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Ph.D. Dissertation of Jiyon Shin

Immigrants' Reactive Civic
Engagement and Place Attachment
: Focused on the Korean-Chinese Community
in Daerim-dong, Seoul

이주민의 대응적 시민참여와 장소애착심
: 서울시 대림동의 중국동포 커뮤니티 사례를
중심으로

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Graduate School of Environmental Studies
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Urban and Regional Planning Major

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**Immigrants' Reactive Civic
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Abstract

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South Korea is rapidly becoming a multicultural society. The proportion of immigrants now reaches 4.9% of the population, of which the largest immigrant group is the Korean-Chinese immigrants (48.% of immigrants residing in Seoul) (Ministry of Justice, 2019). The Korean-Chinese have formed several ethnic places in Seoul and the metropolitan area, causing changes in society. However, some of these neighborhoods are becoming more isolated from their surroundings, posing a potential risk to society. Government policies for immigrants and ethnic places have developed over the last decade; however, changes should also come from within the ethnic place with its residents engaging. In this context, it is vital for the sustainable development of ethnic places to identify what factors cause residents to engage as citizens voluntarily.

Therefore, this study aims to expand our understanding of the process of civic engagement of the Korean-Chinese residents in an ethnic place by 1) analyzing various factors mediated by place attachment which affect the residents' civic engagement, and 2) verifying the effects of civic engagement in ethnic places. To meet these objectives, first, based on a survey on residents (130 immigrants and 130 native Koreans) of Daerim-dong, Seoul, conducted for this study, a structural equation model (SEM) was

applied to investigate how civic engagement is influenced by the level of place attachment, individual characteristics, and other factors. Next, to analyze immigrants' civic engagement process, a case study on the experiences of 15 immigrants participating in the "Foreigners' Voluntary Crime Prevention Patrol" to improve the ethnic place was conducted.

The SEM analysis showed that neighborhood satisfaction, social ties, and months in the neighborhood were both dominant determinants of civic engagement for both groups, indirectly and directly. While the degree of civic engagement and place attachment of natives were significantly higher than that of immigrants, natives' place attachment did not affect civic engagement at all, showing their civic engagement is dependent on their individual traits (length of stay in the neighborhood, neighborhood satisfaction, high income, social ties), rather than being affected by place. For immigrants, the only positive and significant factor directly affecting civic engagement was place attachment, demonstrating that their civic engagement is highly dependent on place attachment. It is difficult for immigrants to be attached, yet, they become engaged once they form place attachment. The findings were mostly consistent even after further analyzing civic engagement categorized into political and community activities. Notably, natives were more active in political activities than community activities, whereas immigrants showed the opposite trend: implying their different priorities for personal and institutional reasons.

The second part of the research identified causal conditions for place attachment and civic engagement for the Korean-Chinese immigrants. It further discovered how initially immigrants' place attachment and civic engagement in the ethnic place were primarily reactive to the discrimination they have faced in the host society; thus, conceptualizing this as "reactive civic engagement and place

attachment.” The four causal conditions were 1) personal characteristics, such as having a strong desire for volunteering and sense of obligation, and Chinese cultural influence regarding collective action; 2) being conscious of the status of the Korean-Chinese immigrant community in relation to Korean society due to direct or indirect experiences of discrimination that molded their immigrant identity – which is firmly grounded on their mindfulness of the necessity of harmonious coexistence and strong desire for recognition from society; 3) being well adapted to Korean society – including having the financial stability and time, having mutual interactions and cordial with natives, and having lived for a long period in Korea; 4) having a positive perception of the neighbors and the safety of the neighborhood, and perceiving the ethnic place as a symbolic place for the immigrant community. Once these four conditions were satisfied, they began to identify themselves with the ethnic place representing their culture and immigrant community (“reactive place attachment”). After becoming attached to the neighborhood, they became civically engaged (volunteered) to take care of the place. As a macro contextual condition, publicly expressed collective discrimination in the form of negative public opinion on immigrants and their ethnic place functioned as a catalyst that directly induced their “reactive civic engagement” behavior to recover their dignity. Although their civic engagement was first motivated by discrimination, as time passed, this civic engagement experience reaped multiple benefits that functioned as an intensive incentive for the immigrants to continue their active civic engagement.

Based on the results, the following policy recommendations are suggested. First, more policy efforts should encourage immigrants’ civic engagement, considering its positive chain reactions affecting different dimensions. Second, more endeavors should be made to enhance the immigrants’ place attachment by focusing on both the

built environment and social ties. Third, more support is necessary to strengthen social ties, such as cooperating with the immigrant network in ethnic places. Fourth, as a significant precondition to civic engagement, immigrants' adaptation, including residential stability, should be further supported. Fifth, immigrants' civic engagement in this study was close to the "social integration" model ideally suggested by Berry (1997) or the practical bicultural model (Schwartz et al., 2010; Doucerain, 2019) in that although the immigrants accepted that they were "different" and preserved their immigrant identity, they pursued harmonious coexistence with natives in the host society based on their strong desire to be recognized. Reflecting this, to create an inclusive society in which differences can be accepted while peaceful coexistence is possible, there needs to be more mutual educational opportunities to reduce discrimination and increase positive interactions between the two groups and more programs that officially recognize the endeavors of immigrants who contribute to the Korean society. Lastly, it is essential to involve natives when executing immigrant-support policies. Therefore, creating more neighborhood programs that involve both natives' and immigrants' participation to improve the same neighborhood can be conducive for enhanced mutual interactions and cooperation.

