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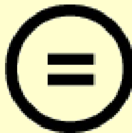
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Master's Thesis of Sociology

Making Sense of a Multicultural Place with Ethnic Lines

- An Ethnographic Investigation of an International Organization in Seoul -

종족의 선이 그어진 다문화 공간 이해하기

August 2020

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Making Sense of a Multicultural Place with Ethnic Lines

- An Ethnographic Investigation of an International Choir in Seoul -

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Submitting a master's thesis of Sociology

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Abstract

This research draws upon an ethnographic investigation of Camarata Music, a multicultural music organization in Seoul, to analyze the role of interpretation in everyday multiculturalism. It explains the following: 1) what behavioral practices do participants of Camarata Music adopt in order to construct a multicultural place; 2) how do ethnic lines emerge in this multicultural place, and 3) how do the participants respond to the ethnic lines in Camarata Music. This research uses discourses on fractures in everyday multiculturalism as conceptual framework and the meaning maintenance model as an analytical framework. It introduces the concept of 'ethnic lines', defined as ethnically differentiated patterns of participation in a multicultural place. By examining the ways in which people try to make sense of 'ethnic lines', this research demonstrate the way interpretive practices complement behavioral practices in maintenance of a multicultural place.

The data for this research were collected by participant observation and semi-structured in-depth interviews. The participant observation was conducted in two adult choirs of Camarata Music, Camarata Chorale and Camarata Chamber Singers, as well as the board meetings. From August 2019 to December 2019, 51 sessions of participant observation were conducted in rehearsals, meetings and social gatherings. Interviews were conducted from October 2019 to March 2020, with both Korean and non-Korean members, to the total of 17 interviews. Members have been chosen from various musical, ethnic, gender and age backgrounds to reflect diversity of the organization.

The results have been presented in three sections. Firstly,

Camarata Music acquired to meaning of as a multicultural place via behavioral practices of implementing policies of welcome, creating positive memories and experiencing diversity. Secondly, despite these behavioral practices of everyday multiculturalism, ethnic lines emerge as differences in participation coincide with ethnic differences. These lines form on three dimensions of conceptual, interactional and organizational. Thirdly, in-depth interviews revealed that participants used meaning maintenance mechanisms to make a positive sense of the ethnic lines so that these do not constitute discrimination. Some people focused more on non-social and non-ethnic aspects of Camarata Music, while others used non-ethnic categories such as age and musicality to explain the differences. Stereotypical understanding of ethnicities as well as previous experience with ethnicities were also used to diminish the severity of ethnic lines. Select few of the participants attempted to incorporate ethnic lines into their perception of the organization to create a new meaning for it.

In conclusion, this research proposes that interpretive practices of everyday multiculturalism may be employed to make positive sense of seemingly negative behavioral practices in multicultural places. This suggests that just as repetitive behavioral practices are required to construct and maintain a multicultural place, so are interpretive practices in order to overcome real or potential fractures that may occur in a multicultural place.

Key Word : interpretation, ethnic lines, everyday multiculturalism, multicultural place, practice

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Table of Contents

Introduction 1

Conceptualizing Everyday Multiculturalism 4
  Arrangements of Coexistence and Differences 4
  The Role of Interpretation 10
  Meaning Maintenance Model 12

Contextualizing Camarata Music 17
  Everyday Multiculturalism in South Korea 17
  Overview of Camarata Music 19
  The Main Research Sites:
  Chorale and Chamber Singers 21

Research Method 25

Behavioral Practices of Everyday Multiculturalism 31
  Policies of Welcome 31
  Creating Positive Memories Non-Linguistically 38
  Jokes, Comments and Laughters 42
  Experiencing Diversity 44

Emergence of Ethnic Lines ········ 48
Ethnicities as Categories ········ 48
Mingling with Not Everyone ········ 52
Not Quite An "International" Organization ········ 55

Interpreting the Ethnic Lines ········ 60
Ignoring the Lines ········ 60
Alternative Explanations ········ 63
Using Ethnic Stereotypes ········ 66
Ethnic Lines in Context ········ 70
Rethinking the Multicultural Place ········ 74

Conclusion: Multiculturalism of Compromises ········ 79

References ········ 85

List of Tables

Table 1:
List of Observation Sessions 29
Table 2:
List of Interviewees 30

List of Images

Image 1:
Operation of Everyday Multiculturalism 15
Image 2:
Meaning Maintenance Model in a Multicultural Place 16
Image 3:
The Organizational Structure of Camarata Music 20
Image 4:
Expectation Sheet for 2019 Christmas Concert 33
Image 5:
Seating Arrangement for a Chorale Rehearsal 41

Introduction

Globalization has become such a ubiquitous phenomenon that our daily lives have become entrenched in the global exchanges of goods and services, capital and policies, as well as culture and people. (Cohen and Kennedy, 2007). These exchanges have often inspired innovation and diverse expressions in forms of imitation, retaliation, hybridization, or some combination thereof (Burke, 2009; Pieterse, 2004). However, as Saito (2011) points out, openness to foreign goods, services or 'non-humans' does not translate to openness towards foreign human beings in many cases. Ethnic discrimination and violence persist even though migration has become commonplace, and despite the implementation of multicultural policies by migrant-receiving countries (Cantle, 2012; Castles and Miller, 2009). Although there is yet no conclusive evidence on the subject matter, several people seem to believe that the presence of these foreign human beings poses a threat to social cohesion and society in general (van der Meer and Tolsma, 2014).

Recently, a new wave of research has emerged that deal with multicultural, intercultural or cosmopolitan arrangements in which people from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds interact with each other (Oke, Sonn and McConville, 2018; Watson, 2017; Wise and Velayutham, 2014; Anderson, 2011; Colombo, 2010; Semi et al., 2009). By focusing on the interactions that take place in these sites, this literature explores how these places become homes to 'everyday multiculturalism'. By engaging in intercultural interactions ranging from friendly to hostile, participants of these sites learn to negotiate with ethnically different people (Radford, 2016; Shan & Walter, 2015). In short, everyday multiculturalism allows people to learn the art of

conviviality, of living together (Wise and Noble, 2016; Noble, 2013). Much of this new body of studies has strived to show how behaviors, actions and habits of individual agents are able to construct or "make" special sites of everyday multiculturalism (Watson, 2017; Kallman, 2015; Datta, 2009).

While admitting the importance of behavioral practices in construction of everyday multiculturalism, this paper is inspired by the fact that relatively less attention has been paid to the role of interpretative practices in everyday multiculturalism. It attempts to show that although behavioral practice is crucial in construction of everyday multiculturalism, interpretative practices of everyday multiculturalism provide a complementary process by which participants can enhance their experience of everyday multiculturalism and contribute to its maintenance. By showing how people use their interpretive abilities to make positive sense of any ethnic differentiation or separation that arise in the site, I point out that the power of interpretation allows individuals to conceal and heal weaknesses or possible points of "fracture" (Watson, 2017) in multicultural arrangements. Such points of fracture are referred to as "ethnic lines" in this paper. I introduce this term to describe ethnically differentiated patterns of participation in multicultural places. These lines may be drawn intentionally or unintentionally, but they emerge despite the multicultural practices that strive to facilitate conviviality.

This research seeks to understand how interpretation complements actions, habits and behaviors in construction and maintenance of everyday multiculturalism. For this purpose, I have engaged in an ethnographic investigation of Camarata Music[1], a

[1] The organization is currently registered under the name of "Camarata Music

multicultural music organization in located in Seoul, South Korea. The mission of this organization is to create "a global community through the universal language of music", and it manages four community choirs and a community musical theater group in order to fulfill this goal. This paper is based of four years of my personal engagement and a year-long participant observation in the organization. The investigation was guided by the following research questions. Firstly, what behavioral practices of everyday multiculturalism are adopted by agents that attempt to construct a multicultural place? Secondly, how do ethnic lines emerge in this constructed multicultural place, in spite of the participants' efforts to overcome ethnic differences? Lastly, how do participants interpret ethnic lines to bring them in line with their perception of the multicultural place?

The collected data were examined using the analytical framework of the meaning maintenance model (Heine, Proulx and Vohs, 2006). Using this model, I could see how people have constructed through their behavioral practice, a meaning of Camarata Music as a "judgment-free zone" of everyday multiculturalism. Once this meaning has been accepted by the participants, the meaning maintenance model predicts that they will utilize several interpretive strategies to maintain this meaning. Therefore, although the emergence of ethnic lines may threaten the existence of Camarata Music as a multicultural place, I have discovered that the participants have interpreted these lines in a less negative way, in order preserve the integrity of the everyday multiculturalism in the organization.

In the next section, I briefly survey the existing literature on everyday multiculturalism and other similar concepts to show how

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Company", but it is trying to change the name to "Camarata Music" to appear more "non-profit", The word "Company" has been dropped in all documents since 2019.

these arrangements highlight both the universality of its participants and differences among them, and that interpretive practices comprise an important component which bridges the two outcomes. I then introduce the meaning maintenance model as an analytical framework to understand how participants may interpret any fractures in everyday multiculturalism. This is followed by a contextual introduction of my fieldwork site, Camarata Music and a review of research methods employed. My findings are divided into three sections. Firstly, I present the ways in which practices of the management and participants of Camarata Music attribute the meaning of everyday multiculturalism to the organization. Secondly, I show how ethnic lines emerge in the organization, that may provide points of fracture in everyday multiculturalism. Lastly, I analyze the responses of the participants to such ethnic lines, using the meaning maintenance model as an analytical framework.

Conceptualizing Everyday Multiculturalism

Arrangements of Coexistence and Differences

Originally, the term multiculturalism was used to refer to political and social policies that respects and acknowledges cultural pluralism, and diversity within a population(Kymlicka, 1995). The first instances of its usage can be traced to late 1970s and 1980s, where it was employed as a state-building principle in Australia and Canada, countries with diverse populations, where state-building myths revolving around a particular ethnicity could not be utilized (Joppke and Lukes, 1999; Castles, 1992). It quickly spread to other migrant-receiving countries as an alternative to assimilationism

(Parekh, 2000; Isajiw, 1997). While the assimilationist policies aimed to bring about social integration by altering minority groups so that they would be indistinguishable from the dominant group (Gordon, 1964), multiculturalist policies represented a new state-forming principle which protected the rights of minority groups, while preserving the sociocultural diversity of the population. Since then, multiculturalism has grown to be a concept that is not only be used to refer to policies and ideologies that celebrate diversity, but also to describe any policies or theories that seek out to govern diversity, or even to describe a demographic group characterized by diversity (Bloemraad, Korteweg and Yurdakul, 2008).

The concept of 'everyday multiculturalism' represents yet another shift in multiculturalism scholarship, namely a shift in scale from the macro state level to micro "everyday" level, from multiculturalism from above to "multiculturalism from below" (Watson, 2017). It is defined as "everyday practice and lived experience of diversity in specific situations and spaces of encounter" (Wise & Velayutham, 2009). In other words, in every arrangement that brings together people from different backgrounds, there is a possibility of interactions among the diverse people, which provides them with hands-on experience with differences. Other concepts have also been formulated to refer to such arrangements in which people of different ethnicities interact with each other, such as conviviality (Wise and Velayutham, 2014) and cosmopolitan canopy (Anderson, 2004). The presence of these multiple terms to describe similar phenomena, albeit with differences and nuance, signify the growing interest in multicultural coexistence on micro, everyday and interactional levels.

This growth was partly fuelled by the hopes that everyday

multiculturalism would help people overcome ungrounded prejudice by gaining hands-on experience with diversity, which would eventually translate into lessons on living with differences. This line of thought owes its theoretical foundation to Allport's the contact theory, which proposes that prejudice "may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals" (Allport, 1954). From this perspective, sites of everyday multiculturalism provide the very arrangements in which these prejudice-reducing contacts can occur. Studies have highlighted how the positive interactions among participants of everyday multiculturalism result in more positive attitudes towards each other (Lee, 2017; Watson, 2017; Ahn and Kim, 2016; Kallman, 2015). Furthermore, these sites themselves become important places for the individual participants, often seen as "havens" of inter-ethnic civility and coexistence. For instance, Oke, Sonn and McConville (2018) discover that the ethnically diverse suburb of Footscray, Australia becomes a place where diversity is accepted as a comfortable and normative "social fact" (Berg and Sigona, 2013). Similarly, Anderson (2004) narrates how civil interactions between people of different races can create a "cosmopolitan canopy" out of a place as mundane and common as a marketplace. In this way, everyday multiculturalism is not merely a practice and experience of diversity, but a place-forming process that gives birth to multicultural places where positive interactions can be expected.

Given this background, it is not surprising to note the emphasis on practice in much of the literature on everyday multiculturalism. Specifically, studies have focused on behavioral practices, or the visible and tangible habits, actions and interactions of the body that take place at these sites. As humanistic geographers

have observed from the 1970s, a place acquires its meaning by what people do in it (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1976). Therefore, place is not a static entity, but a dynamic concept that requires constant place-making or place-formation by repetitive bodily practice (Cresswell, 2009). When it comes to everyday multiculturalism, the initial multicultural arrangement which sparked multicultural interactions may have been created out of coincidence. However, it is the repetitive multicultural interactions or behavioral practices of everyday multiculturalism that solidify this arrangement into a more sustained multicultural place. In other words, constant performance of multicultural practice are necessary to for maintenance of everyday multiculturalism and multicultural place. On the other hand, the very nature of everyday multiculturalism as a research topic also requires attention to the behavioral practices as important units of analysis. Often, the participants of everyday multiculturalism do not share a common language or cultural codes. In such cases, people will often communicate via action and gestures, rather than using only words (Shan and Walter, 2015; Noble, 2013). Even as participants try to speak phrases of the other party's language, it is the very act of 'trying to speak their language' that delivers a gesture of positivity and welcome, rather than the semantic content of the parlance. also fostered this bias in favor of behavioral practices. For this reason, there has been a bias in previous literature that places a great emphasis on behavioral practices as main components of everyday multiculturalism.

However, this emphasis on behavioral practice creates a rather interesting dilemma for everyday multiculturalism. Everyday multiculturalism, and multiculturalism in general, always implies the diversity of its participants. Individuals do not come into the

multicultural place leaving aside their previous selves, but with their bodies that have their own ethnic features and own ethnic identities. Yet, interaction with different others may not always lead to acceptance of commonalities. In fact, they could result in a heightened awareness of ethnic differences instead (Shin, 2017; Adida, 2011). Interactions between ethnic groups in everyday arrangements are not always positive and friendly, but can also consist of negative and even hostile encounters between ethnic groups (Wilson, 2017; Halvorsen, 2015; Nowicka and Vertovec, 2013; Duneier, 2000). Furthermore, as everyday multiculturalism is constructed by behavioral practices, it could equally be "unmade" by negative actions and interactions (Watson, 2017). Watson notes that as people observe how Europeans and Bengalis behave differently in communal spaces, they acquire a fixed notion of the "other" that becomes difficult to alter. She presents this as one of the ways in which everyday multiculturalism can be "fractured". Similarly, Kallman (2015) discovers that vendors of a marketplace in Boston use ethnic and racial differences to construct new groups among the vendors, always addressing each other with ethnic markers, such as "Sergei the Slav", "Moroccan Miloud" and "Black Bart". Kallman concludes that this place "blurs these boundaries, but does not erase them." From this perspective, everyday multiculturalism ceases to be a haven of inter-ethnic civility, but a vulnerable arrangement that can be easily unmade by the behavioral practice of its participants. Werbner (2013) hints at the tension between these two dimorphic incarnations of everyday multiculturalism. He points out the uncomfortable truth that beneath the "surface solidarity" of "civility and mutual respect", there are also negatively associated identities, such as class and ethnicity, which act as potential lines for segregation and subjection.

