important as it shows this factor is an element in the link between the individual sojourner transitioning into the diaspora community.

<Table 3> Summary of some measures/factors of adjustment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/ (year)</th>
<th>Subjects/sampling size</th>
<th>Home/host</th>
<th>Length of stay</th>
<th>Research tool</th>
<th>Measures or factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ward, Okura, Kennedy &amp; Kojima/ (1998)</td>
<td>35 university students</td>
<td>Japan/New Zealand</td>
<td>Four time period: 24 hours after arrival; 4, 6, 12 months later</td>
<td>SCAS: Socio-cultural Adjustment Scale (four questionnaires)</td>
<td>Psychology &amp; Socio-cultural Adjustment Problems, ex. 1) Depression, 2) Loneliness, 3) Homesickness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward &amp; Kennedy/ (1993)</td>
<td>145 university students</td>
<td>Malaysia, Singapore, New Zealand</td>
<td>2 mos. -8yrs</td>
<td>Eysenck Person Questionnaire (EPQ,E&amp;E,1975) Rotters’1966 Internal/External Locus of Control Scale; Social Re-adjustment</td>
<td>1) Cross Cultural Experience, 2) Cultural Knowledge, 3) Extroversion, 4) Locus of Control, 5) Life Changes, 6) Cultural Distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shipton, Nicole-Jody · Kim, Chung-Ah</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rating Quest.</strong> (SRRQ); CDI (Cultural Distance Index) (Babiker, 1980) Cultural Identity Scale (Hewstone and Ward 1985); CIS: Cultural Integration-Separation (original)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hammer, Bennett &amp; Wiseman (2003)</strong></td>
<td>226; all walks of life</td>
<td>U.S., Africa, Asia, Hispanic, Jewish / U.S.</td>
<td>IDI Scale= Intercultural Inventory (50 items): Denial-Defense scale (13 items), Reversal Scale (9 items); Minimization (9 items); Acceptance/Adaptation (14 items) Encapsulated Marginality (5 items)</td>
<td>Measure of intercultural competence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ward &amp; Chang (1997)</strong></td>
<td>139</td>
<td>America/ Singapore (indefinite)</td>
<td>21 item sub-scale of the Eysenck Personality Quest (EPQ, E&amp;E,1975); Depression Scale (ZSDS); (20 items) Socio-cult. Adjust. Scale (23 items)</td>
<td>1) Extraversion, 2) Psychological Adjustment 3) depression 4) Social difficulty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3) Models of Sojourner Adjustment

There are two dominant views of the adaptation process: the pluralistic-typological view and the cumulative view. The latter sees adaptation as a continual transformative process whereas the former sees adaptation as discrete entities and is non-evolution bound. In other words, cumulative progressive views have a sense of development over time, whereas pluralistic-typological views are seen as “types” that exist irrespective of time and may change in the individual over time, but it is seen as a “snap-shop in time” of an individual. Bhatia and Ram(2009) research on diaspora and the acculturation process negates that diaspora can so easily be classified within any of the given paradigms as they “defy the neat boundaries of acculturation models”.

One of the first adaptive change models which illustrates the cumulative progressive view was developed by Oberg(1960) and is known as the “U curve model” which suggests that a person’s journey in another culture takes the shape of a “U”. Oberg also is known for coining the term “culture shock”. In this model, a person first experiences a “honeymoon stage,” followed by a stage of hostility towards the host culture where the person increases association with fellow group members, and rejections the host culture; then this is followed by a recovery stage, where the person has increased knowledge of the culture and the environment, and then a final stage of full adjustment, when all the person’s anxiety in adjustment is gone. Critics of the “U curve” model say that not all people start at a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsai (1995)</th>
<th>321 Japan (residents)</th>
<th>Questionnaire -101 items on 5 point likert scale</th>
<th>1) Cultural background, 2) nationality, 3) occupation, 4) Japanese language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
“honeymoon” stage (Klinberg & Hull in Kim, Y.Y.: 279), or that in fact several stages are not realistic (Hottola 2004). Hottola’s research states that when people travel to another country, rather than being shocked and depressed, they may feel stressed and confused. The U-curve, as a model therefore, is not considered consistent, and “intercultural theory on sojourner transition suggests that variations in the definitions and measurement of the adjustment construct will produce contrasting patterns of fluctuation over time” (Ward et al., 1998).