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| I. Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1 Research background and purpose | 1 |
| 1.2 Study area and population | 5 |
| 1.2.1 Study area | 5 |
| 1.2.2 Study population | 10 |
| 1.2.3 Significance of the study population and area | 15 |
| 1.3 Scope and methodology | 18 |
| | |
| II. Theory and Literature Review | 22 |
| 2.1 Conceptualizing reactive civic engagement and place attachment | 22 |
| 2.1.1 Conventional concepts | 22 |
| 2.1.2 Reactive place attachment and civic engagement | 28 |
| 2.2 Factors of place attachment and civic engagement | 37 |
| 2.2.1 Relational factors | 37 |
| 2.2.2 Personal factors | 39 |
| 2.3 Ethnic places and civic engagement | 44 |
| 2.3.1 Ethnic places, origins, and perspectives | 44 |
| 2.3.2 Ethnic places and the experiences of residents | 47 |
| 2.3.3 Ethnic places and (im)migrants related to civic engagement | 51 |
| 2.4 Differentiation from previous studies | 54 |
| | |
| III. Korean Policies on Immigrants and ethnic places | 58 |
| 3.1 Central government's policies | 58 |
| 3.2 Seoul Metropolitan Government's policies | 64 |
| 3.3 Policies for Korean-Chinese residing in Seoul | 69 |
| 3.4 Assessment of Korean policies | 73 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| IV. Civic Engagement Factors of Immigrants, Compared to Natives | 76 |
| 4.1 Hypothesis | 77 |
| 4.2 Data and methodology | 78 |
| 4.2.1 Survey and data | 78 |
| 4.2.2 Measurements | 80 |
| 4.2.3 Analysis methods | 85 |
| 4.3 Analysis of factors for civic engagement | 86 |
| 4.3.1 Descriptive statistics | 86 |
| 4.3.2 Scale measurement | 89 |
| 4.3.3 SEM results and discussion | 90 |
| 4.4 Analysis of factors for political and community activities | 98 |
| 4.4.1 SEM for political activities | 100 |
| 4.4.2 SEM for community activities | 103 |
| 4.4.3 Comparing political and community activities | 105 |
| 4.5 Concluding remarks | 107 |
| V. Immigrants' Place Attachment and Civic Engagement Process | 112 |
| 5.1 Chapter objectives | 112 |
| 5.2 Data and methodology | 113 |
| 5.2.1 Research design | 113 |
| 5.2.2 Participants | 115 |
| 5.2.3 Data collection | 118 |
| 5.2.4 Coding and paradigm model | 119 |
| 5.3 Analysis of immigrants' civic engagement | 120 |
| 5.3.1 Open coding and axial coding | 120 |
| 5.3.2 Process analysis and paradigm model | 144 |
| 5.4 Discussion on Place Attachment and Civic Engagement | 147 |
| 5.4.1 Universality of Korean-Chinese immigrants' civic engagement | |

| | |
|--|-----|
| in an ethnic place | 148 |
| 5.4.2 Specificity of Korean-Chinese immigrants' civic engagement in an ethnic place | 149 |
| 5.4.3 A virtuous cycle of Korean-Chinese immigrants' reactive place attachment and civic engagement | 151 |
| 5.5 Concluding remarks | 156 |
| | |
| VI. Conclusion | 161 |
| | |
| Bibliography | 170 |
| | |
| Abstract in Korean | 200 |

Tables

| | |
|---|-----|
| [3.1] Policy directions and action plans in the 3rd MP for Immigration Policy | 62 |
| [3.2] Policy directions and action plans in the 2nd MP of Seoul's Foreign Resident and Multicultural Family Policies | 67 |
| [3.3] South Korea's and SMG's immigrant policy action plans and projects related to civic engagement classified by the "continuum of civic engagement" adapted from Adler & Goggin (2005) | 72 |
| [4.1] Selected and unselected items of the questionnaire | 81 |
| [4.2] Descriptive statistics of individual characteristics | 87 |
| [4.3] Descriptive statistics of civic engagement | 88 |
| [4.4] Descriptive statistics of place attachment | 88 |
| [4.5] Confirmatory factor analysis for civic engagement and place attachment | 89 |
| [4.6] Total SEM results of the integrated model | 97 |
| [4.7] Mean differences between natives and immigrants regarding two types of civic engagement | 99 |
| [4.8] Chronbach's α of the two types of civic engagement | 100 |
| [4.9] SEM results for political activities | 102 |
| [4.10] SEM results for community activities | 104 |
| [5.1] Basic characteristics of study participants | 117 |
| [5.2] Open coding: extracting concepts and categories | 120 |