For the purpose of this paper, I use the term 'ethnic lines' to refer to these potential lines for segregation and division along ethnicities. Even though the emergence of these lines may have been unintentional on the part of the participants, they produce ethnically differentiated patterns of participation and behavioral practices. The presence of these ethnic lines represent a conceptual paradox for everyday multiculturalism. As individual participants observe these ethnic lines, they may be led to retaliate with unfriendly and hostile behavioral practices. Alternatively, the ethnic lines may be so pronounced that participants cease to associate the arrangement with positive inter-ethnic interactions (Duneier, 2000). Then, how is it possible to have any positive multicultural interactions, when all arrangements of everyday multiculturalism contain overt or covert ethnic lines? How are everyday multiculturalism and multicultural places preserved via multicultural interactions despite the presence of ethnic lines? Radford (2016) tries to solve this riddle by introducing the concept of "everyday transversal enablers". These are individuals who "find ways to engage, transcend, respond or bridge otherness or difference in everyday encounters" (Radford, 2016). He narrates the story of a Hazara girl who faced discrimination from other students at school, but was able to turn them into her friends by limiting the offense taken and responding positively. He emphasizes the need to build such intercultural capacity to accommodate and negotiate with differences. Although this research suggests one way in which ethnic lines can be managed, it leaves the fate of everyday multiculturalism entirely in the hands of few benevolent transversal enablers. More importantly, it does not explain why or how certain people decide to 'limit the offense'. We are left to wonder the process by which individuals who are exposed to ethnic discrimination can still make

sense of the multicultural place as a haven of diversity and tolerance.

The Role of Interpretation

In order to understand how certain individuals are able to overcome ethnic lines to engage in positive interactions, we must look at the way in which they make sense of the situation – their interpretation of the multicultural arrangement and ethnic lines. Interpretation is the process by which meanings are attributed to one another's actions that "mediates stimulus and response in the case human behavior" (Blumer, 1969). Although less emphasized than behavioral practice, interpretation constitutes the second leg of process by which everyday multiculturalism is made possible. Anderson (2004) calls this process a "folk ethnography". He describes how observation of others engaging in multicultural interactions affect our preconceived notions about ethnic relationship, for better or for worse. These changes in turn allow the previously observers to become participants in everyday multiculturalism, leading to sustained flow of multicultural interactions and a sustained multicultural place.

Colombo's research (2010) on children of migrants in Milan also offers an account of individuals using their interpretive abilities on ethnic differences. For these children, the prevalence of ethnic difference makes diversity a normal and natural condition. Furthermore, these children learn to use their own ethnicity as a flexible resource to initiate relationships, criticize the dominant culture or to ascertain their identity. The children actively alternate among the different uses of difference depending on the context. Both Anderson and Colombo's findings suggest that as much as visible behavioral practices of the body are important, interpretation also plays a significant role in the way individuals engage in everyday

multiculturalism. Such interpretive processes that contribute to the construction and maintenance of everyday multiculturalism can be referred to as interpretive practices of everyday multiculturalism, as opposed to behavioral practices of everyday multiculturalism.

Of course, this does not mean that interpretive practices stand in opposition to the behavioral practices. Any interpretation of multicultural arrangement is firmly grounded in the embodied, habituated and contextual realities of individual participants. Shan and Walter's research (2015) on Chinese migrants in Canadian community gardens has shown that "they do not learn to fill empty minds" but "invoke and enact their past knowledge and present sensitivity" to create their own knowledge about living with differences. In another instance, Wise and Velayutham (2014) discovered that intercultural interactions in Sydney rely on the understandings of human commonalities or "planetary humanism" (Gilroy, 2004), while those in Singapore often relied on their preconceived notions about ethnicities. This was because everyday multiculturalism in Singapore was highly influenced by the government policies of multiculturalism that accentuated the characteristics of the four main ethnicities, eventually affecting how people interpret multicultural situations.

An important breakthrough comes with Wise's research on humor and jokes in blue-collar male-dominated workplaces of Australia (Wise, 2016). By analysing the jokes told by her interviewees, Wise introduces the term 'convivial labour' to refer to the work needed to create the minimum consensus for jokes to be understood and engaging to all parties involved, such as finding the moral limit to ethnic jokes. In this case, the individuals assess ethnic identities of participants, the depth of their relationship, and their situation in the power structure in order to accept and cope with

jokes that may appear to be completely racists to an outsider, even participating in this incarnation of 'everyday multiculturalism' by returning equally racist jokes.

While Wise's analysis is limited to humor and joke-making in the workplace, it provides us with a way to understand how individuals employ interpretive practices to make a more positive sense of a situation of seemingly hostile behavioral practices. When individuals interpret elements of everyday multiculturalism, no element is interpreted solely for what it appears to be on the surface. Rather, it is placed against the backdrop of the spatial context of the multicultural place, ethnicity of participants, and personal relationships each individual has fostered. Hence, even seemingly hostile behavioral practices interactions will not be assessed solely for the negative content it appears to contain. In fact, it may be possible to argue that more than the specific behavioral practice itself, its context and interpretation play a bigger role in maintenance of everyday multiculturalism.

Analytical Framework: Meaning Maintenance Model

This paper employs the 'meaning maintenance model' (Heine, Proulx and Vohs, 2006) as an analytical framework to discern the relationship between behavioral practice, context and interpretative practice in everyday multiculturalism. In this model, meanings are defined as "the expected relationships or associations that human beings construct and impose on their worlds." The model also argues that meaning making is one of the fundamental motivations for human beings, and that we can only interact with the external world by creating meanings. These meanings, however, are not created arbitrarily, but rather culturally, as each individual meaning-making

takes place in a system of meanings that "extends far beyond each individual."

Naturally, in real life, there will be anomalies that testify against the meanings that individuals have assigned. These anomalies suggest that the meaning structures constructed by individuals may be inaccurate or inadequate. Such revelations can produce cracks or breakdowns in the existing structure. However, because people rely heavily on the existing meaning structures to make sense of their surroundings and their lives, they try to maintain the meaning structure instead of breaking it down to create a new structure. The authors quote Kuhn (1970) for the first two responses to anomalies. The first is to revise one's paradigm or meaning structure to accommodate and explain the anomaly. The second is to reinterpret the anomaly to conform to the meaning structure. The authors' propose a third and alternative strategy, called the "fluid compensation":

> If people perceive an element of self or of their worlds that does not find a place in their existing frameworks, they may react by adhering more strongly to other relational structures, even if these structures are unrelated to the expected relationships that are under attack. (Heine et al., 2006: 92)

Instead of thinking about the meaning structure under attack from the anomaly, people can opt to ignore it but shutting both the meaning structure and the anomaly out of their attention (Navarette et al., 2004).

Applying this model, we can reorganize the previous discussion of everyday multiculturalism as follows. Multicultural

practices, both behavioral and interpretive, are processes by which a meaning is assigned to multicultural arrangements, that eventually solidify into more stable multicultural places. The specific meanings that individuals attribute to the multicultural place defines the individual's relationship and attitude towards the multicultural place. Similarly, construction and maintenance of multicultural places by multicultural behaviors can be understood as a collective process of multiple individuals assigning the "meaning" of multicultural place onto a specific site. In this multicultural place, any hostile interactions or ethnic lines become 'anomalies' that test the meaning of the multicultural place. The fact that all arrangements of everyday multiculturalism contains potential for ethnic segregation (Werbner, 2013) means that ethnic lines should be understood as anomalies, common to all multicultural places, which must be taken care of in one way or the other. According to the meaning maintenance model, we can expect three possible outcomes: (1) that people would revise the meaning of their multicultural place; (2) that people would explain the ethnic line in ways that does not conflict with their meaning of the multicultural place, and (3) that people would ignore the ethnic lines by diverting their attention from ethnic interactions and relationships in the multicultural place. These provide possible and plausible explanations as to how a multicultural place can continue its existence despite the fractures in the form of ethnic lines.

The two images that follow summarize the theoretical concepts and frameworks used in this research. Image 1 shows the mechanism by which a multicultural place is constructed and maintained via individual agents' participation in forms of behavioral practice, observation and interpretation. This also represents the process by which the "meaning" of the multicultural place is

constructed in the first place – how the multicultural place acquires its meaning. Multicultural places are constructed by behavioral practices of individual agents, but the individuals are guided to perform these behavioral practices by their observations they make of other people's behavioral practices. Using their interpretive powers, the individuals figure out that this place must be multicultural in character, requiring a certain behavior of everyday multiculturalism.

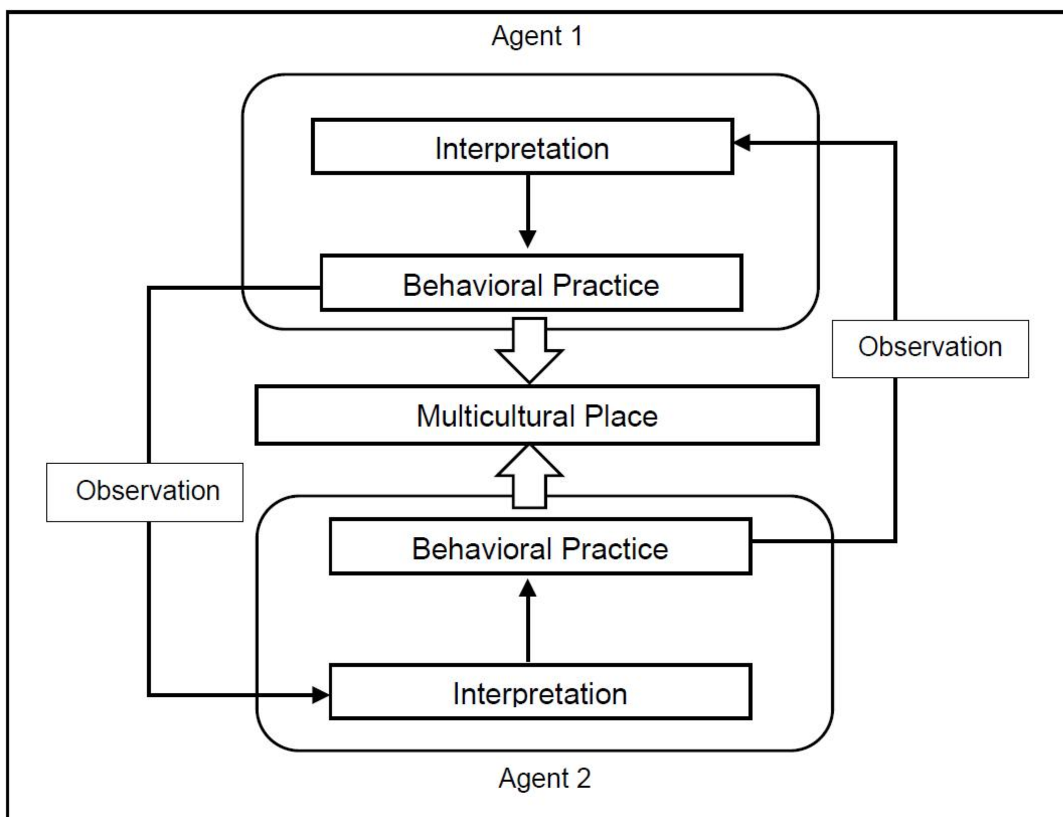

Image 1: Operation of Everyday Multiculturalism

Image 2 shows the possible outcomes of participants's encounter with ethnic lines according to the meaning maintenance model. Upon seeing the ethnic lines, individual agents that participate

in the multicultural place will register them as anomalies that do not fit in the multicultural place. Through the meaning maintenance mechanism, however, they try to make sense of this contradictory situation by revising the meaning of the place, reinterpreting the anomalies or ignoring them all together. These two processes presented in the images guide the maintenance of multicultural places with behavioral and interpretive practices.

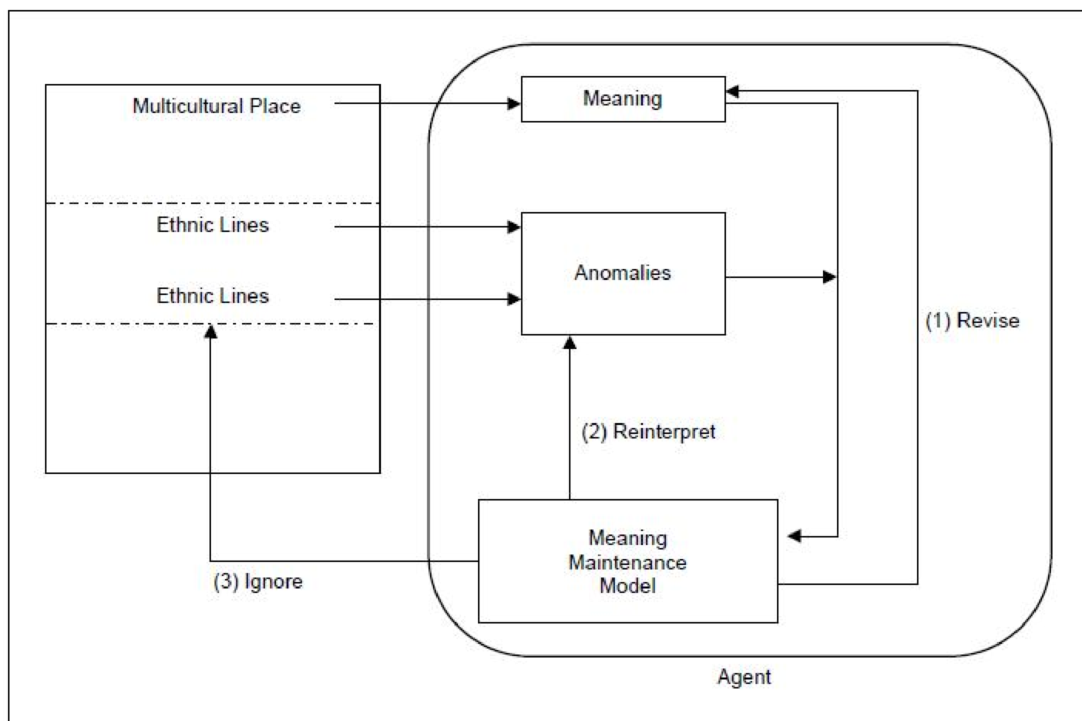

Image 2: Meaning Maintenance Model in a Multicultural Place

Contextualizing Camarata Music

Everyday Multiculturalism in South Korea

My ethnographic investigation was conducted in Camarata Music, a multicultural music organization based in Haebangchon, a neighborhood in central Seoul, South Korea. To understand the significance of this organization in this particular location, it is important to first outline the present state of everyday multiculturalism in South Korea. For a long time Koreans were taught that their country was ethnically homogeneous, which led many to perceive migrants and ethnic minorities as threats to their nation state (Yoon and Song, 2011). While this nation-building myth based on ethnic homogeneity seems to be slowly giving its way to a type of national identity based on civic values (Kim, Yang and Noh, 2015), many native ethnic Koreans still have negative attitudes about influx of immigrants because it would hurt their ethnic integrity (Park, Kim and Lee, 2016). The situation is further aggravated by the fact that in South Korea, just like in many other Asian societies, the dominant mode of migration has been temporary migration, with neither the government nor the native population expecting prolonged settlement of migrants as ethnic minorities in the country (Hugo, 2009; Seol, 2007; Bell and Piper, 2005; Chun, 2004). Majority of migrants are on temporary visas, which are dependent upon their relationship with the native Korean employers, with little room for conversion to permanent settlement[2] (Oh, 2007). This uncertainty

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[2] "Marriage migrant women" are the only exception to this trend. Their status is dependent on marrying ethnic Korean men, and may thereafter become naturalized citizens upon fulfillment of certain conditions. This is because they are expected to marry and bear children with their Korean

regarding the duration of stay decreases any incentive for either migrants or natives to initiate and sustain multicultural interactions. As a result, migrants and ethnic minorities of South Korea often form segregated communities, which are sustained by continuous replacement with new arrivals that stay temporarily, leading to little positive contact with the rest of society (Chung, 2011; Kim and Kim, 2008).