The cumulative-progressive model, created by Kim(1998) “accepts adaptation as a natural, inevitable phenomenon that at least minimally occurs in all individuals to the extent that they communicate with the host environment in carrying out daily life activities”. This means that as a sojourner stays in a host country for a longer period of time, he/she becomes more adapted to it. According to Kim, rates of adaptation to the new cultural environment are based on the knowledge of the host language, motivation for adaptation, positive attitude toward the host society, participation in interpersonal networks of the host society and the use of the host mass media. The sojourner’s adaptive strategy to the host environment is based on a dynamic interaction between personal communication and his/her social communication with the environment.

The pluralistic-typological model most cited is Berry’s(1980) “Four types of adaptation”. To predict a person’s adaptability in a new culture two simple questions are asked: Are ethnic/cultural values to be retained? And Are positive relations with the larger society of value and to be sought? Berry made a 4-point typology based on whether the person answered “yes” or “no” to these two questions. If a person answered “yes” to both, the person was considered an “integrative type”; if the person answered “no” to both, the person was considered a “deculturation type”; if “yes” to question one, and “no” to question two, then the person was an “assimilation type” and if “no” to question one, and “yes” to question two, then the person was a “rejection type”. Before one made the decision, or a company invested in an individual to move them overseas, knowing the individual’s adaptive ability would be useful. In other words, an individual could be pre-selected for determining whether they could be an appropriate member in a diaspora community.

These theories, factors and models, though briefly touched upon, all indicate that to understand diaspora as a community, the individual level is need to be examined, which often starts from the sojourner. Though there are various routes one may come to build a
diaspora, namely due to economic or political reasons, the Canadian diaspora in Korea cannot be as clearly cast-typed. In fact, from the ‘four waves’ outlined briefly above, diplomatic, humanitarian/ educational, business, and then a resurgence of diplomatic, the intentions of the sojourners seemed to have shifted, until more recently there seems to be a more economic direction establishing itself. This economic diaspora growth is seen in the newly created Canada-Korea FTA as well as more individual actors coming as sojourners to create private economy, often as seen through the working visas.

II. Conclusion and Future direction

There are many factors, models and theories involved when considering the adaptation process which an individual, and/or a group of individuals, undertake when confronting another culture. How a “low context” culture, such as Canada, and a “high context” culture, such as Korea, interact through individuals and diasporas in the acclimatization process, specifically, how a Canadian diaspora can be aided for a smoother transition for life in Korea, is worthy of further investigation. Such a study may aid trade and personal relations to go more smoothly, especially now that the FTA between the two countries has been formalized. With the increase of bilateral trade agreements, more individuals can be seen to relocate with their families together to establish themselves in a new economic environment. Having knowledge of the Canadian diaspora community and infrastructure to help support their transition for long-term living arrangements can only help benefit both sides in such an arrangement. When individuals are happily adjusted within their environments, it frees up space and they have time and energy to contribute to societal gains, rather than focusing on their own person. Future study might be limited to Canadian business Diaspora here in Korea, through one-to one interviews. Such a study can look at the resources currently available to Canadians within Korea to help them adjust to long-term living within Korea and what they feel may help them more to be able to living longer in Korea, hence contribute to the country’s growth and prosperity. This may assist not only the Canadian Diaspora here in Korea, but also the Koreans with their relationship with Canadians in general so that Canadians can be seen as Canadians, and not just another “Wei-guk-in” (“alien” or “foreigner”).
References


캐나다인의 한국 디아스포라 및 적응에 관한 연구

니콜 조디 쉬튼*, 김 정아**

요 약

본 연구는 한국에 거주하고 있는 캐나다인에 대한 연구로, 이들이 한국에 왜 왔는지와 이들이 한국에 적응하는 과정에서 어떠한 일이 있는지에 대한 연구이다.

본 연구는 기록연구 및 웹에 근거한 1차 자료와 2차 자료를 사용하였으며, 연구결과 한국 시민자가 캐나다 시민권을 선호함으로써 한국시민권을 포기하는 사례가 상승 중이었으며, "캐나다인 이주자"라는 개념은 전망이 아직은 불투명해보인다.

주제어: 캐나다인의 한국 디아스포라, 적응, 한국

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