Figures

| | |
|--|-----|
| [1.1] Study area | 16 |
| [1.2] Daerim's main street | 17 |
| [1.3] Volunteers patrolling the neighborhood | 17 |
| [1.4] Research flow | 20 |
| [2.1] "The continuum of civic engagement" adapted from Adler & Goggin .. | 24 |
| [4.1] Research framework | 78 |
| [4.2] Integrated structural equation model | 91 |
| [4.3] SEM results of the integrated model | 97 |
| [4.4] SEM for political activities | 102 |
| [4.5] SEM for community activities | 104 |
| [4.6] Total SEM results of the "political activities" model · | 106 |
| [4.7] Total SEM results of the "community activities" model | 107 |
| [5.1] Paradigm model of the process of civic engagement of immigrants in an ethnic place | 147 |
| [Fig.5.2] The virtuous cycle of reactive place attachment and civic engagement of immigrants in an ethnic place | 156 |

1. Introduction

1.1 Research background and purpose

Globalization, accelerated with the development of IT and diverse modes of transportation since the 2000s, has increased the exchanges of various cultures and accessibility to an infinite pool of information and contributed to rapid and easy movements. Globally, the number of international migrants has risen rapidly from 175 million in 2000 to 258 million in 2017, of which 80 million live in Asia (UN, 2018).

South Korea, with its long history as an ethnically homogeneous population, is no exception. The number of immigrants living in South Korea is continuously on the rise due to the influence of several groundbreaking institutional changes in immigration laws for immigrant workers, and the opening of diplomatic relations with China since the 1990s. According to the 2019 Ministry of Justice statistics, the number of immigrants – including short-term visiting immigrants – now reaches 2.52 million, about 4.9% of the entire population. In addition, the rate of marriage immigrants decreased, and the ratio of professional workers increased, while long-term stays have been rising. These trends indicate this is not a temporary phenomenon: a social change that cannot be overlooked.

Many immigrants – especially low-income workers from developing countries – are disadvantaged in society, often facing discrimination despite their experience and skills, they lack communication skills and the social network compared to natives, and are excluded from various fields. The social segregation caused by exclusion leads to spatial segregation to find their own space free of the “exclusion” mechanism of the weak (Gidwani and Baviskar, 2011).

These ethnic places have been clustering around South Korea, especially in the metropolitan area and Seoul. This spatially separated ethnic place¹⁾ can serve multiple net functions, such as creating new landscapes in the city and vitalizing declining communities or local economies by introducing diverse cultural content (Trueman, Cook, and Cornelius, 2008). However, poorly managed, densely populated ethnic places are becoming isolated from their surroundings, stigmatized as dangerous or unkempt places where locals tend to avoid in the city.

The largest group of immigrants in Seoul, and more generally in Korea are Korean-Chinese, or Chosŏnjok, constituting 48.8% (219,130) of the entire immigrant residents' population in Seoul (SMG, 2019). Reflecting this composition, the most concentrated ethnic places also consist of Korean-Chinese immigrants. However, as will be explained later in this section, the Korean-Chinese are held in a negative light compared to other immigrants in Korea for various reasons, including the fact that their image is associated with low-income labor workers due to the backdrop of their immigration in the 1990s in which they were welcome to fill in the demand for small to medium-sized manufacturing businesses in South Korea especially after the normalization between China and South Korea (Choi, 2016). Several incidents of violent crime by Korean-Chinese also exacerbated this view of the entire ethnic group. Since the proportion and the total number of the Korean-Chinese is the largest out of all immigrant

1) This paper uses the term “ethnic place” for its relative neutrality, unlike “ethnic enclave” – which has negative connotations in that it is usually physically secluded, cut-off from society and formed mainly due to the “segregation, discrimination and exclusion of the host society” against immigrants (Bakri et al., 2014 : 342).

groups by far, the absolute number of their arrestments is also the highest in all of the immigrant groups (Choi and Jang, 2017). Some of these violent crimes also took place in ethnic places with a high concentration of Korean-Chinese. As a consequence, Koreans' perceptions of the hygiene and safety of ethnic places populated mainly by the Korean-Chinese have been negative. Natives in ethnic places with a concentration of low-income Korean-Chinese laborers perceived their immigrant neighbors as the reason behind the deterioration of the educational environment and the proliferation of crimes (Park, Kim, and Choi, 2012). The government's interest in immigrant dwellings (especially in ethnic places with a high concentration of Korean-Chinese) is also increasing, and immigrant support centers have been built around the city. Also, there are plans to introduce CPTED (crime prevention through environmental design) in 19 ethnic places across the country (Yonhap news, 2019).

However, government-led top-down management alone is limited in driving the community's long-term development due to limits in budget and human resources. A virtuous self-sustaining cycle can be created when the residents' interests and voluntary involvement in the neighborhood are present, leading to various community revitalization efforts such as the improvement of the area's image and basic safety. In fact, a grassroots approach to taking care of these ethnic places exists. For example, as in this research, there are neighborhood volunteering programs and patrol programs in Korean-Chinese-concentrated ethnic places, organized with the support of official organizations. There are also Korean-Chinese immigrant organizations that systematically carry out volunteer programs (Lee, 2014).