Unsurprisingly, very little interaction takes place between native Koreans and ethnically heterogeneous migrants, even in areas where they live in close proximity (Shim, Lee, Kim and Kim, 2017). Instead, social agents such as regional governments (Heo, 2020; Lee and Oh, 2016; Oh, 2009) and religious organizations (Lee, 2015; Kim, Oh and Kim, 2015) often intervene to facilitate multicultural interactions. Not all of these interventions have been successful at building everyday multiculturalism. Oh (2010) criticizes multicultural policies of Ansan city which have institutionalized everyday multiculturalism to the extent that the policies no longer serve the needs of the migrant community and communication between the ethnic groups have declined. Heo also discovers that heavy commodification of "multiculturalism" by Ansan government has led to loss of communication between government officials, NGOs and migrants, which has been almost completely replaced by top-down implementation of government policies.

This does not mean that everyday multiculturalism has no grounds in South Korea. A few case studies report how frequent and regular contact with ethnically different others have led to lessons in conviviality. Kim, Oh and Kim (2015) narrate the story of a

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spouses, and therefore contribute towards reproduction of children who are at least half-ethnic Koreans (Kim, 2013.

protestant church that decided to start services for migrant workers. While there were many Korean devotees who opposed the decision and openly expressed displeasure at having to accommodate to foreigners, they soon discovered the pleasure of helping migrant workers as equal Christians or human beings, who were merely in more adverse living conditions than native Koreans. Similarly, Shin and Park (2017) discover how prolonged contact with Chosonjok, or Korean-Chinese return migrants have induced native Koreans in both public and private sectors to accept to the undocumented Korean-Chinese as participants in their urban neighborhood. That even public sector workers, who are supposed to enforce migrant controls on undocumented migrants, have seen an evolution in their role from "controlling to accommodating" suggests that there is room for everyday multiculturalism to teach its participants to cope with diversity.

Overview of Camarata Music

The primary sites of my fieldwork were two choirs in a non-profit music organization called Camarata Music. While the organization is based in Seoul, South Korea, it is headed by an American[3] conductor, Dr. Gary Smith[4], who works as the executive director of the organization as well as the conductor for both the choirs of my fieldwork. All managerial decisions of the organizations are made by its board of directors who are appointed for an indefinitely renewable one-year term by the previous year's board

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[3] For the purpose of this paper, the term "American", both in noun and adjective forms, refers to U.S. citizens, for the lack of a more appropriate term.

[4] To protect the anonymity of the research participants, I have used pseudonyms for all participants introduced in this research.

members.

The organization's mission statement reads as follows:

Creating Global Communities
Through the Universal Language of Music.

To achieve this goal, the organization strives to provide performance opportunities in which people of all nationalities who reside in Korea are welcome to participate, as long as they have passion for music. As of now, the organization manages two adult choirs, two youth choirs and one musical theater group under the name of Camarata (Image 3). In the recent years, the executive director has strived to set up a year-long chamber orchestra, but this has met with little success so far. Since its beginnings in 2009, Camarata Music has performed with members from 103 nationalities, making this the most diverse music organization in the world, according to the executive director.

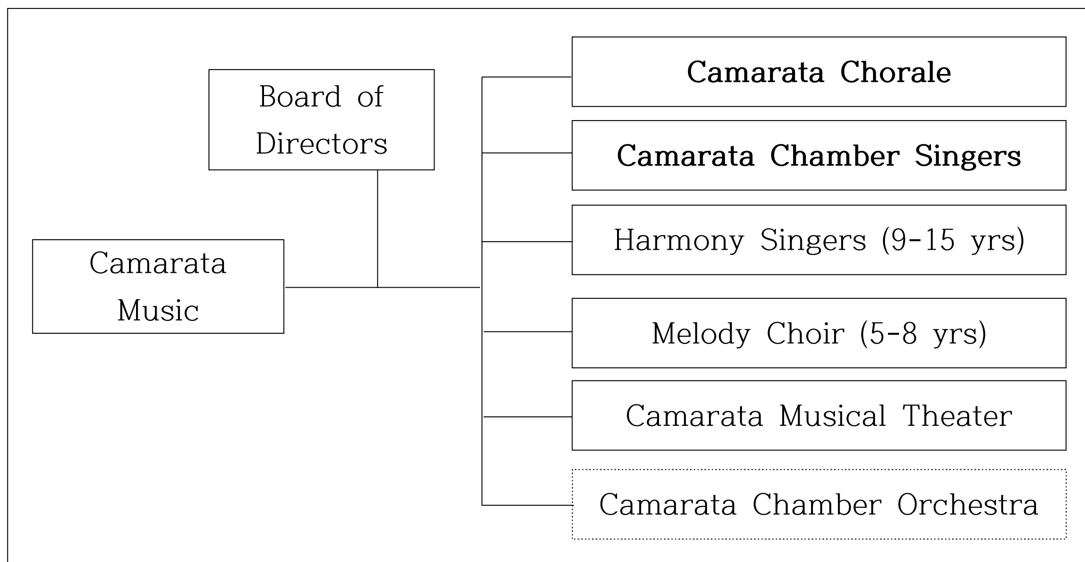

Image 3: The Organizational Structure of Camarata Music
(Bold lettered groups represent the primary sites of investigation.)

The basement that serves as both the main office and rehearsal studio of Camarata Music is located in Haebangchon area in central Seoul. To the east of this neighbourhood is the United States Army Garrison Yongsan. To the west is Itaewon, which has had a long tradition of being the "foreigners' neighbourhood" in Seoul (Park, 2013). Its bars and clubs have catered primarily to the U.S. military personnel and other expatriates. Located in between the U.S. garrison and Itaewon, Haebangchon has also emerged as a foreigners' residential neighbourhood with many restaurants, bars and pubs owned, managed and frequented by Seoul's expatriate population ((Lee and Ahn, 2018). It is on the very main street of Haebangchon that Camarata Music found its home, renting out a basement and converting it into its office and studio. This space, called the Camarata Studio, provides the rehearsal space for Camarata Chamber Singers and the Camarata Musical Theater, as well as the venue for parties after Camarata Chorale's concerts[5].

The Main Research Sites: Chorale and Chamber Singers

Camarata Chorale is the largest and the oldest group in Camarata Music - in fact, it was founded even before the organization was registered as a non-profit. It is a mixed choir with open registration to people of all nationalities and calibre. It was founded in 2009 by Dr. Gary Smith, who has been its conductor ever since. In the fall of 2009, he left a post on Facebook looking for singers to perform Christmas carols together in Seoul. More than 50

[5] As I was writing this thesis, the studio went through a full renovation and converted to a live bar called "The Studio" owned personally by the conductor, Dr. Smith. Camarata Music is still allowed to use the space for its rehearsals.

responses were collected from individuals of diverse nationalities, and the interested people gathered for the first rehearsal at Chungdong First Methodist Church (정동제일교회). They went on to perform Handel's Messiah at the end of the year, and this became the first concert of the Chorale and of Camarata Music.

The Chorale operates on a seasonal basis, and its members are recruited for each concert season. There are three concert seasons annually: a Classical Concert in spring, a Pops Concert in autumn and a Christmas Concert in winter. The rehearsals are held on Sunday afternoons, usually from 3:30 to 7, but members are occasionally asked to stay longer during intensive rehearsals, which take place a couple of times each concert season. The language of operation is English, although the conductor does make a point to sprinkle in some Korean during rehearsals in order to make Korean members feel more welcome. Most important announcements are either interpreted on site, or translated and sent via email.

As the choir accepts members on a seasonal basis, the membership varies greatly. There can be as little as 50 people or as many as 150 people per concert season. The turnover rate is also very high, both within and between concert seasons. In fact, it is impossible to find two rehearsals in which exactly the same set of members have sung together. For this research, 124 people have agreed to take part in my research and signed the consent form. Of the 124 participants, 31 were male and 93 were female; 64 were Koreans and 60 were non-Koreans. Of the non-Koreans, the majority of 45 were from North America. 4 members were from Asia-Pacific, 4 from Africa and 8 from Europe.

Since the choir's foundation, it has been difficult to secure a reliable rehearsal space. The choir was able to rehearse in

Chungdong First Methodist Church for its first concert, but had to find other venues soon. After running through a series of less than satisfactory spaces, the Chorale was able to find a relatively stable home in the basement of a welfare center run by the Talitha Koum Disability Mission of Korea, also in the Haebangchon area. This seemed to be an ideal location for the Chorale as it was only 5 minutes away from the Camarata Music Studio.

In the middle of my fieldwork, the welfare center planned a renovation, and the pastor in charge of the center also wanted to raise the rent, as the whole neighborhood was being affected by gentrification. At the end of September 2019, the choir relocated to Dulwich International School in Banpo. This decision was a result of the executive director's personal friendship with the principal of the school. Upon discovering the difficulties that the choir faced, the principal has donated school auditorium for weekend rehearsals, free of charge. The Chorale rehearsals have remained in the auditorium for the remainder of my fieldwork.

The second primary site of my fieldwork in Camarata Music was Camarata Chamber Singers. The Chamber Singers is one of the two adult choirs along with the Chorale. It was founded in February 2011, to satisfy the desire within Camarata members to perform more complicated music. The Chamber Singers first performed in May 2011, as an act for the Chorale's concert. Since then, the choir has grown musically, and has won the Best of Best Prize (최우수상) at the 23rd Presidential Prize National Choral Competition (제23회 대통령상 전국합창경연대회) in 2019. It is an auditioned choir of roughly around 30 to 35 singers, that operates on a semester-based system. The conductor is the same as the Chorale, Dr. Gary Smith. New members are recruited before each semester starts, if vacancies arise.

The choir hosts one concert per semester, but there are also multiple events every semester that all choristers are expected to participate. These obligations include singing at choral competitions, collaborative concerts and embassy and corporate functions. The choir rehearses from 7 to 10 PM on Mondays, but there have been additional rehearsals on Wednesday and Thursdays before the competitions. All the rehearsals are conducted in English, and there are no Korean interpretation or translation services available.

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, new members are recruited only when vacancies arise, and vacancies arise only when a previous member quits or the conductor feels the need to strengthen a section. For this reason, the membership is relatively stable, with some members singing for several semesters, only leaving the choir when they leave Seoul. During the fieldwork, there were 35 singers in the choir, of which 34 have agreed to take part in the research, including myself. Of the 34, 18 were women and 16 were men. 5 were ethnic Koreans and 29 were non-Koreans. Out of the 29 non-Koreans, 21 were North Americans, 6 were Europeans, 1 was from Asia and 1 was from Africa.

The Chamber Singers rehearsals take place at the Camarata Studio in Haebangchon. Some of the Chamber Singers have told me that they moved to Haebangchon just so that they can be closer to the studio for the rehearsals. Since the membership is very stable, the singers almost always sing in the same arrangement, both in rehearsals and concerts.

Research Method

This research explores the relationship between behavioral practices and interpretive practices in everyday multiculturalism, especially with regard to how individuals make sense of ethnic lines that emerge in multicultural places. I have broken down this task into three smaller research questions:

1. What behavioral practices do participants of Camarata Music adopt in order to construct a multicultural place?
2. How do ethnic lines emerge in this multicultural place?
3. How do the participants respond to the ethnic lines in Camarata Music?

To answer these questions, I have conducted an ethnographic fieldwork of Camarata Music a non-profit organization, under which two international choirs, Camarata Chorale and Camarata Chamber Singers operate. Although Camarata Music is home to a few other music organizations as well, I have limited my investigation mainly to the two adult choirs in the organization. I have had a personal connection to Camarata Music since 2016, before this research was conceived. I joined Camarata Chorale in Spring 2016 as Tenor for a spring concert of Mozart's Requiem. I then took a one-year break from the organization, and returned in Fall 2017 to participate in the Christmas Concert with Camarata Chorale. In December 2017, I had been asked by the conductor, Dr. Gary Smith to audition for Camarata Chamber Singers. The audition was successful, and I joined the Chamber Singers in Spring 2018, as First Tenor. I was also promoted to the position of a section leader for tenors in the Chorale. At the end of 2018, I was appointed to join Camarata Music's Board

of Directors. Upon joining the Board in 2019, I resigned from the position of the Chorale's section leader in order to focus on my responsibilities for the Board.

To this date, I remain a singer in Camarata Chorale as well as Camarata Chamber Singers. This prolonged membership in the choirs have helped me foster close bonds with other choir members and the management of the organization. Moreover, being an active member of the Board of Directors since early 2019 gave me hands on experience with behind-the-scenes operations of the organization. In addition to attending the monthly Board Meetings, I was personally in charge of the organization's formal translations, interpretations and Camarata-Korea relations. This experience has given me valuable knowledge about the way the leadership of Camarata Music works.

After obtaining oral permission from the executive director, Gary, and the president of the board, Tomas, I conducted a pilot study from February to June 2019, during the Spring Concert Season of the Chorale and the Chamber Singers. This pilot study was only used to assess the feasibility of conducting an ethnographic research in a choir setting, with myself participating as both a chorister and a researcher. Findings from the pilot study also helped me direct research questions for the main investigation. However, all the findings and analysis present in this paper are based on data collected during the main investigation period, which began only after I obtained the approval of the Institutional Review Board at Seoul National University in July 2019. This main investigation period lasted from August 2019 to March 2020.

The main investigation consisted of participant observation and intensive interviews as primary data collection methods. Observations were made before, during and after the choir rehearsals.

Participant observations also continued into after-parties as well as any personal gatherings that I was able to attend as a choir member. I also took part in the monthly Board Meetings, and observations from these meetings and post-meeting meals were also used in my analysis. During each observation session, I wrote down my observations and notes by hand. The sessions were also audio-recorded to check the accuracy of my notes. These recordings were not fully transcribed. Instead, I listened to them repeatedly to reconstruct each rehearsal situation, and transcribed parts of the sessions relevant for the research. The investigation period contains two concert seasons for the Chorale, the Pops Concert and the Christmas Concert, and one semester for the Chamber Singers. By taking part in all the rehearsals and board meetings, as well as social gatherings that I was invited to, I have engaged in 51 sessions of participant observation, from August 2019 to December 2019 (Table 1). In addition, I used documents gathered on site, such as sheet music, expectations sheets, concert pamphlets and board meeting summaries, as well as online resources on the choir's official web site to complement my observations.

Intensive interviews were used to gather data about what individual participants thought about the organization and other participants. My rapport with choir members allowed me to ask many questions informally during participant observation sessions. Therefore, intensive interviews used deliberately to provide a setting that is spatially and temporally separated from Camarata Music, where members could talk more personally about their own impressions and opinions. The interviewees were selected and approached based on their nationality, age and seniority in the organization, in order to reflect diverse levels and patterns of

participation (Table 2). The interviews were semi-structured with emphasis on the "multicultural" and "international" experience the organization provided for the participants. I took notes during the interviews, and all of the interviews were audio-recorded for accuracy. Every interview was conducted and transcribed by myself. The language of the interview was in Korean or English, depending on the preference of the interviewee.

The collected data were analyzed on multiple levels. Firstly, I tried to determine the ways in which the participants tried to practice multiculturalism via their behavior, and to overcome barriers of nationalities and ethnicities. In the second stage of analysis, I re-interpreted my data to identify ways in which, despite efforts to overcome them, nationality and ethnicity still played a role in the organization, especially regarding the pattern of members' participation. Lastly, I attempted to understand choir members' responses to the emergence of ethnic differences in the organization, by drawing chiefly, but not exclusively, from my interview data.