In this context, it is vital to discover what causes Korean-Chinese

immigrants in a relatively less developed ethnic place to be voluntarily involved in local efforts to improve and develop their neighborhood. Behavioral studies pinpoint place attachment – the bond people form with places that have a special meaning to them (Altman and Low, 1992) – as one of the fundamental factors that motivate people to civically engage (Lewicka, 2005; Manzo and Perkins, 2006; Palmer and Perkins, 2011; Wu et al., 2019). Place attachment of immigrants in ethnic places can be profound as their ethnic identity translates to their attachment to the ethnic place that symbolizes their culture and community (Chang, 2000; Fried, 2000). Especially in societies that are less inclusive, where immigrants feel like “aliens,” as a reaction to feeling different and isolated from society, immigrants’ collective identity can grow (Lee, 2014). As a result, such immigrant identity connected to the ethnic place can shape immigrants’ “reactive place attachment,” causing immigrants to express “reactive civic engagement” – a reaction to discrimination by taking care of their place whenever the place is garnering negative public attention from the host society. Other factors, such as social ties, homeownership, neighborhood satisfaction have also been identified to be important. Such factors may affect one another, eventually influencing one’s civic behavior.

However, there are not many studies that analyze the relationship between the factors which can produce a behavioral outcome. More importantly, these factors may not have the same effect on immigrants as immigrants have the additional challenge of adapting to society before showing signs of civic engagement. Nevertheless, studies examining the civic engagement of immigrants are not as prevalent as general studies on civic engagement, and research especially focusing on ethnic places is even rarer.

In this regard, the purpose of this study is to determine what factors – such as personal characteristics of Korean-Chinese immigrants and the degree of their attachment to their ethnic neighborhood – and through what process they influence voluntary civic actions for improving local areas in their ethnic places with a concentration of relatively low-to-middle-income Korean-Chinese immigrants. By identifying the factors that induce civic engagement in ethnic places, this research is expected to derive policy implications for urban planning solutions in ethnic places with a high concentration of Korean-Chinese immigrants.

1.2 Study area and population

1.2.1 Study area

This study takes Daerim-dong – the unofficial “Chinatown in Seoul” – as the study area, where the highest number (19,684) of registered immigrants in Seoul reside, mostly Korean-Chinese, or Chosŏnjok,²⁾ and where the district with the highest proportion of registered immigrants (Daerim 2-dong) as of the 1st quarter of 2019 is included. Daerim-dong consists of 3 sub-dongs (total size: 1.99km²), all of which independently record a much higher-than-average immigrant

2) The Korean-Chinese are one of the ethnic minorities in China, and are people who migrated from Korea in the past and settled in China. In particular, many Koreans settled in Manchuria, China under Japanese colonial rule, forming an autonomous district in China, and maintaining their own language and culture. They have migrated back to Korea after the establishment of diplomatic ties between Korea and China in 1992 to make up for the shortage of labor in Korea. Thus, the Korean-Chinese take up 48.8% (219,130) of the entire immigrant residents’ population in Seoul (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2019).

proportion (Daerim 1-dong 21.86%; 2-dong 42.25%; 3-dong 17.21%, Seoul Statistics, 2019), compared to Seoul's average 3.38%.

Unlike other traditional ethnic places elsewhere, such as Itaewon, Hannam-dong, Ichon-dong, Seorae village, and Yeonhee-dong, Daerim-dong is a relatively newly formed ethnic place (Park et al., 2009). Daerim-dong's rise as Chinatown is associated with the massive residential redevelopment project in nearby Garibong-dong in 2000. Garibong-dong, the industrial area located in the Southwestern region of Seoul, used to serve as the main original back-home of native factory workers who worked in the adjacent Guro Industrial Complex in the 1960s and 1970s, until the 1980s, when the major industrial complex relocated outside of Seoul, leaving Garibong-dong to become vacant and eventually deteriorate. However, in the 1990s, the rising demand for manual labor workers in small to medium-sized businesses in South Korea was met with a shortage of labor supply, necessitating the supply of workers from overseas (Lee and Kim, 2014). Furthermore, the normalization of relations between South Korea and China in 1992 spurred many Korean-Chinese to migrate to South Korea to join its labor force as they speak Korean well. Consequently, they quickly settled in Garibong-dong for its convenient location and abundant affordable housing, in spite of the substandard housing conditions (Kim, 2010). Nevertheless, a massive redevelopment plan in Garibong-dong in the 2000s caused its immigrant residents – who were mostly renters – and the continuous inflow of Korean-Chinese from overseas to spill over to its nearby area, Daerim-dong, as an alternative area of residence. Darim's proximity to Garibong-dong, low housing costs, convenient mass transit transfer options with the city circular subway line 2 and line 7, which connects the city of Seoul to its adjacent metropolitan

region cities – Bucheon, Incheon, and Gwangmyeong – made Daerim an attractive location (Yang, 2015; Lee and Lee, 2018). Since many Chinese and Korean-Chinese have settled around the Southwestern region of the Capital, including the city of Siheung, Ansan, and Suwon, Daerim became an easily accessible meeting place for the Chinese and Korean-Chinese as the subway line 7 had various transfer options for the outer city bus routes connected to the Gyeonggi region (Lee and Lee, 2018). Also, ethnic anchor facilities such as Daerim Central Market functioned as pull factors for Daerim to transform into an informal Chinatown.

On the other hand, Garibong-dong, with its working population continuing to drain out of the area, its residential environment has rapidly dilapidated. The area lacks basic infrastructure, such as public facilities, mainly because it includes and is bounded by industrial areas. Although it is still high in its number and proportion of immigrant residents (6,529 residents and 40.33% in proportion, Seoul Statistics, 2019), it has been considered a temporary place for immigrant laborers when they first enter the country (Park et al., 2009). Once they gain a certain level of stability in their lives, they tend to move to Daerim-dong and Jayang-dong.

In contrast to Garibong-dong, Daerim-dong includes educational facilities, a large-sized hospital, police station, ethnic market, and a ‘multicultural village’ center (a one-stop help center for immigrants’ daily living) operated by the Seoul Metropolitan Government. Even though both areas rank high in their number and proportion of Korean-Chinese immigrants, Daerim-dong is considered more stable with a comfortable residential environment where an immigrant wants to stay long – not considered a temporary place. Daerim includes diverse types of housing, ranging from low multi-family housing

(villas) to high apartments, and several connected commercial corridors (the central market) near Daerim subway station that visibly display Chinese culture through various shops and rows of restaurants decorated with Chinese signage and design. Many shops are owned by Korean-Chinese, Han Chinese, or naturalized Koreans, while there were no hurdles in opening a business due to their nationality; rather, there seemed to be obstacles for natives when entering Korean-Chinese-centered commercial facilities due to cultural differences (Lee and Kim, 2014: 11). Although there has been an increase of native visitors to Daerim, it is mostly limited to visiting restaurants and the place is primarily catered to the use of immigrants (Lee and Kim, 2014).

Daerim not only provides affordable housing, cultural products, and convenience for the Korean-Chinese, but also enables immigrants to share important information and job opportunities. While there are 20 major Korean-Chinese newspapers nationwide, five of the top newspaper publishers are in Daerim (Yang, 2015). There are travel and job agencies, and agencies that assist immigrants with obtaining visas and currency exchange places as well. The area has become increasingly popular among Chinese migrants (including non-Korean-Chinese, or Han Chinese³⁾) and Chinese real estate investors, especially after the 2010s (Lee and Lee, 2018).

Daerim also serves as a “portal” connecting Seoul and Yeonbyeon in China – where the Korean-Chinese immigrated from (Suh, 2012). Suh (2012) explains how Daerim imports the Chinese and Korean-Chinese culture into South Korea while simultaneously exporting South Korea’s culture back to Yeonbyeon, China; thus, serving as a significant portal for inter-cultural exchanges between

3) The Han Chinese are the majority ethnic group in China.

two cultures. Suh (2012) depicts how the Korean-Chinese in Daerim were eager to accept Korean culture and language to become more assimilated that they were active in receiving free Korean language and cultural education provided by public or religious institutes. This is in line with the perspective that ethnic places serve as “translocalities,” with transnational migrants moving as agents from one local to another local area with different cultural backgrounds, information, and goods (Smith, 2001).

With various functions the place offers, Daerim has been increasingly used as a gathering place to carry out collective activities. There are over 20 Korean-Chinese associations centering their activities in Daerim, such as Deoburo Dongpo Association (Together Dongpo), Yeongdeungpo Merchant Association, several volunteer associations, Dumangang Art Association, Korea China Future Foundation, Korean-Chinese Voter Association, Korean-Chinese in Korea Women Leaders Club, and Daerim Shi-naet-gil Seniors Association – which even receives Yeongdeungpo-gu district office’s financial support (Yang, 2015: 243). These associations share the purpose of extending the Korean-Chinese network and exert influence in society while assisting the Korean-Chinese immigrants’ adaptation through various means. The fact that Daerim is the meeting place for the Korean-Chinese community makes it much easier for them to gather and make a unified voice for specific purposes. As a result of these associations and public gatherings, they can become more involved and recognized in the host society, whether it is through the medium of art and culture, commerce, voting, volunteering, or hosting events. Demonstrations against distorted depictions of the Korean-Chinese and about Daerim in the movie “Midnight Runners

(Cheong-nyeon-gyeong-chal)” (2017) was held in the main commercial corridors of Daerim central market with hundreds of supporters. Official requests to withdraw the movie from theaters were made in the Daerim-2 dong public community center with 40 representatives of Korean-Chinese associations – although the request was denied. Furthermore, various elections and voting-related Korean-Chinese associations raise public awareness campaigns regarding their voting rights (for those who are naturalized citizens or those with permanent residency status over three years), especially in Yeongdeungpo-gu – the district that includes Daerim – and nearby Guro district (Im, 2014) as those areas have the highest concentration of Korean-Chinese.

In sum, Daerim has been developing into a unique ethnic place providing affordable housing and diverse cultural services with considerable business and network opportunities, a platform for civic engagement, and has been gaining cultural and political significance for the Korean-Chinese immigrants, going beyond simply providing convenience and a place to stay. This study, therefore, takes this distinctive area as a case study on an ethnic place that carries a special meaning to its immigrant residents and visitors.