This research was reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board at Seoul National University. A request for review was filed in June 2019, and the approval was released in August 2019. Individual consent was obtained prior to participation in this research, whether in participant observation or interview. To avoid misrepresentation, participants who were not comfortable expressing themselves in either English or Korean have not been approached for the interview. Furthermore, I have included in the consent form, that any decision to participate or not participate in the research will not affect my involvement with the organization.

Observation Sessions	No. of Sessions
Chorale Rehearsals	16
Pops Concert Season: 8/4 8/11 8/18 8/25 9/1 9/15	6
Christmas Concert Season: 9/29 10/6 10/13 10/20 10/27 11/2 11/10 11/17 11/23 12/8	10
Chamber Singers Rehearsals	17
Fall Semester: 8/12 8/15 8/19 8/22 9/2 9/9 9/16 9/23 9/30 10/7 10/14 10/16 10/23 10/28 11/4 11/18 11/25	17
Others	18
Board Meetings: 8/11 9/8 9/29 10/27	4
Concerts and Events: 8/24 (Competition) 9/21 (Pops Concert) 10/26 (Competition) 11/1 (Fundraising Gala) 11/3 (Community Concert) 11/24 (Chamber Singers Concert) 12/7 (German Christmas Dinner) 12/14 (Christmas Concert)	8
Social Gatherings 8/9 (Korean members' dinner party) 8/10 (Joonwoo's Show) 9/26 (Logan's Show) 9/28 (Justin's Party) 11/22 (Tomas' Party) 12/11 (Justin's Birthday Party)	6
Total	51

Table 1: List of Observation Sessions

	Pseudonym	Country of Origin	Age	Year Joined	Interview Date	Note
1	Lisa	USA	30s	2015	Oct 27 2019	
2	Jane	UK	40s	2016	Oct 31 2019	Member (Board of Directors)
3	Kyounghee	Korea	50s	2013	Nov 4 2019	
4	Elena	Romania	20s	2018	Nov 8 2019	
5	Chuck	USA	50s	2018	Nov 27 2019	Vice-President (Board of Directors)
6	Lucy	Congo (DRC)	20s	2019	Dec 23 2019	
7	Tomas	Germany	50s	2016	Dec 28 2019	President (Board of Directors)
8	Hyunjoon	Korea	50s	2009	Jan 31 2020	
9	Jungmi (Ellie)	Korea	50s	2015	Feb 2 2020	
10	Teresa	USA	30s	2019	Feb 5 2020	
11	Sookja	Korea	70s	2017	Feb 6 2020	
12	Byungchul	Korea	60s	2018	Feb 25 2020	
13	Joonwoo	Korea	40s	2017	Feb 28 2020	
14	Nicole	USA	20s	2019	Mar 1 2020	Assistant Conductor (Chamber Singers)
15	Kayla	Canada	20s	2018	Mar 23 2020	
16	Eunhye	Korea	60s	2019	Mar 24 2020	
17	Justin	USA	40s	2014	Mar 25 2020	

Table 2: List of Interviewees

Behavioral Practices of Everyday Multiculturalism

Policies of Welcome

Many participants have listed the warm, welcoming atmosphere as one of the defining traits of Camarata Music. While members of both the choirs have reported this culture of welcome, it seems to be more prominent in Camarata Chorale. Great emphasis is placed on the fact that the Chorale is a non-auditioned choir. No prior singing experience is required to sing with the Chorale, which welcomes everyone from "from the shower-singer to the professional". The introduction to Camarata Chorale, posted on Camarata Music's web site, gives a good summary of this policy of welcome:

> The Camarata Chorale is committed to providing music opportunities and experiences for everyone, no matter their skill level. It is our mission to prove that everyone can sing, regardless of experience, with the correct instruction.

It is important to mention that the conductor, managers and volunteers in the choir strive to make sure this policy does not stay in words, but is actually put into practice during the rehearsals. One way they achieve this is by providing "expectation sheets", available in English and Korean, outlining all that a member is expected to do as a participant of Camarata Music (Image 4). It provides information on rehearsal schedules, registration fees, concert attires and venues among other things. In this way, the expectation sheet gives a novice member some kind of direction as to how to "fit in" to this group with regards to musical activities. As Elena, a Romanian student of Korean, describes, this is a way to show the professionalism of the

Camarata Outline & Expectations Sept. 27th, 2019

Handel *Messiah*

1. Rehearsals are held mostly on Sundays from 3:30 PM to 7:00 PM (schedule below). Please mark your attendance on the weekly attendance sheet posted on the door. There will be a weekly message posted on the Facebook private group with important information, including what music we will focus on in the upcoming rehearsal. Please read the weekly messages. They are very important.

2. We have two intensive rehearsal days, on **Saturday, November 2**, from 1:00 P.M. to 8:00 P.M., and **Saturday, November 23**, from 1:00 P.M. to 8:00 P.M. It is important that everyone attend. We use this rehearsal to solidify notes and begin styling the music. They are very important, so please clear your calendars asap for these dates.

3. The concert is on Saturday, December 14, 2019 at 7:00 PM at Chungdong First Methodist Church.

4. There is a registration fee of 35,000 KRW. There is a materials/facilities fee of 25,000 KRW. **The total cost of registration is 60,000 KRW**. You can pay by cash, by credit card (plus a 2,000 won transaction fee), or bank transfer (Shinhan Bank 140-008-898378). Please make an effort to take care of this at the first rehearsal.

5. Recordings, PDF's of the music, the expectations sheet, and other materials are on our website. Go to camaratamusic.org, click on "choir members", and then "Chorale Messiah". Password is "messiah2019."

5. Performance attire:

Women

- We are looking into getting choir dresses for the women. The price will be around 30,000-40,000 KRW. We will discuss about this at a later date.
- no jewelry other than one ring on each hand. (No watches or earrings.)

Men

- a white dress shirt, black bow tie
- black suit (not shiny)
- black dress shoes
- BLACK SOCKS
- no jewelry other than one ring on each hand. (No watches or earrings.)

6. Because every voice is valuable to the choir, attendance at all rehearsals is very important. Frequent absences are not acceptable. If you need to be absent, or if you have any general questions or need help, please contact our Membership Manager, Christina MacIsaac, at cmacisaa@gmail.com, 010-7799-4301. For inquiries in Korean, please email info@camaratamusic.com.

Rehearsal Schedule: We will not add any more rehearsals than what you see below!

- Sept. 29, 4:00-7:00 PM - 1st rehearsal - Oct. 6, 3:30-7:00 PM - Oct. 13, 3:30-7:00 PM - Oct. 20, 3:30-7:00 PM - Oct. 27, 3:30PM-7:00 PM **- SAT, Nov. 2, INTENSIVE, 1PM-8PM** - SUN, Nov. 3 - NO REHEARSAL	- Nov. 10, 3:30-7:00 PM - Nov. 17, 3:30-7:00 PM **- SAT. Nov. 23, INTENSIVE #2, 1:00-8:00PM** **- SUN. Nov. 24 - CHAMBER SINGERS CONCERT! (come support them). 6:00PM** - Dec. 1, 3:30-7:00PM - SAT. Dec. 7 (POSSIBLE EXTRA REHEARSAL, 2:00-5:00PM, if needed) **- Sun. Dec. 8, 3:00-7:30PM**	- Thursday, Dec. 12 (7-10pm) - Dress rehearsal with orchestra - Saturday, Dec. 14 - CONCERT DAY - 2:00-6:00 PM Rehearsal, 7:00 PM Concert! Chungdong First Methodist

Image 4: Expectation Sheet for 2019 Christmas Concert Season

organization, "but not in a stressful kind of way, nice way".

Of course, even with an expectation sheet in your hand, the first rehearsal day in a new choir can be a very stressful experience:

> I was next to my friend, who also did not prepare for the song [...] So I tried to read, and then I realized that *they* know what they're doing, and *they* can follow the music. So I was really worried, and I told my friend, "How can we rehearse anything we don't know?" [...] We cannot just come sing, and they are going so fast, and stuff like that. And then she got worried that I was going to leave. (Lucy)

As someone who has never sung Handel's Messiah before, Lucy had trouble keeping up with the rest of the choir, who appeared to be much better prepared than she is. It was only when she later talked to the conductor that she learned that there were in fact many other people in the choir who also could not read music. To help them, Camarata Music uploads "practice files" on their web site. There is a practice file for every section, and in each of them, a voice would sing out loud the notes for that particular section over a dampened accompaniment. With these "practices files", even members who cannot read music can listen to their notes and practice on their own. Lucy was thrilled to find out about the practice files:

> I log on the web site, and I start practicing, and I was like, "This is wonderful! 'Cause you have - for sopranos you have a voice that tells you when to go in, for altos you have a voice - and I think that whatever and whoever did that is a genius. I have been to many choirs and I've never seen anything like that. So from that day, I'm just, "I'm doing this. I'm doing this." (Lucy)

Choir members are also instructed not to point out mistakes of others, even if it was meant to be helpful. All inquiries must be addressed to the conductor or section leaders, who will fix any problems as they see fit, because pointing out mistakes may hurt feelings and discourage some members from continuing through the rest of the season. In fact, singers are told not to be afraid of making mistakes. One word that exemplifies this spirit is "wrong-fidence", a term coined by the conductor himself. A combination words "wrong" and "confidence", "wrong-fidence" is defined as singing confidently without worrying that you might be wrong:

> Don't worry about singing it wrong, sing it with confidence. If you sing it with confidence, more often than not, you'll be right, right away, and the melody or the harmony will be ingrained in you lot more. So show me "wrong-fident" (Gary)

By emphasizing the importance of "wrong-fidence", the conductor alleviates the embarrassment felt by anyone who may sing wrong notes, and makes them feel that they are still welcome in the choir even when they mistakes. At the same time, he sends message to the rest of the choir that it is alright to make mistakes in this choir, and that you do not have to be perfect singers to belong here. This seems to be a sentiment shared by Jungmi, a Korean soprano in her 50s:

> For example, I am not a strong singer, but I don't think I can't sing here because I'm not a strong singer. Instead, I

> try to sit next to other strong singers to learn from them. And the atmosphere here allows me to do that. So maybe, that's why even people like myself can sing happily here. Also, they tell people not to correct each other. I think that's good too. When we sing, we know. Oh, I made a mistake. Of course, I can ask another person, but if someone next to you points it out at you, we do tend to get hurt. [...] Here, people will tell you if you ask, but they won't pick on you unless you are a conductor or a section leader. I like that. (Jungmi)

Even though some may argue that the acceptance of varying musical abilities may seem unrelated to the creation of a multicultural place, reactions from members like Jungmi suggest that it is in fact an important part of why people find Camarata to be welcoming. In particular, Korean members of the choir who were not fluent in English often commented that they were afraid of being "*minpye* (public nuisance)" when they first joined the choir. They were worried that their poor English skills would be a nuisance for non-Korean members, and they were simultaneously worried that they would be deadweight for the choir musically. They were extremely relieved to find out that the conductor and the choir were very forgiving of musical mistakes. This sense of relief gave them some breathing space to explore other aspects of the choir, such as making friends with other members and joining in jokes during the rehearsals, which ultimately contributed to their having a positive experience out of Camarata Chorale. By focusing less on the musical precision, Camarata Chorale takes away the musical barrier to participation, making more people feel welcome to sing and interact with other members.

This is not to say that the policy of welcome does not extend to non-musical areas. The management also takes great precaution not to pressurize its members in non-musical ways as well. Unlike most other Korean choirs, there are no compulsory dinners or after-parties after rehearsals that members were expected to take part. All participation was completely voluntary. This voluntarism sometimes extended to rehearsals as well. Members were rarely reprimanded for late arrivals or absences, as long as they could sing together on the concert day. Because recruitment and registration was on a seasonal basis, some members took months, even years off, knowing that they would still be welcome even if they returned after a long hiatus.

One of the other criteria of welcome that was especially appreciated by choir members was the lack of age limit. My interviews with older members of the choir revealed that they were delighted to find a choir in Korea that did not have an age limit. Sookja, a Korean soprano is her 70s, recounts that the best part of joining Camarata Chorale was that of not having to submit her year of birth:

> So I came here and the best thing was... you know, they ask you to write down your year and date of birth where ever you go. But here, they didn't, and I really liked that. Everywhere, they have age limits, and they want the numerical figure. They take that number, and based on it, they tell you whether you can join or not. But there's none of that here. And they don't want any of our personal information. So I liked it. (Sookja)

When asked why this lack of age limit was so important to her,

Sookja replied that this is because all the other Korean choirs have them. Once she sang in a university alumni choir, which she enjoyed greatly, but had to quit as other members hinted that she was getting too old for them. Even in her church choir, the conductor forbade anyone above 50 to sing high notes, because he did not like the sound of old voices. Having had this experience, Sookja found Camarata to be a haven of some sort, where she could sing freely despite her old age and old voice.

One may assume that in the Chamber Singers, there would be less acceptance of varying musical abilities, because of its status as an auditioned choir. While it is true that all members are expected to have basic understanding of choral singing and music in general, once a singer is successfully recruited, there is seldom any judgments based on musical abilities. The same policy of emphasizing "wrong-fidence" and allowing mistakes to be made continues in the Chamber Singers. Several members remembered being nervous on the first day, worrying whether they could fit in musically. Yet, they were very relieved to find that other singers were very welcoming and not judgmental about their musical abilities. In fact, the more experienced members recognize that it can be difficult for new singers to adapt to a new musical setting, and they often provide extra musical and emotional support to new members. Justin recalls the warm welcome he received on his first rehearsal with the Chamber Singers:

> So at first, I was like, "I don't know I can handle this." But Christophe was so nice to me. He was like, it's like this for everybody, don't worry about it. It just takes time. And he was really good about helping me out. (Justin)

In this particular incident, the Chamber Singers were rehearsing a song that they had already worked on last semester, and Justin as a new member, was the only one that struggled with this song. However, Justin's fear that he may not be able to "handle this" was quickly noticed by Christophe, a more experienced singer, who then displayed a welcoming attitude so that Justin could adjust more quickly.

These incidents suggest that the policy of welcome at Camarata Music does not merely consist of empty words promoted by the management. It is an internalized attitude, shared by both the management and its members, that values the participation of other members, no matter their personal background. For an organization such as Camarata Music, which must constantly retain the size and diversity of its members, such policy of welcome provides the most basic backbone on which a multicultural place can be built.

Creating Positive Memories - Non-Linguistically

Other than the welcoming atmosphere, the participants also felt that Camarata Music in itself was a fun and enjoyable activity. For most members, the act of singing itself seemed to be the primary reason why they enjoyed the choir. When asked why they liked Camarata Music so much, almost all of my interviewees said making music was what made it fun for them. However, I have also observed that there is an abundance of laughter-inducing interactions and actions during the rehearsals, which contributed to the positive experience reported by the members of all ethnicities.

Several of these interactions rely greatly on non-linguistic elements. Food often played an important role in initiating interactions and conversations among strangers of different ethnicities. One of the

board members, Chuck, a U.S. military officer on the Pyeongtaek Base, would always bring American snacks for people to have during break time. People would then gather around the snack table, open packets, offer each other paper cups to scoop the snacks, and comment on their preference for each of the snacks. When I asked Chuck why he brought snacks all the time, he replied that it was like "going for a smoke" in a Korean firm, an opportunity for people to interact with each other:

> They come in, they sit down, they sing. Then, I see them around this snack table. That's why I'm happy to get the snacks. 'Cause if the snacks weren't there, we'd have no interaction. but everyone comes around the snack table. [⋯] I think that's one thing about the snack table. You get people during the break to come over and talking about the, if nothing else, they are talking about the snacks. (Chuck)

Chuck was aware of the fact that the snacks he brought provided a focal point for multicultural activities in the choir. Eating was one activity that people could take part regardless of their ethnicity. As they gathered around the snack table, they had to come in physical contact with other choir members, possibly leading to spoken interactions. At the very least, as Chuck admits, the snacks themselves could also be an easy topic to initiate a conversation between ethnically different people. Following in Chuck's footstep, several other members also brought snacks, ranging from *dduk* (Korean rice cakes), American Girl Scout Cookies to home baked sourdough breads. Bringing snacks became a non-linguistic expression of care for other members and willingness to share one's

own culture with others. Home baked goods always sparked new conversations among enthusiastic bakers, regardless of their ethnicity.