1.2.2 Study population

The immigrants residing in the study area, Daerim, are mostly Chosŏnjok, Korean-Chinese. They are ethnic Korean who migrated to China and settled in the Jiando region (Gando, 간도). They are named after Chosŏn, Korea’s last dynasty that existed from 1392 to 1897. Although when the Chosŏnjok first migrated to China is contested as some researchers argue their migration began from early 16th century (mid-Chosŏn), while some state it began from mid 19th century (late

Chosŏn) (Han and Kwon, 1993; Gwak, 2013). However, their migration to China considerably accelerated during the Japanese colonial rule up to 1945, due to food and resource scarcity and oppression by the Japanese colonial government (Shin, 2021). Some were even forced to relocate to China by the Japanese government to secure military provisions. Immediately after independence in 1945, nearly half of the population returned to Korea (both South and North), yet approximately 1.11 million had stayed (Gwak, 2013: 72). Until 1992 when China and South Korea normalized their relations, they could not visit South Korea, while they could relatively easily cross borders to North Korea. Although they have created their villages and endeavored to maintain their Korean ethnic culture and roots in China (Chung, 2005), they have been influenced by the Chinese government and culture over time. Their national identity has also been shifting while living as an officially recognized ethnic minority with a designated living district in China (Han and Kwon, 1993: 100).

Since the normalization between South Korea and China, many have migrated to South Korea for job opportunities, especially filling in the demand for manufacturing jobs in small to medium-sized factories (Suh, 2012; Shin, 2021). Nevertheless, they endured a quasi-illegal status due to a lack of proper institutions supporting their work visas. As a result, they were not protected with fundamental worker's rights and suffered from inhumane working conditions (Lee, 2014). After several institutional endeavors and the revision of the Act on the Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Koreans in 2004, they were acknowledged as overseas Koreans ("dongpo"), gradually elevating their status into a legal one. Especially after the Korean government created the H-2 visa in 2007,

which allowed overseas Koreans (including Chosŏnjok immigrants) to legally visit and work in South Korea freely, the number of Chosŏnjok immigrants exponentially increased (Shin, 2021: 9).

South Koreans first welcomed the influx due to their shared ethnicity and heritage; however, both immigrants and South Koreans were mutually disappointed with each other. Immigrants faced discrimination, poor working conditions, and human rights violations. At the same time, native Koreans realized the Korean-Chinese could not communicate well in contemporary Korean language and lacked specific skills necessary for work (Shin, 2021: 17). They often failed to observe social norms expected in Korean society (such as not littering and recycling properly) and shared few cultural similarities they can relate to (Yang, 2015). Native Koreans were also disappointed to find that many Korean-Chinese do not identify themselves as Koreans, but as Chinese, or as Korean-Chinese.⁴⁾

4) Native Koreans also show a far psychological distance from the Chinese (Statistics Korea, 2019) due to Korea's long history of existing as one of the small power nations that used to pay tribute to China for peaceful diplomatic relations. Amidst the tributary system, there were frequent instances of political interferences made by China, and the relations were often tense and hostile until Choson had to unite with other powers, including China, against the Japanese occupation. In modern history, Communist China sent their troops, including their Korean-Chinese citizens, to fight against South Koreans in the Korean War. Currently, the Chinese government has been pursuing its Northeast Asian Project (동북아 공정), which is a project that attempts to include one of Korea's three ancient kingdoms which bordered around the Northeastern region of the Korean peninsula, Goguryeo, as part of its history to unite its ethnic minorities and gain influence in the Northeastern region (Won, 2009). These international relations and history subconsciously continue to shape and influence the collective memories of individuals living in

Furthermore, incidents of violent crime by some Korean-Chinese – including the ones committed in Daerim – garnered much attention from the media, fueling the natives’ fear and detestation. Also, many Korean-Chinese came to work as low-income daily laborers, that their negative image held by native Koreans was compounded by their low economic status (Choi, 2016: 127).

Consequently, native Koreans are increasingly viewing them as a threat and nuisance to Korean society while the number of Korean-Chinese has been growing (Im, 2012). Among other immigrant groups in Korea, Korean-Chinese has ranked as the one with the farthest psychological distance (Statistics Korea, 2019). This negative view affects the natives’ actions, resulting in discrimination and exclusion, further worsening the relations between the two groups. Even when living in the same ethnic place, both groups tend to avoid contact or show no interest in each other (Lee and Lee, 2018). Multiple research depicts how natives view Chinese and Korean-Chinese negatively, whether they live in ethnic places (Korean Statistics, 2019) or not (Joongang Daily, 2015).⁵⁾

As a response, grassroots Korean-Chinese organizations have been evolving on their own since the 2000s. Ever since the influx of the Korean-Chinese since the 1980s and its acceleration in the 1990s

contemporary times. Especially when inter-governmental relations worsen, hyper-nationalism is fueled, and individuals are reminded of the past, affecting the way they see other nationalities.

5) In a study led by Statistics Korea (2019), native Koreans felt more distant from Chinese and Korean-Chinese immigrants, amongst other immigrants from other countries, while a survey by Korea Research International (Joongang Daily, 2015) showed how 60% of native Koreans in their 20s and 30s viewed Korean-Chinese in a negative light.

because of the changes in the Overseas Korean Act (재외동포법), many began their lives in Korea as labor workers. However, as their number grew and some of their socio-economic statuses elevated gradually over time, they began to gather for certain economic, social, or political causes. The type of Korean-Chinese also diversified with the influx of young Korean-Chinese students that came to Korea to study, especially in the 2000s, while more labor and service workers came in with the H-2 visa system introduced in 2007 (Kang et al., 2018). Initially, they gathered for social reasons based on educational and regional ties originating from their mother country while expanding their social network through sports, culture, and volunteering work (Lee, 2018).

Kang et al. (2018) classified the formational process of these associations into four phases and elucidated that before the enactment of the Overseas Korean Act in 1999, protecting basic human rights for labor workers centered on getting proper payment at work and protecting international marriage immigrants from violence were the purpose. However, over time, after some milestone events such as the H-2 visa introduction and the nation-wide “Midnight Runners” movie opposition campaign in 2017, Korean-Chinese associations began to widen their scope and included more political activities, raising voting awareness in local elections in 2010. They expanded their network through various hobby-based activities, and even unified diverse relevant Korean-Chinese associations under central Korean-Chinese organizations to be more influential in society (Kang et al., 2018). Still, many organizations are focused on socializing and volunteering work.

However, Lee (2018) explains how many Korean-Chinese associations struggled for a decade to gain a certain social status as

a unified association because even among the Korean-Chinese community, there were stark differences in their strategies and goal in the host society. Some wanted to become more assimilated; some considered themselves Koreans because they have naturalized, while some chose to be indifferent; some wanted to maintain their Chinese identity. However, when anti-Chinese sentiments in Korea inflamed due to the worsening in the two countries' diplomatic relations and distorted depictions in the media about Korean-Chinese scarred their immigrant identity as Korean-Chinese, they collectively gathered to show their disappointment and resentment. This showed their capacity and potential to be of considerable socio-political influence making their voice heard.

1.2.3 Significance of the study population and area

All in all, the Korean-Chinese immigrants in this research are distinctive in that they have a sizable and growing "territory" in the capital city where they can be attached, and they share the same ethnicity and use the same language with native Koreans with a similar cultural background. They trump all other immigrant groups in Korea with their sheer number and growth rate. As their number increases, there would be more interactions and also conflicts between natives. They are increasingly visible and also empowered in society as they throng together.

Therefore, at this juncture point when social tension has been escalating between native Koreans and immigrants, especially Korean-Chinese and Chinese as they exceed other immigrants both in number and growth rate, have a sizable physical place of their own with the highest concentration of their immigrant community, this study with a focus on Daerim-dong – a densely populated area by

Korean-Chinese – is expected to serve as highly relevant research, shedding light on how Korean-Chinese immigrant residents can become civically engaged in improving the quality of the ethnic place and thereby harmoniously coexist with natives. They cannot universally represent all immigrants’ civic engagement and place attachment, yet they can show how a particular immigrant group that becomes large in number and empowered in society can integrate through their ethnic place as a medium and become civically engaged in the face of society’s discrimination.

<Figure 1.1> Study area



[Source: adopted by the author from Naver map]

<Figure 1.2> Photo of Daerim's main street with shops with Chinese and Korean characters on their signboards (left). Many shops do not have any Korean on their storefronts (right).



[Source: photos taken by the author]

<Figure 1.3> Volunteers patrolling the ethnic neighborhood



[Source: photo taken by the author]

1.3 Scope and methodology

This research takes a two-step research approach. The first part consists of quantitative research applying a structural equation model to compare the two groups (130 immigrants and 130 natives) in Daerim-dong based on survey results conducted independently in 2019 through September and October. The population the survey reflected were those above 20 years of age registered as residents in Daerim 1 to 3 dong as of June 2019 (Seoul Metropolitan Government registered resident population 2nd quarter of 2019). In total, there are 60,579 residents in Daerim above the age of 20, while 44,143 are native Koreans and 16,436 are immigrants. Quota sampling that reflected the ratio of gender and age cohorts in each group was applied to reflect the population. Participants were at least 20 years of age, who resided in Daerim for a minimum of three months. Daerim contains three administrative dongs, so this study considered the spatial distribution when collecting samples. Each dong's residential and commercial corridors were identified for its high concentration of users or for its representative characteristic of the neighborhood, such as where low-rise villas or high-rise apartment complexes are highly concentrated. Therefore, near the Daerim station area, within representative residential areas concentrated with low-rises or apartment complexes, Daerim central market corridors, neighborhood parks, and public centers were identified as central points for sampling. Also, the surveyors collected samples throughout the entire three weeks in October 2019 – which included several holidays, at various hours (10 am to 8 pm) and days, to access a diverse population reflecting the distributional flow depending on time and days.