Bodily movements comprise the second group of non-linguistic interaction used at Camarata Music. In both the choirs, every rehearsal began with the conductor asking singers to "Stand up and give your neighbors a quick shoulder rub", at which singers would form rows of mutual shoulder massages. It is important to note that choir members were seated according to their voice parts (Image 5). Because they had to sit in their vocal sections, several choir members were seated in an arrangement where at least one, if not both, of their neighbors was of a different ethnicity. Even those that were seated away from other members usually walked up to the rows that had formed in order to take part in this activity. This put choir members in physical contact with other members, often leading to exchange of pleasantries and gratitude among people who had not said hello before.

During the rehearsal, choir members were often asked to move their bodies as they sing, with the conductor demonstrating the different movements in front of them. On one occasion, when people lacked much emotion in their singing, the conductor asked people to hold their right hands out, and wave it in a fish-like motion. This made a memorable positive experience for choir members in two ways. Firstly, having dozens of adults waving their hands about was a ridiculous but memorable sight in itself. Secondly, even though no verbal explanation and instruction for singing techniques were offered, this motion enabled people to put more contours in their singing, improving the sound of the choir drastically. By engaging people in collective motion, the conductor made people feel that they have improved themselves musically in a stress-free way.

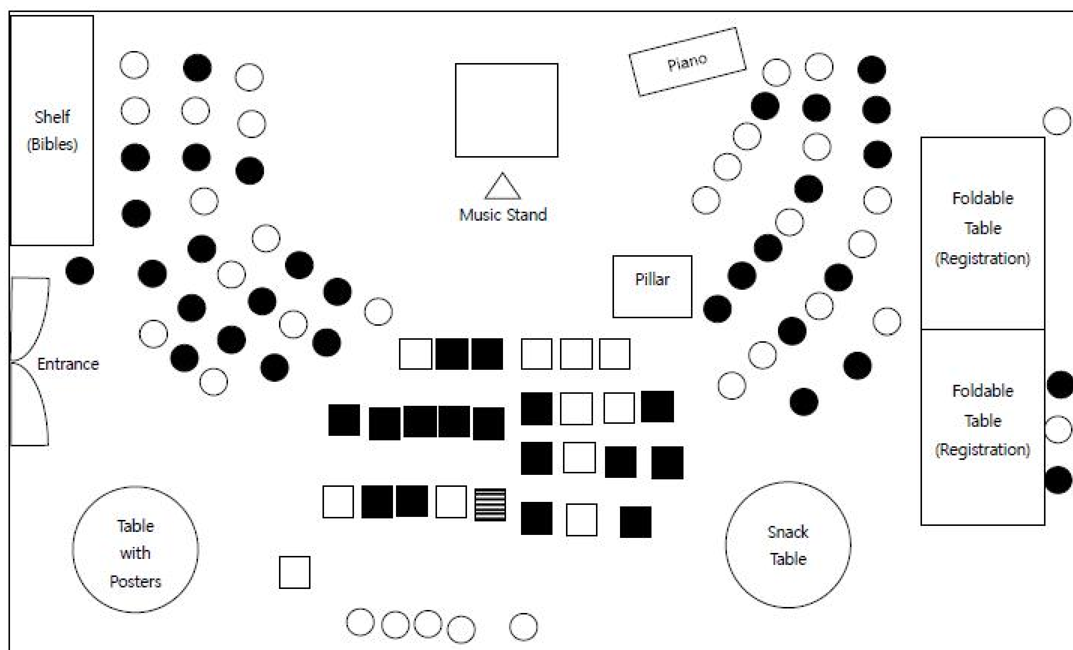

Image 5: Seating Arrangement for a Chorale Rehearsal (August)

Circles represent black stackable chairs with round seats for women.

- altos to the left, sopranos to the right.

Squares represent blue collapsible chairs with square seats for men.

- tenors to the left, basses to the right.

Seats occupied by singers at the time of recording are colored black.
The striped square represents where I was sitting in this rehearsal.
The conductor sits on a tall stool on the rostrum (the square behind the music stand).

The third group of non-linguistic interactions that took place were the vocal sounds themselves. As singers, many participants were sensitive of each other's vocal timbres and abilities, and this gives them a sense of "knowing" the other person. Furthermore, paying attention to other people's voices helps them learn the music as well During an interview, Eunhye told me that she likes to listen to the "foreign people" sing because it makes it easier for her to learn the melody and pronunciation of the foreign words.

The conductor also makes use of vocal sounds as a powerful

tool for multicultural communication. During one rehearsal, the conductor asked the choir to "sing like an owl", and imitated an owl sound to demonstrate the vocal quality he wants. This was followed by a round of laughter from the singers. By incorporating these unusual vocal sounds into the rehearsal, the conductor is able to effectively communicate his instructions to non-Anglophone members of the choir, while creating a positive and fun memory of the choir for its members.

Jokes, Comments and Laughters

Linguistic interactions also contribute to creation of positive memories. Telling jokes, and making comments are an important part of the rehearsals, which makes them enjoyable and memorable for English-speakers. One recurring theme is the human mistakes made by the participants. This is in line with the previous discussion about "wrong-fidence". By making light-hearted jokes out of mistakes in rehearsals, the participants remind each other that making a mistake is a not a serious offense at Camarata Music. It also emphasizes that as human beings, we are all imperfect in some ways, and this recognition of imperfection in everyone brings people closer. In one rehearsal, people noticed that there was a nonsensical note written by the conductor in the music. However, when people asked what it was, the conductor could not explain it right away:

> Lisa: The real question is what does Je-goda-sus mean? (People laugh.)
> Toni: Yeah that's what I've wondered. (More laughs) What is Je-goda-sus?
> (Someone shouts "Go Lisa!")
> Lisa: Thank you.

Gary: When did I write that?
Chuck: It involved Tequila that's all I know. (People laugh harder.)
Gary: Damn. Probably involved Tequila, yes.

Chuck insinuates that the nonsensical note could have been a result of the conductor's overdrinking, much to the amusement of the other choir members. While Gary, the conductor, could have responded very seriously to such remarks, he instead acknowledges Chuck's joke and people's laughter, by agreeing that this mistake probably did involve overdrinking.

A noteworthy observation is that very few members felt that the time spent on joke making as time wasted, even those who are more musically talented. One example is Joonwoo, a Korean composer who sings in the Chamber Singers, decided to stay in the choir because he liked performing musically complicated pieces. However, when asked whether he was irritated by the fact that the time spent on joke making could actually be spent on singing, he replied that these jokes were very important.

> I think they are very important. [...] You know what they say. Just like monkeys groom each other, we do the grooming with our words. These things strengthen social solidarity. [...] It's through these jokes that we can do some social bonding, and only then will these people think it's fun to be here. Only then, when we have many people coming, can we do anything such as singing. (Joonwoo)

Just as Joonwoo points out, these jokes and other laughter-inducing activities help to leave positive memories of Camarata Music that

stay in people's minds even after the rehearsals are over. This explains why Elena used to call her mother every Sunday after rehearsal in her first concert season in Camarata Chorale. She just "wanted to tell someone about what happened in the choir, because it was so fun." Such positive memories ensure that the diverse people, who were initially attracted by the policy of welcome, continue to return for more rehearsals, anticipating for the next instance of "fun" moments, which lead to even more positive memories of the organization.

Experiencing Diversity

This diversity in membership, secured by both the policy of welcome and positive memories, seems to have a positive impact of its own. Many members also talked about the very experience of seeing diverse people in one space as special and positive experience offered at Camarata Music. For those from urban centers of North America, seeing the diversity reminded them of "home" where it was more common to see people of various ethnicities and nationalities. For some Koreans, on the other hand, seeing diverse people aroused a feeling more similar to curiosity:

> Well, here, there were real foreign people, and Korean people. The whole atmosphere was, shall we say, good? I mean, I am not uncomfortable with meeting and contacting diverse people – in fact, I tend to like that. [...] Also, people of my age aren't fun anymore. [...] So I wanted to meet people from diverse age groups if possible, although it's been difficult to do that. But here was a group that satisfied all these conditions. I liked it. Really. And I was curious. What kind of people come here, and who are

they? So that kind of basic curiosity. (Joonwoo)

Although Joonwoo initially does not pinpoint the exact reason why he likes to be with diverse people, he concludes by saying that being with the diverse members of Camarata Music arouses a sort of curiosity in him. I could not confirm whether this is a sentiment shared by all Koreans. Yet, the opportunity to experience such diversity seems to be a feature that attracts many Korean members' attention. Both Sookja and Eunhye remembered that when they were first recruited to join Camarata Chorale, they were told explicitly that this was a choir with both foreign people and Korean people. For these people, the diversity was a "sight" to watch and experience on its own.

Another important feeling evoked by the experience of diversity was the sense of acceptance:

> So I come, and I see a little foreigners, and I see a little Koreans. And I'm like, "Wow, that's good." 'Cause it's like a lot of people together. And just seeing that makes you comfortable, because you see that. Ok, if they have accepted them, they can accept me too. (Lucy)

As a Congolese student in Korea, Lucy did not have any co-ethnic or co-national person in the Chorale. When she first joined, she and her friend were the only two black people in the choir. However, even though there was no one that looked like her, just seeing a diverse range of people sitting together in one room immediately gave Lucy the feeling that she could also be accepted in the choir.

This positive effect of seeing the diversity does not only work with diversity in ethnicity, but with other categories as well.

As mentioned earlier in Joonwoo's interview, seeing diverse age groups was an important factor for him, as was for many other older Koreans who felt that in such an age-diverse group, their age was no longer a barrier to participation. In an interview with Nicole, the assistant conductor and soprano singer of the Chamber Singers, I found out that diversity of sexual orientation and religious backgrounds was also an important part of what made Camarata so enjoyable:

> Nicole: I think that the fact that Kayla, when we had our big competition, and she brought her girlfriend, and everyone was like, "Oh my God, she's so cute." [...] So to find a community - whether it's choir, theater or whatever it is - to be able to say, "This is who I am" and be open about it, and everyone's like, "Cool, I like it. Good for you."
> Jiwon: It doesn't just apply to the LGBT people?
> Nicole: No.
> Jiwon: It applies to everyone then.
> Nicole: Yup.

Later in the interview, Nicole admitted that she came out as an agnostic in the choir, because the acceptance of LGBT members in the choir showed her how accepting this organization is of diverse people. These revelations indicate that Camarata Music's participants regarded it to be accepting on multiple levels, extending beyond tolerance of ethnicities, to age groups, sexual identities and religious views.

The three behavioral practices at Camarata Music, namely the policy of welcome, creating positive memories with both

non-linguistic and linguistic interactions, and experiencing diversity, eventually made many members associate Camarata Music with a culture of liberation. Nicole found Camarata to be an escape from her work. Jungmi thought that the lack of any form of "discrimination", whether it be "age, religion, social position, race or political views", gave her and other members a feeling of being "free". Chuck reckons that Camarata Music provides a sort of haven for both the foreigners and Koreans, or what he calls a "judgment-free zone".

Chuck: A unique experience for Koreans in the Chorale is that - my experience in Korea tells me that Koreans don't even let Korean kids be kids. You get to a certain point, and then, then you are just grown into this grinder of school, school, school, school, school, school, school and, and you are expected to perform. Whereas, you know, I'm a - I'm a little kid, I don't mind being a little - I love being a little kid. I miss being a little kid. And when I go into choir, I can be a little kid. You know? I can be - I can be as young as you, or I can be as old as, you know, Methuselah. And it's up to me. You know, I can make that choice. [...]

Jiwon: So maybe this is a place where like these Koreans can let go of their inhibitions.

Chuck: Well that's it. [...]. Some who want to have the opportunity - you know, we'll say - I use the phrase, "judgment-free zone". That's what we really are. Now I do know that Koreans judge themselves, among themselves. And there is some dynamic in that. But, you know I like to think of that word, judgment-free zone, you know. I don't think anybody - I've never heard anybody talking

about what people are wearing. I've never heard.

Although Chuck specifically mentions Koreans in this excerpt, he does acknowledge that the choirs provide a place where both Koreans and foreigners, such as himself, can make a choice as to how they want to conduct themselves – free from Korean social norms. According to Chuck, and many other members, Camarata Music represented a place where they could be who they were without having to worry about any judgments or discrimination from other members. They were assured that they would be welcome, and that they could have fun in the rehearsals, for they could also be a part of the diversity that is Camarata Music.

Emergence of Ethnic Lines

Ethnicities as Categories

While the management and the members of Camarata Music strive hard to make it a welcoming multicultural community, it is not without its own limitations as an organization. Throughout my participant observations in the choirs, I could observe ethnicities and nationalities emerge as important categories that influenced members' behavioral practices. This appears paradoxical, because Camarata Music is an organization committed to cosmopolitan values of overcoming barriers of nationality, language and ethnicity, in order to build a global community. Of course, this is not to say that the members have been intentionally discriminated based on their race, ethnicity or nationality. Rather, my observations point out existence of "lines" that separate certain patterns of participation in the

organization, which happen to resonate with "lines" that fall between ethnic groups. I refer to such divisions as "ethnic lines". In this section, I outline three ethnic lines that have become important factors in members' participation in Camarata Music, namely the conceptual, interactional and organizational ethnic lines.

One peculiarity that I have observed is that in order to promote the diversity and internationality of the organization, the management actually ends up emphasizing individual ethnicities and nationalities. An illustrative example of this phenomenon is the quick nationality check which takes place at the beginning of every concert season in the Chorale. The following is an excerpt from my field note on the first day of Pops Concert Season:

> Lastly, we had the time to check the members' nationalities. "If you are from Country X raise your hand." The conductor asked members from Korea, the United States, "Canadia", and the UK to put their hands up, country by country. One of the members who raised his hand for the UK, said one of his nationalities is British. The conductor asked, what is the other one, and he replied, Swiss. Then the conductor asked Germans to raise their hand up, but there was nobody. Morocco, Ireland (the two Irish members exchanged greetings in Gaelic), Japan (None of the Japanese members present raised their hands up.), South Africa and France were called in succession. [...] Chuck announced that as of last year, people from 100 countries have been with Camarata. The conductor corrected him, and said that it was 101 countries. He then said that we may not have that many countries this time, but there have been concerts in the past where more than 30 countries have been represented in one concert.

While this is an effective exercise to show people the diversity present in the rehearsal hall, it also reduces what we know about other members to their ethnic identity, effectively drawing a conceptual ethnic line in our mental database of choir members. We may not remember much about other members, but we do remember that there was an Irish person in the choir. Many times in my formal and informal interviews, there have been incidents in which participants could not recall the names of other members, and would refer them with their nationalities instead.

At the same time, this nationality check allows the management to keep track of the number of nationalities that have been in the organization. This number is often quoted by the management to promote Camarata Music as the most diverse music organization in the world. Attending several board meetings, it became very clear to me that the management viewed ethnic and national diversity itself as an important resource. Of highest importance was the visible diversity. They were aware that one of the most important "selling points" of Camarata Music, compared to other music organizations in Korea, is the fact that it's a "foreign choir" that "looks" different. To achieve this comparative advantage, the management unintentionally relies on the national and ethnic profiles of its members. From the board's point of view, it was important to be aware the proportions of Koreans to foreigners, especially those that look different.

Ethnicities also emerge as important categories for the members in their multicultural practices. There have been instances when members would make assumptions about each other solely based on nationalities and ethnicities. Once when Tomas, a German

expatriate, invited the Chamber Singers to his party, a number of people expected him to serve "good beer" given his German heritage. They were disappointed later when Tomas served Korean beer, which is often regarded as one of the worse beers available. While nobody was harmed or offended in this particular incident, it shows that even in a "judgment-free zone" such as Camarata Music, people use national and ethnic stereotypes about each other to make predictions or expectations about each other's actions, suggesting the existence of a conceptual ethnic line in people's minds.

Sometimes, interactions in the rehearsals accentuates, rather than diminish differences among its members. For example, during a sectional practice of tenors and basses, led by Minah, the accompanist, a small debate about how to pronounce "For“ emerged:

> Minah: "For" here, no R. "For unto". "For unto". Basses, the same thing. No R. "For unto". Don't do this please.
>
> [...]
>
> Willie: "oh" instead of "or".
>
> Minah: Alright. Tenors are you ok with this?
>
> Jaden: Wait, are you saying not to pronounce the R?
>
> Minah: I'm sorry?
>
> Toni: Yes, not strongly. Not in American way.
>
> [...]
>
> Jaden: So is it "Foh us"?
>
> Toni: To me, it sounds like F-A-W.
>
> Willie: No problem for *Hoju saram* (Australian).
>
> Toni: Yes, *Hoju saram* is different, but North Americans, I think it sounds like F-A-W to me. So, Ok.
>
> Jiwon: It's called proper English.
>
> Toni: (Laughing) Stop it.

Minah: Tenors…
Willie: We don't, we don't sit on… *Hoju* (Australia) and *Younggook* (the UK), we don't sit on the R's.
Toni: Well, we do.

Although Minah gave a simple instruction, not to pronounce the R in "For", it led to a whole conversation about different ways people pronounce the terminal R. Willie, as an Australian, is used to not pronouncing the R, whereas Jaden and Toni, two Americans, find that they need to adjust their pronunciation. Also interesting is the fact that Willie uses Korean to refer to the Australia and Britain, almost as if to emphasize to Korean members that this is the way people from those countries speak. Here, Willie deliberately draws an ethnic line between two groups of Anglophones that articulate the final R differently, to which Toni responds by explaining how it is pronounced in North America. This conversation suggests that close contact with various nationalities and ethnicities sometimes accentuate the differences between people, firmly drawing a conceptual ethnic line even between those that share the same linguistic – here, Anglophone – background.

Mingling with Not Everyone

While there was considerable ethnic diversity among the members, their informal social interactions during break time tend to be segregated along ethnic lines. Break times during rehearsals were a great occasion to observe ethnic relations in the choirs. For many participants, break time during rehearsals provide a much needed breathing space away from the gruelling task of concentrating on music. It also transforms the rehearsal hall into a place for socializing with other members. However, I could observe that most of this

socialization took place in specific groups that appear ethnically separated. Very often, I could observe Korean members talking to other Korean members, but it was rarer to spot Koreans engaging with non-Koreans. The opposite was also true: while there was a lot of interaction among non-Korean members, fewer non-Koreans interacted regularly with Korean members.

Ethnic lines could also be observed even among non-Koreans. Members from Anglophone countries, such as the US, Canada and the UK, were often seen talking to each other, while others tended to keep to themselves. Of course, some of these groupings consist of people that already know each other: a new Korean member may have been recruited by other senior Korean members, or a couple of South African friends may have decided to join the choir together. However, even when meeting new people from the choir, people tended to gravitate towards others with shared race and ethnicity.

One possible explanation could be that the lines form due to language barriers among members. Yet, I found out that even people with proficient language skills tended to gravitate towards those with similar ethnicity. For example, Jane, who sings in both the Chorale and the Chamber Singers noticed that both African and Japanese members tended to interact within their respective groups.

> Jane: And why, I guess, like - you know the - I don't know if both of the girls are from Congo?
>
> Jiwon: One is from Congo.
>
> Jane: One of them is from Congo. I don't know where the other one is from. But they stick together. Erm. And you know, the Japanese people obviously like to - I mean, they're - they're all fluent in English, very fluent in English, but they like to get

together and chat Japanese, unsurprisingly.

Jane emphasizes the fact that the Japanese members are fluent in English, yet they still like to get together and talk in Japanese with each other. The same is true of the two African members Jane is talking about. These indicate that the ethnically differentiated interaction patterns during break time cannot be fully explained by language barriers.

I also discovered in my interviews that the social experience of non-Korean members and Korean members differed greatly in another aspect. When asked whether they had made friends in Camarata Music, non-Korean members often responded positively. They made new friends with whom they had met outside of Camarata Music's schedule. They communicate via various social networking services and build relationships that continue outside the rehearsal hall. Many of them responded that Camarata Music was not just a choir, but a community, one even going as far to proclaim, "Camarata has given me almost the entirety of my social life in Korea." Korean members, on the other hand, did not seem to develop such deep social relationships with other members, not even other Koreans. Some could name a few "friends", but they admitted that they did not see these "friends" outside of the rehearsals. Others told me that they had not made any real friends or acquaintances in the choir, although they exchange greetings in rehearsals. Such was the response of Hyunjoon, the oldest serving member in Camarata Chorale:

> Actually, I haven't had much of an experience with making real serious friends here. [...] We come to do rehearsals, and go home. And you know, I may do ten

> concerts with them, but I can end up not knowing anyone as a person. That's a bit disappointing. (Hyunjoon)

Later in the interview, Hyunjoon did acknowledge that he does not make friends easily in general. Even so, considering that he has been singing in the choir for more than 10 years, it is quite surprising to hear him say that he has not made "real serious friends" in the choir. In contrast, when asked later what Camarata meant for him, he replied that it was almost like "a friend you want to be together for the rest of my your life". This was very typical of Korean members' attitude towards Camarata. Although they had not built close relationships with individuals in Camarata Music, they felt a strong attachment, almost like a loyal friendship, towards the organization itself.

In light of these facts, it is not surprising that in the social events that I have participated, very few, if any, Korean members could be seen. Majority of the social gatherings, both planned and spontaneous, happened among non-Korean members. The only exception was a Korean members' dinner party, which was organized by the organization for Korean members to foster social ties among themselves. Eighteen current and former Korean members of Camarata Music attended the event. Despite this effort, the individual ties among Korean members were not strengthened significantly, and no further gatherings among Korean members took place during my investigation. This ethnic difference in social experience among members of Camarata Music constitute the interactional dimension of ethnic lines in the organization.

Not Quite An "International" Organization

The organizational level constitute the third dimension on

which ethnic lines emerge. A good starting point is examining the very composition of the organization. As I have mentioned in earlier sections, Camarata Chorale is a non-auditioned choir, which welcomes anyone of any ethnicity and musical abilities. The same does not hold true for Camarata Chamber Singers, which is an auditioned choir and expects higher musical abilities from its singers. Interestingly though, the ethnic composition of the Chamber Singers is extremely different from Camarata Chorale. While the ratio of Koreans to non-Koreans in the Chorale is almost 1:1 (64 to 60, among my participants), the ratio drops to nearly 1:6 in the Chamber Singers (5 Koreans to 29 non-Koreans among my participants). Since the only official difference in the membership recruitment was the audition to discern musical ability, the difference in representation of Korean members seems peculiar - unless, there is a reason to believe that Koreans are inherently worse in music than other ethnicities. Of the 29 non-Koreans, 19 were Americans, and 5 more members were from non-US Anglophone countries, which meant that there were 24 native English speakers. Even the 5 ethnic Koreans who are in the choir have international backgrounds: 2 of them are Korean-Americans; one is in a relationship with an American and another one was married to a Latin American. Lastly, there was myself, with almost 8 years of overseas experience during adolescence. Considering that the Chamber Singers is the organization that acts as the "face" of the organization, representing Camarata Music at various venues and events, the lack of Korean members stands out for an "international" organization that seeks to build a global community. After all, the organization is based in Korea, and Koreans would be the single largest ethnic pool from which singers could be recruited from.

I could observe a similar pattern in composition of the

management. Of the eleven members of the Board of Directors for Year 2019, only 4 were ethnic Koreans. Two of them were Korean Americans who relocated to Korea. Aside from these two return migrants and myself, there was only one Korean member without any experience living overseas. Among the 7 non-Korean members, only one was from a non-Anglophone background. Outside the board, all four assistant conductors were non-Koreans, and three of them were Americans. Four of the administrative volunteers for the organization were non-Koreans (two Americans, one Canadian and one Japanese), as opposed to two Koreans. Considering that these are the people that make all the decisions for the organization and assist in running the organization, the underrepresentation of Koreans here also stands out. It seems almost as if there is a hierarchical ethnic line, or a ceiling almost, preventing Koreans from entering the innermost parts of the organization.

Another way in which ethnic lines are drawn on the organizational level is through the organizational culture of Camrarata Music. Firstly, because the activities in the choir are conducted in English, complemented with some Korean translations and interpretations, it is difficult for people who are not proficient in English nor Korean to understand all of the linguistic interactions taking place in the choir. Secondly, as the conductor himself is American, many of his linguistic interactions are loaded with references to American popular culture, which makes them even harder for non-American members to understand what is going on in rehearsals. Several Korean members who were less proficient in English reported not being able to understand several jokes made in the choir at times. Since making jokes comprised an important part of making positive experience, missing out on these jokes meant that

these people were also missing out on some of the positive experiences that the organization offers:

> Jiwon: So when we make jokes, do you understand them all and then laugh along, or...
>
> Sookja: No. I don't even think of understanding them all. There are times when I can make out the meaning, but often I cannot make out why it's funny. So I can't connect it to the fun part. So I don't try hard to understand them all. It's all in the atmosphere. I don't have trouble understanding what Gary says and directs. So I don't think I need to go all the way to understand jokes as well. I just pass them by.

Sookja has had experience translating and interpreting for missionaries when she was younger, and her level of English communication is much better than her peers in their 70s. However, Sookja's interview suggests that even those that spoke better English found it hard to understand the "comic" element of the jokes. This was because they were not used to several American or Anglophone cultural and linguistic codes that must be understood to make sense of the joke.

Even non-US Anglophone members noted the American flavor in the organizational culture of Camarata Music. For example, Jane is from the UK, but she also found some elements of Camarata Music quite foreign, because they were too American:

> Gary's references are American references. Now, when he looks for music, he's looking... his knowledge of musical repertoire - I mean, of course it's not just American - but

> there's a lot of... Like, we did Toon Tunes and Broadway – whatever – Musical Melodies, and that – you know, those Toon Tunes... I mean, I'm British. We get an awful lot of American culture when we are growing up, and I knew – even though I knew the names or had seen some of those cartoons, the Simpsons was pretty much the only one of those tunes that I could have sung. [...] Gary would be sort of saying, "What you've never heard of Newsies?" And I was thinking, "No, I've never heard of Newsies." (Jane)

Both Sookja and Jane's interviews indicate that there is a distinctively "American" flavor to the organization's culture, and non-American members must make cultural adjustments in order to fully enjoy and participate in the fun-making activities of the choir. This adjustment is ethnically stratified, with Americans making the transition the easiest, followed by non-US Anglophones. Among members of other ethnicities, including Koreans, English abilities and affinity with American or Anglophone cultures affects one's ability to participate in the organization.

On the other end of the spectrum, several American members felt there was very little need for adjustment, even if there were many people from different nationalities. Many of my interviewees felt 'home' from the moment they walked into rehearsals. For some of them, this was because the America they knew was ethnically very diverse on its own, so having multiple ethnicities and nationalities around does not feel very different from being at home. Others who were from more ethnically homogeneous parts of the US, did not liken it to their home in the US, but they nonetheless thrived in the multicultural interactions that took place in English and with

American cultural references, and felt that it was a 'home away from home'.

Interpreting the Ethnic Lines

Ignoring the Lines

At first glance, one may expect these ethnic lines to be possible points of weakness or fracture for everyday multiculturalism of Camarata Music (Watson, 2017; Werbner, 2013)). After all, its members have attributed to it the meaning of a welcoming haven of diversity and acceptance. It has gained the status and meaning of a "judgment-free zone". At the same time, the members used ethnicities to classify each other, and mingled with co-ethnic people. Some ethnicities make dozens of friends, while others will only sing and go home. As an organization, the choir had an "American" bias to its culture that made it easier for Americans to settle. Looking at this paradoxical situation leads one to wonder how the participants of Camarata Music continue their behavioral practices of everyday multiculturalism in spite of these ethnic lines. How do the participants of Camarata Music cope with the uncomfortable paradox that their organization is a judgment-free zone, but also has ethnic lines drawn all over it simultaneously?

Curiously, not many participants talked about the presence of ethnic lines in informal conversations. Most of the time, people focused on the positive memories they have made in Camarata Music - how welcoming it was, how fun it was and how diverse it was. There was very little recognition of any ethnically differentiated experience or participation in the organization. It was very apparent

that the meaning of a multicultural place was strongly attached to the organization. This was a place where they were welcome, could have fun, and be a part of this diverse community of friendly people. To this meaning of Camarata Music, ethnic lines represent real or potential anomalies, and most people just did not to talk about them in their interactions with each other. I do not mean to say that they were turning a blind eye to ethnic differentiation on purpose. On the contrary, it was as if people could not see them at all, and it was impossible to talk about something that other people had not recognized.

It was only by conducting individual interviews, which were spatially and temporally separated from Camarata Music, that I could ask questions about the presence of ethnic lines. Even then, my questions had to circumvent around the topic, by asking them questions such as: what did they like and dislike about the choirs; how many friends they had made in the choir and with whom; what they thought about making jokes in the rehearsals, and what they thought about ethnic compositions of the choirs.

Despite taking such measures, the most common response was to avoid talking about ethnic lines. Often, people diverted their attention to other aspects of the organization. The most favorite diversion seemed to be music. Although people point out the everyday multiculturalism of the choir as one of the reasons why they enjoy themselves in the choir, they spent more time talking about the musical experiences they had in the choir. people would talk about elements such as the pieces they performed, the experience of the concert and the conductor's musicality. Many people were happy just to be able to sing with other people, diverse or not. When I asked Nicole what she thought about the first rehearsal she had in

the Chamber Singers, her first reaction was all about music:

> I sat next to two amazing singers. Everyone knew what they were doing. People could read music. I remember him giving out a piece and – I don't even think we did that for concert, I think he was just like, we are gonna start looking at this for the fall, right – and people were sight-reading. And they were sight-reading well. And it's like, "Oh my God. People can read music here!" (Nicole)

As we can see from this excerpt, what made Nicole instantly like the Chamber Singers was not the ethnic backgrounds of her peers, but their musical ability, and the musical experience of singing with talented people. A similar sentiment is also found among those who participate in Camarata Chorale. They are inspired and moved by the very experience of performing in a choir:

> I never thought I was good at singing. In fact, I'm quite bad at it. But I can do such concerts. Well, I don't know. While I'm singing, I can't hear myself because I'm singing out loud. So I don't know what it sounded like, but it still moved me emotionally. [...] So once, I've written my honest feelings about Gary's talent on SNS – I think it was Facebook – that Gary is someone that can assemble ordinary people like us to make excellency. (Hyunjoon)

Hyunjoon recalls the feelings he had after one of his concerts in the choir. Although he knows he is not a great singer, he is moved by the fact that in this choir, and with this talented conductor, he is able to produce a concert, something of "excellency".

As these cases illustrate, music acts a great diversion for

people when it comes to ethnic lines. I could not distinguish whether they could see the ethnic lines but were ignoring it on purpose, or whether they genuinely saw no problems with the way the organization runs. However, they focus on the positive musical experience that they have had in this organization to reinforce the positive meaning they attached to it. To use the language of the model maintenance model, this process is very similar to the "fluid compensation", in which people would focus on a different meaning structure when confronted with anomalies in one meaning structure (Heine et al., 2006). In this case, instead of focusing on the social and ethnic aspects of the choir, which could have ultimately led to their recognition of ethnic lines, or the anomalies, people focused on the musical aspects of the choir and the satisfaction that they gained from it as the alternative meaning structure.

Alternative Explanations

Of course, I am not trying to say that those individuals were delusional and could not see ethnic lines being drawn in the organization. By circumventing around the topic, I could get almost all of my interviewees to share some moments in which they have seen or experienced some of the ethnic lines that I have identified. However, I also quickly discovered that many people did not think it was a problem. Those that were able to see specific ethnic lines tended to think that those lines were not ethnic in nature, and they would not blame the organization for the emergence of these lines. Instead of focusing on the ethnic quality of these lines, some of them believed that they could be explained by other features. For example, when asked whether they had thought of joining the Chamber Singers, many Korean members responded negatively. The reasons

varied from being too old to learn so many songs quickly, and not having a good enough voice, or not being able to make the rehearsal time – but they never cited their ethnicity as the reason for not auditioning for the Chamber Singers. They were convinced that the members in the Chamber Singers were chosen for their musical abilities, and not because of any ethnic preference. Here, members are trying to account for the anomaly in different ways so that it ceases to be an anomaly without affecting the meaning structure of Camarata Music. This strategy is described as "reinterpretation" according to the meaning maintenance model (Heine et al., 2006).

Age seemed to be a factor that many Korean members used to reinterpret ethnic lines on interactional and organizational levels. Sookja was one individual that explained her isolation in the social life of Camarata Music with her age. When she realized that she had made no friends in the choir, she responded by talking about her age:

> Well, so I have this thing about my age. I am just grateful to be able to sing with these young people. If you think about it, I don't think young people would like it if I keep talking to them. Honestly. I mean, my own kids don't like it when I talk to them. [...] So I don't think I should come here and ask young people about their personal lives. I am here to sing and that's it. So my case would be very exceptional here. I am exceptionally old here, right? So I guess other members would be different. (Sookja)

Sookja believes that other young members in the choir would not want to associate with her because of her age, so she puts herself in self-isolation. For Sookja, her lack of close relationships in the choir is not ethnic in character, but age-related. However, although Sookja

says she is an exceptional case and that other people may be different, many Koreans who are younger than her also use age as an alternative explanation for why they could not make friends.

Byungchul also uses age to explain the reason why he and other older Koreans do not take part in the management of the choir. Throughout the interview he expressed dissatisfaction that the management of Camarata was "too foreign". He believed there should be a "core" among the Korean members, who can contribute to the management, so that they can facilitate more social bonding among Korean members, Interestingly, he also believed that he is unfit to join the management and play that role because of his age. Ideally, this "core" should consist of people in the middle age range, in their 40s and 50s. So in his opinion, he was not excluded from the management because of his ethnicity. He is the one that excluded himself from engaging too much in the management, because he was "too old" for it.

Both Byungchul and Sookja's cases are intriguing, because they were the very members who liked Camarata Music for the lack of age limit. They very much enjoyed singing together with younger people, but here they were actively using their knowledge and stereotype about different age groups to justify their exclusion in social interactions and management. This implies that as long as people can maintain the meaning structure of Camarata Music as a multicultural place, they will even go as far to rely on judgments that run against their own values. Their wanting to be in a place free from age-related limitations does not prevent them from using their own stereotypical knowledge about other people's age to interpret ethnic lines in non-ethnic ways.

Using Ethnic Stereotypes

However, the most peculiar meaning maintenance mechanism that I observed involved the use of ethnic stereotypes. When confronted with the ethnic lines in Camarata Music, many people actively and flexibly used their ideas, knowledge and experience of ethnicities, or ethnic stereotypes in short. This way, it was possible to explain why these ethnic lines emerged, without making the organization or its people ethnically discriminating. As strange as it may sound, looking at a few examples would help us understand this particular mechanism of meaning maintenance. I could see this mechanism in action multiple times while interviewing Byungchul. As I mentioned earlier, he was not happy with the management of the organization. In particular, he was not happy about the fact that there were no official gatherings or dinner parties after rehearsals, because he believed that for Koreans to bond with each other, after-parties are a must. Yet, he tried to make sense of this lack of "Korean culture" in the choir using what he knew about "foreigners".

> I mean, with Korean people, it's all about eating. We eat together, and then we have after-parties once rehearsals are over. That's how we get closer personally. But there is something with people here. I think those foreign kids who come here are those that really like singing, or at least like to be in a choir. Well, us Koreans, we also like singing, but I also like to socialize. (Byungchul)

Even though my observations suggest that his assumption, that foreigners are here only for the singing, is incorrect, it is remarkable to observe how his stereotypical knowledge of foreigners makes it easier for him to accept the lack of socialization and social bonding

among Koreans or between Koreans and foreigners. This was Byungchul's way of making sense of the interactional ethnic line without feeling that he was interactionally discriminated in the organization.

An interesting application of this mechanism was observed during my interview with Justin. I asked him why he thinks the Chamber Singers lacks people from non-Caucasian backgrounds. His reply made use of what he knows about ethnicities, both present and absent in the choir:

> You probably have to look at the actual cultural make up of foreigners in Korea. Those that would be able to have the time to devote to choir. Right? So, I mean, there's a lot of white western English teachers. There's a lot of, like, low-wage laborer-workers, but - we would accept them if they wanted to be in the choir, but they don't have time. Yeah. Are they searching it out? Not really. But people that are interested in choirs happen to be those from, erm, OECD countries.

While he does not specifically refer to their nationalities in this specific excerpt, Justin is trying to explain why the organization has had very few Southeast Asians members in the past, despite the large number of Southeast Asian migrants in Korea. To make sense of this discrepancy or an ethnic line drawn between the interior and exterior of the organization, Justin uses what he knows about the living conditions of Southeast Asian workers in Korea. Justin's deliberate use of the word "OECD countries" instead of "western countries" show that he is someone who is weary of the limitations of using "west vs. east" analogy. Yet, even someone as sensitive as

Justin makes use of precognitive knowledge about other ethnicities. His reasoning is probably an accurate explanation for why we have so few Southeast Asians in Camarata Music. However, it is this very same stereotyping that makes its participants insensitive to the underrepresentation of Southeast Asians in the first place. The lack of Southeast Asians does not alarm anyone, and does not challenge our notion of Camarata Music as a multicultural place. This little bit of stereotypical knowledge allows us to still imagine Camarata Music as a welcoming haven of diversity, as it is not the organization's fault that they do not have any Southeast Asians. We can assume that Justin's claim that "we would accept them if they wanted to be in the choir" would be true, even though there were no Southeast Asian members at the time of the interview.

This flexible use of ethnic stereotypes allows the participants to make sense of what could have been unpleasant situations triggered by ethnic lines. It is an alternative route by which they can make a more positive reinterpretation of the whole experience. Nicole also tries to make sense of her less than pleasant first rehearsal in Camarata Orchestra by using what little she knows about Korean society:

> Jiwon: What was it like the first day of orchestra in Camarata?
>
> Nicole: Oh my God, no one talked to me.
>
> Jiwon: Why's that?
>
> Nicole: Well, most of them were Korean. Most of them did not speak English. Erm, a lot of orchestra people, like they just go in, they sit, they do their music. It was a very - it felt just very Korean. I don't know, it was just odd. It reminded of, like, when I

> go to places, or sit on the subway and nobody pays you any mind. You just do your own thing. And that's kind of what it felt like. You know?

Although she did not enjoy the experience having nobody talk to her, Nicole tries to make sense of the isolation she felt with what she knows about Korean people in public places, that they do not talk to strangers.

Later in the interview, she also reveals the same uneasiness she experienced when she came to the Chorale rehearsal and found out that not many Korean people seemed to want to talk to her. To make sense of it, she uses her stereotypical knowledge of Koreans not speaking much English, or being too shy to speak English. She admits, "I don't know Korean, and if someone can't speak English, they are not gonna want to speak to me. And that's fair." While she would have liked to have more interactions with Koreans, her stereotypical knowledge of Korean people's English skills makes it easier to accept the lack of interaction from Korean singers. This interpretation makes sense of the ethnic line drawn between her and Korean singers, without making either of them racists. She does comment later, that she does not know "if that's 'cause I'm a white girl", but she leaves it to be a distant possibility, preferring to assume that people just could not speak much English. This shows that Nicole would rather use ethnic stereotypes to make sense of the anomaly of interactional ethnic lines, rather than think that some of those Koreans did not like to interact with her because of her whiteness. Choosing the latter would break the meaning of Camarata Music that she has built out of her experience with the organization, and so she opts to reinterpret the lack of inter-ethnic interaction using ethnic stereotype.

Ethnic Lines in Context

People also try to make sense of ethnic lines by assessing it in relation to the context of South Korean society. People's attitude towards the American flavor in organizational culture reflects this relativity. For many years, American culture was synonymous with international culture in South Korea, Considering that the majority of Koreans in the Chorale are in their 40s or above, it is likely that they would have retained the idea of American culture as representative of international culture. This meant that exposure to the American flavor at Camarata Music only constituted a part of the international and multicultural experience for the Korean singers.

For non-Koreans, the American flavor provided some escape from the Korean culture that they are emersed in. As Lisa sums it up very aptly, "Korea's the hermit kingdom" for many foreigners, meaning that it is still quite difficult for foreigners to get anything that is not Korean. For this reason, American culture of Camarata Music provides a welcome break from the dominant Korean culture. It also provides a different kind of international experience for non-American members. As Jane describes it, Camarata Music becomes "an interesting American international experience" for many non-American members. This makes members of all ethnicities quite content with the American flavor in Camarata Music - at least, they do not resent it. For this reason, the ethnic line emerging out of organizational culture is seldom discussed as a problem.

Ethnic lines also diminish depending on the individual who looks at them. For example, when discussing about break times in the Chorale, Kayla saw much less of the ethnic lines than I have:

> I'm sure some of the Korean *Ajeossis*[6] maybe didn't understand English as well, or speak English as well. But man, they were ready to try, and they would – they would. They would do their absolute best, and if I spoke back and forth with them in Korean, that was also perfectly fine. There wasn't this. [...] like if they're two Koreans sitting next to each other – [they] speak Korean to each other, as opposed to trying to fight their way through English, which I understand. But there was a very much less of that "us versus them" that I did find in the language classes. (Kayla)

Kayla had been studying Korean in Ulsan for a year before she joined Camarata Music. In her Korean classes, she saw how everyone immediately retreated back to their own national groups to talk with each other in their own native languages. Unfortunately, Kayla had always been the only English native speaker and felt very isolated at that time. Therefore, the break time in Camarata Chorale already seemed to be much more inviting and the interactions appeared more inter-ethnic. Just seeing some people willing to speak English, which is not their native language, to communicate with other people was already cosmopolitan enough. For Kayla, her default expectation in multicultural environment was "retreating to their countrymen". Hence, even though she did not develop any significant relationship with any of the Korean *Ajeossis*, seeing some people venture out of their co-ethnic cliques in Camarata Music represented for Kalya a multicultural practice that overcame the ethnic lines.

Several other members also expressed their satisfaction with

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[6] Korean term for a man in his middle age.

Camarata Music in comparison to their experience else where in Korea. This also applied to members who were neither Korean nor native Anglophones. During her interview, Lucy told me Camarata was special, because here "I looked black but I didn't feel black." Surprised by her expression, I asked her what she meant by these words.

> Jiwon: Yeah. You said, you looked black, but you didn't feel black in Camarata. What do you mean by "feeling black"?
>
> Lucy: What do I mean by "feeling black"? The looks.
>
> Jiwon: The looks?
>
> Lucy: The looks we get. We get a lot of those in Korea. And at some point - you know you wake up on the wrong side of the bed? And you have all looks at me. Wait till I'm gonna look at them like that. Like, you looked at me like, "Ooh, she's black!" And I'm gonna look at you like, "Ooh, you Asian!" So I didn't have that.
>
> Jiwon: Here?
>
> Lucy: No. And honestly, I don't know but I found it really important. Just simple things like Gary saying, "Oh my gosh! She's from Congo. This is country number 104!" I felt so important, 'cause like, "I'm country number 104! Oh my gosh, I'm so special in Camarata!" You know, things like that. It's just little comments like that, you know, can make someone's day and someone's all month - and just to feel like you mean something to that place. You're important to that place.

Lucy's interview reveals that Korea outside Camarata Music was an

environment where she had to endure the "looks". This was a new experience for her, because Korea was the first country she lived with very little black population. At Camarata Music, however, she felt welcome. This was a place where "even the Korean ladies, they were so nice to us". This feeling of welcome and acceptance made her feel so comfortable that even when the conductor did the nationality check and disclosed her unique ethnicity to rest of the choir, she gladly embraced the extra attention. What I identified as a activity that reduced people to ethnicity actually made Lucy feel special in a good way – that she was "important" to Camarata.

Kayla and Lucy's stories reveal that what constitutes a potential danger or 'fracture' to everyday multiculturalism cannot be defined by the content of the behavioral practice itself. While a particular behavioral practice may appear problematic to an outsider's eyes, when it is interpreted against the contexts of the multicultural place and the external society, a completely different meaning may be attached to the same practice. Similarly, Depending on one's perspective, it is possible to see more or less of ethnic lines than other people. In the case of Camarata Music, it provided a setting that was decontextualized from the larger Korean society, an escape from the ethnically and culturally homogeneous Korea, so that ethnic lines in the organization appeared minor in comparison.

Lucy's interview also indicates the importance of the positive first impression – or the first meaning – that individuals receive upon their first participation a multicultural place. The nationality check may not have been as enjoyable for Lucy, if she did not already associate Camarata Music with positive meanings. Fortunately, Lucy felt welcome from the beginning. She received encouragements from the conductor in the first rehearsal, gained access to practice files,

and felt that she could be accepted when she saw how diverse her fellow singers were. It was only in this context of multicultural place that she could make positive sense out of any ethnic lines that came her way.

Rethinking the Multicultural Place

Of course, not everyone who can see the ethnic lines make positive sense out of it. Teresa was one person who could identify several ethnic lines from the beginning. She was aware of the fact that the Chamber Singers was predominantly white, and there was not a single black person in it. She pointed out the predominantly white culture of the choirs, and compared the way Camarata's members conducted themselves to the way Korean choristers conducted themselves. At the same time, she was also very attached to the organization. During one rehearsal, she mentioned that Camarata was the only reason why she wanted to stay in Korea because she hated her job in *hagwon*[7]. It provided an outlet for her creativity, and gave her new friends, a new job and a new roommate. She was also aware of the respect for diversity in the organization. However, when these two conflicting meanings - a place of negative ethnic lines and a place of positive interactions - collided, she found it difficult to make a cohesive whole out of them:

> Jiwon: Previously, you said that you find the Chamber Singers as more predominantly white, on its own and also compared to the Chorale. Is there any reason why you think so, other than just the makeup of the population?
>
> Teresa: Well for instance, when we start the choir, we

[7] Korean term for after-school academies

don't stand up and bow to Gary. That's an Eastern culture thing. So that's one thing.

Jiwon: But we don't do that in the chorale too.

Teresa: That's very true. That's very true too.

Jiwon: But you just thought that, that was something characteristic of an American choir.

Teresa: Right. We, that's what we do in America.

In this excerpt, I challenge Teresa's notion of "white" culture by pointing out that not bowing to the conductor was a trait found in both the Chamber Singers and the Chorale, although she pointed out that this was what made the former more white than the latter. Teresa appears to be confused as to her own definition of "white" culture. Whenever, I deliberately challenged her notions of ethnic lines and cosmopolitanism, she was lost for a good argument. This confusion may have arisen, because she was not using any meaning maintenance mechanisms. She had seen the welcoming haven of diversity, but she also saw ethnic lines. Without any meaning maintenance mechanisms, there was no way she could make sense of their coexistence.

Sometimes, meaning maintenance mechanisms can also break apart as individuals reflect upon their experience in the choir individually. Eunhye, who joined Camarata Chorale for the Christmas Concert in 2019, had many positive things to say about the choir, including the jokes made by other participants. Even though she didn't understand much of it, she said she still thought they were an important part of rehearsals:

I thought that we should also have those moments of humor, and focusing too much on the music and having

> only practice won't help either. That way, we can grow closer to each other and feel more attached to the conductor. We are not a professional choir. Just practicing for 2, 3 hours is tiring.

The day after the interview, however, Eunhye sent me a long text message to correct what she had said earlier:

> There is something that I didn't answer correctly last night, so I want to make amendments.
> Sometimes when the conductor would talk at length, it wasn't always fun.
> I didn't really understand much of it, so it could be a bit boring. And those that understood laughed and reacted, but I couldn't really laugh with them. So I felt like an idiot. But I didn't tell you about this yesterday.

The fact that Eunhye went home, reflected on her words, and produced a completely different interpretation of the same behavioral practice is astounding. In the choir, and in the vicinity of myself, whom Eunhye thought was a "pillar" of Camarata, her interpretation of Camarata was heavily influenced by its status as a multicultural place. Consequently even though she didn't understand much of the English jokes, she interpreted them as helpful devices for everyday multiculturalism in the choir. However, once she went home, and she was free to think on her own, she ended up acknowledging her discomfort with English jokes that had isolated her. This information suggested to me that contrary to her apparent satisfaction with the choir, Eunhye did have several points of discomfort in the choir, but was not ready to admit it during the interview. On reflection, my

interview with Eunhye represents how much one's context influences interpretation of practices. Physical proximity to the multicultural place and its participants could always affect the way we perceive the practices that take place in them.

Other members would "revise" the very meaning of Camarata Music as a multicultural place. Interviewing Joonwoo, I found out that the reason why he tolerates many of the ethnic lines and other idiosyncrasies of the organization is because he treats it more like a foreigners' enclave rather than a multicultural place:

> Well, actually this is sort of a foreigners' community, yeah? In Korea. So obviously, these people will have problems living in Korea, and this becomes a sort of outlet for them to vent out their problems - and that's a bit uncomfortable sometimes. Because they sometimes misunderstand somethings, and even make fun of typically Korean characteristics of Korean people. So those things I find unfair. But then again, this is a place where they can share difficulties of living abroad, and if I block all that under the name of PC, that wouldn't be any fun, would it? It's like, when the Korean Americans swear about white people, or about the local community. But that's not comfortable to encounter. It is uncomfortable. (Joonwoo)

It was difficult for Joonwoo to ignore the uncomfortable ethnic lines being drawn in conversations with other choir members. So instead of ignoring them or reinterpreting them, Joonwoo decided to view Camarata Music as a "foreigners' community". It was easier for Joonwoo to make the transition as Joonwoo's partner is American and he was already well-exposed to many foreigners' communities in Seoul. In addition, one of the reasons why he wanted to join the

choir was to make foreign friends who were not friends with his partner. He also liked the experience of putting himself in the shoes of an ethnic minority. For these reasons, it was not important for Joonwoo that Camarata Music maintain its meaning as a multicultural place. As long as he could sing and make foreign friends, the meaning of this place could be revised all the time.

Tomas was another member that could depart from the idea of Camarata Music as a multicultural place without problems. Tomas was a German expatriate who joined the Chamber Singers in 2016. He had been the President of the Board from 2017 to 2019 until his departure from Korea in December. One of the first changes he made was to try to get more Koreans to be involved.

> It should always be a harbor for the foreign community, of course, but I believe it needs to be much healthier mix between the fluctuating foreign community and the well-established community of Koreans in Korea. So never losing the identity of this international organization or English-speaking [...] to be different from the thousands of choirs you can join in Korea - Korean choirs - but there should be more balance. (Tomas)

Just as he called for a balance of the foreigners and Koreans, Andreas calls Camarata Music a "model of compromises":

> I think an organization like this is based on a huge amount of compromises. And this is what everyone has to understand: that in such an organization, with all the diversity, and voluntary work, you cannot always expect that you get all what you want. So... and if people expect it, they will get unhappy after a while. Erm, but this is a

> learning. Such an organization model is a model of compromises. Learning to deal with compromise and consensus. (Tomas)

Tomas' words left lasting impression on me. He does not turn a blind eye to ethnic lines, nor to any other problems and conflicts in the organization. He does not ignore them nor reinterpret them. On the contrary, he accepts all the shortcomings of the organization, and strives to improve it, without claiming that it is a perfect model of everyday multiculturalism. It is also surprising that the "model of comprise" as a concept could also be applied to the fact that the maintenance this multicultural place is dependent upon both the multicultural practices and individual participants' interpretations of them - and even the idea of what practices themselves "mean" is a result of interpretation or "compromise" of the participants. Moreover, these interpretations are extremely varied in their specific details, but they all work together to sustain the compromised, yet common understanding of Camarata Music as a multicultural place - as a "judgment-free zone" for all people.

Upon hearing his ideas about compromise, I told Tomas that many people in Camarata Music seemed happy, because even though it was not a perfect organization, it was more than good enough for them. Tomas agreed.

Conclusion: Multiculturalism of Compromises

This research is an attempt to understand the mechanism by which participants of Camarata Music make sense of the ethnic lines

that emerge in their multicultural organization, using meaning maintenance model as an analytical framework. I engaged in an extensive ethnographic investigation of Camarata Music, an international organization based in Seoul, and two choirs managed by Camarata Music. The analysis was carried out in three steps in this research. Firstly, I looked at the process by which the organization acquired the meaning of a multicultural place through behavioral practice of everyday multiculturalism. Secondly, I showed the ways in which ethnic lines still emerged in spite of these practices. Lastly, I tried to understand how the participants of the organization made sense of this seeming contradiction using their interpretive mechanisms. The findings can be summarized as follows.

Firstly, to establish Camarata Music as a multicultural place to its participants, the organization provided a welcoming atmosphere so that individuals of various backgrounds did not feel out of place when they first entered the rehearsal space. In addition to accepting people of all ethnicities and complexions, the organization had several policies that extended the gesture of welcome to those with weaker musical backgrounds, those who were "too old" for other choirs and those with weaker English skills. Similar sentiments of welcome were shared by members who responded positively to new members. Once they were in the rehearsals, the linguistic and non-linguistic interactions translated the experience of Camarata Music to positive memories. In addition, seeing the multi-layered diversity present in the organization gives people a feeling of security and acceptance, that they could also be accepted for who they are in terms of ethnicity, age, sexual identity and religious affiliation. These three practices - policies of welcome, creation of positive memories and experience of diversity - work together to imbue Camarata Music

with the meaning of "judgment-free zone" where all participants are free from discrimination.

Even with these practices of everyday multiculturalism, I could observe three dimensions on which ethnic lines were drawn. Firstly, on the conceptual level, members were often identified, remembered and managed on the basis of their ethnicity. Participants often let ethnicities of other members guide their expectations about them. On the organizational level, there was a bias in the innermost sections of the organization that favored members from Anglophone countries, or at least those well acquainted with English and Anglophone cultures. The organizational culture also had a distinctly American flavor to it, which made it easier for Americans to adjust to the organization, followed by members from non-US Anglophone countries, and those that were more acquainted with American culture. Thirdly, on the interactional level, most of the informal conversations took place within respective ethnic groups. Moreover, the foreign members, regardless of their ethnicity, formed many more social relationships with other members of the organization, while Korean members had barely made any new friends in Camarata Music.

My observations revealed that most of the time people did not care about the ethnic lines, and many did not recognize the presence of these ethnic lines. When they were specifically asked about the ethnic lines in individual interviews, four types of responses could be identified. Firstly, some of them decided to focus on non-social and non-ethnic elements of the organization, usually the musical elements, in order to lift their attention from ethnic lines and remind themselves of the positive experience. The second group tried to explain ethnic lines as not being intentionally discriminating in

character. Some used factors such as age and musical ability to explain why they were excluded. Others used their stereotypical knowledge about other ethnicities to reinterpret the uncomfortable situation favorably and positively, reassuring themselves that there was no discriminatory intentions. Thirdly, some members used their experience with ethnicities outside the choir to diminish the strength of the ethnic lines in the organization, or even to turn them into positive experiences. Lastly, some members did accept the presence of ethnic lines. While it may be confusing to work out the coexistence of multicultural practices with the ethnic lines, a handful of the participants were able to solve this confusion by revising the meaning that they attributed to the organization. However, despite the differences in the specific mechanisms they employed, all individuals tried to use their interpretive powers to maintain the meaning of Camarata Music as a multicultural place that they hold within themselves.

This research has several important implications. Firstly, it confirms that even when positive multicultural interactions are in practice, ethnic lines can persist in a multicultural arrangement. No matter how much we engage in positive multicultural practices, the potential for ethnic conflicts are always lurking beneath the "surface solidarity" (Werbner, 2013). The crucial task for any agent that wishes to construct or maintain a multicultural place is how they can induce people to interpret ethnic lines in a less detrimental way.

Stemming from this implication is the second implication that interpretation is an important component of everyday multiculturalism. It complements the behavioral practices of the body. While behavioral practices help us create the meanings in the first place, it is the interpretation of the individual participants that help sustain the

multicultural place when ethnic lines emerge, and may even prevent them from erupting into hostile interactions. The complementary interpretations comprise what we may call interpretive practices of everyday multiculturalism. Just as we have both friendly and hostile interactions, we can expect to have friendly interpretations and hostile interpretations. For friendly interpretations to occur, it is extremely vital that the multicultural place acquires its positive meaning as soon as possible. Once this meaning is established, it acts as a social force, almost a regime of the heart (Kim, 2014), that directs people's collective interpretive efforts to maintain the meaning of the multicultural place.

One interesting finding was that these interpretative practices will even employ the individual participant's ageist and ethnic stereotypes in order to make sense of the ethnic lines. These sets of stereotypical knowledge seem to be contradictory in nature to the meaning of Camarata Music as a multicultural place. Yet, people will make active and flexible use of their stereotypes in order to solve the anomaly of ethnic lines in a multicultural place. We often perceive ethnic stereotyping to be directly in opposition to multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism, but this research shows that depending on the context, ethnic Multicultural places are made by the practices and interpretations of people that exist in the social world laden with its own ethnic stereotypes and ethnic lines. Stereotypes can in fact help people interpret the other people's actions in a more favorable way. In other words, ethnic stereotypes provide an alternative route by which people can reinterpret each other's actions to maintain the multicultural place. Here we hear echoes of Tomas' words , that it is "a model of compromise." Unlike what theories about the ideal forms of multiculturalism may lead us to believe, multiculturalism in practice

is an act of compromise. Multicultural places are made by the practices and interpretations of people that exist in the social world laden with its own ethnic stereotypes and ethnic lines. It is unpractical to assume that people enter a multicultural place as non-ethnic bodies with no preconception of ethnicities. These enter the pool of resources or interpretive strategies that people can utilize when they face anomalies of ethnic lines in multicultural places.

Just like any other organizations, Camarata Music has its shortcomings, and the interpretations by its people may also have shortcomings. What makes it truly multicultural is that it is an organization that strives to be better. Its participants try not to misinterpret other people' actions in a negative way, seeing the good in other people's actions, even if it requires retrieving our stereotypical knowledge. In this process, they continue to make positive interactions and learn more about other ethnicities, improving what may have been a limited knowledge about them. While this may not be the best or the only model of everyday multiculturalism, it give us hope that we do not have to be perfect to take part in it. We can be our "ordinary" selves and still make some "excellency" in everyday multiculturalism.

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국문초록

종족의 선이 그어진 다문화 공간 이해하기

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본 연구는 일상적 다문화주의에서 해석의 역할을 이해하고자 진행된 문화기술지 연구로, 서울의 다문화 음악 단체인 카마라타 뮤직에서 진행된 현장조사에 기반하고 있다. 이 연구는 다문화 공간에서 종족을 따라 분화된 참여양상을 설명하기 위해 ‘종족적 선’이라는 개념을 소개하며, 다음의 세 가지 연구 질문에 대한 답을 제시한다. 첫째, 카마라타 뮤직의 참여자들은 어떤 행동적 실천을 통해 다문화 공간을 만들어내는가? 둘째, 이와 같이 만들어진 다문화 공간에서 어떻게 ‘종족의 선’이 나타나는가? 셋째, 참여자들은 카마라타 뮤직에서 나타나는 종족에 선에 대해 어떻게 반응하는가? 이에 대한 답을 제시하기 위해 개념적 틀로서 일상적 다문화주의의 균열과 관련된 담론들을 활용하고, 분석적 틀로서 의미유지모델(meaning maintenance model)을 활용한다. 참여자들이 ‘종족의 선’을 이해하는 방법들을 분석하면서 다문화 공간의 유지에 있어서 해석적 실천이 행동적 실천을 보완하는 모습을 보여주고자 했다.

이 연구를 위해 참여관찰과 반구조화된 심층면담을 통해 데이터를 수집했다. 참여관찰은 카마라타 뮤직 산하의 두 성인 합창단, 카마라타 코랄과 카마라타 챔버 싱어즈, 그리고 이사회에서 진행됐으며, 2019년 8월부터 2019년 12월까지 연습, 회의, 뒤풀이 등 총 51회의 참여관찰을 실시했다. 심층면담은 2019년 10월부터 2020년 3월까지 진행됐으며, 총

17인의 한국인과 비한국인을 대상으로 실시했다. 인터뷰 참여자들은 단체의 다양성을 반영하기 위해 다양한 종족, 젠더, 나이 및 음악적 배경을 고려해 선정됐다.

연구 결과는 다음과 같다. 우선 카마라타 뮤직이 다문화 공간으로서 의미를 획득하는 과정에서 환대의 정책, 긍정적 기억 만들기, 그리고 다양성의 경험이라는 행동적 실천들이 중요했다. 하지만 이런 행동적 실천에도 불구하고 참여의 격차가 종족 차이와 겹치면서 관념적, 상호작용적, 조직적 차원에서 '종족의 선'이 나타났다. 마지막으로 참여자들은 의미유지기제(meaning maintenance mechanism)를 활용하여 '종족의 선'을 보다 긍정적으로 해석하며 차별로서 받아들이지 않는 모습을 보였다. 카마라타 뮤직에서의 생활 중 사회적이거나 종족적이지 않은 요소에 집중하며 관심을 환기하거나, 종족과 관련이 없는 나이나 음악성의 범주로 참여의 격차를 설명하려는 시도들이 있었다. 종족성에 대한 선험적인 지식, 혹은 예전의 종족적 차별을 경험한 기억을 활용하여 카마라타 뮤직 내부의 '종족의 선'을 상대적 경한 것으로 보려는 모습도 있었다. 극소수의 참여자들은 '종족의 선' 그 자체를 단체에 부여한 의미에 편입하면서 새로운 의미를 창출해내기도 했다.

본 연구는 일상적 다문화주의에 있어서 외견상으로는 부정적으로 보일 수 있는 행동적 실천들도 해석적 실천을 통해 긍정적으로 이해될 수 있는 가능성을 제시한다. 위와 같은 결과는 다문화 공간의 형성에 있어서 반복적인 행동적 실천이 필수적인 만큼, 해석적 실천은 다문화 공간에서 발생하는 균열을 봉합하기 위한 하나의 경로로서 다문화 공간의 유지에 필수적임을 암시한다.

주요어 : 해석, 종족의 선, 일상적 다문화주의, 다문화 공간, 실천
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