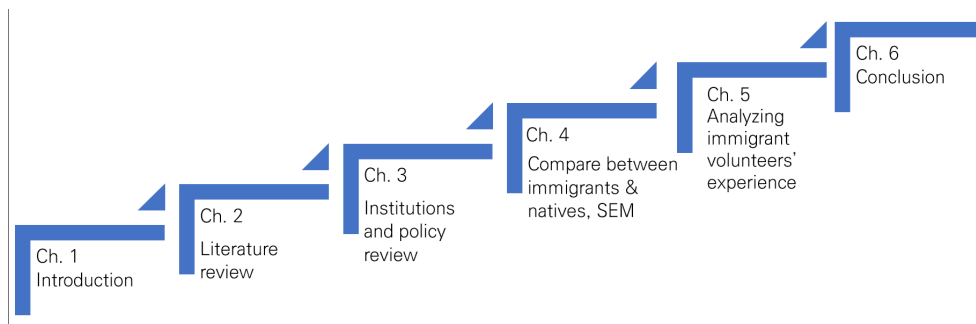
The second part incorporates a qualitative approach to understand

further why some immigrants volunteer in ethnic places. According to previous studies, immigrants generally show weaker levels of civic engagement compared to natives. Therefore, it is relevant to find what motivates some immigrants to improve the neighborhood voluntarily. By analyzing how and why they became involved, their experience of volunteering for the neighborhood, this research can shed light on the factors that motivate civic engagement in a group that is usually less civically engaged. Therefore, this research employed a reputational case selection method to select samples that can help achieve the qualitative research goal. Reputational sampling involves selecting interviewees from large clusters of the population with similar characteristics to represent the group, such as experts with a long history of working in a particular field or those who have shared similar experiences in a specific group. Similar research by Kim (2018) also adopted this sampling method to study the experiences of married immigrants involved in local community activities. For data collection, from October to November in 2019,⁶⁾ this researcher conducted field trips for observation 25 times; interviewed 15 immigrants who volunteer in Daerim-dong in a civilian crime preventive patrol program in partnership with the Korean National Police Agency 7 times (including two focus group interviews); and engaged in participatory field surveys accompanying the volunteers when patrolling the area 14 times.

The content of this research is in the following order. Chapter 2 provides the literature review that provides a basis for the overall research applying two methods. Chapter 3 reviews the immigrant policies and institutions related to civic engagement in South Korea.

6) This study has been approved by the Institutional Review Board of Seoul National University in September 2019.

Chapter 4 explains the analytical framework, findings, and discussions on the quantitative research. Then, Chapter 5 elaborates on the qualitative research on immigrant volunteers' experiences, followed by Chapter 6 Conclusion.



< Figure 1.4 > Research flow

2. Theory and literature review

2.1 Conceptualizing reactive civic engagement and place attachment

2.1.1 Conventional Concepts

Civic engagement

Civic engagement⁷⁾ is a term that encompasses a broad range of activities that results in benefitting the community's interests. Putnam (2000), while not explicitly defining what the term indicates, considered a comprehensive range of activities that can be measured as indices of civic engagement, including but not limited to political participation – mainly voting, participation in local community associations, religious participation, and altruistic activities such as donating and volunteering, while primarily referring to altruistic activities as an indispensable index to measure social capital as it requires strong social ties to be realized (Putnam, 2000: 117).

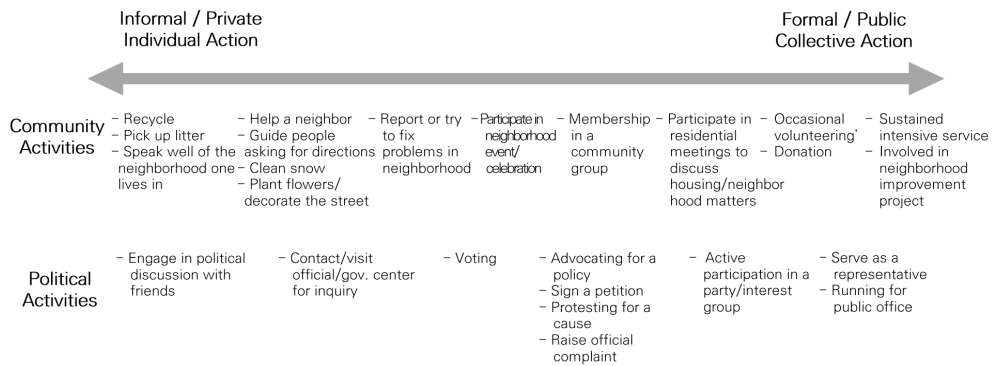
Adler and Goggin (2005) conclude that it is a term not everyone agrees with as it entails a broad spectrum of individual and collective activities; the commonality lies in that it is an activity to serve the interest of the greater community. This concept of civic engagement is closely related to Putnam's (1993) social capital in that it enhances the overall society's efficiency and productivity, functioning as a "public good (p. 4)." Studies on civic engagement include a wide scope of behavior, from political participation, environmental behavior – picking up litter and recycling (Vaske and Kobrin, 2001; Song and Soopramanien, 2019), helping neighbors, expressing the intention to

7) Civic engagement can be expressed as civic responsibility, civic behavior, civic action, while "civic" can be substituted by "citizen."

stay long in one place (Sheng, Gu, and Wu, 2019), to beautifying one's front yard or growing a garden (Galster and Hesser, 1988; DiPasquale and Glaeser, 1999).

For the convenience of research on civic engagement, Adler and Goggin (2005) created a framework ("Continuum of Civic Engagement," Figure 2.1) categorizing civic engagement by three considerable measures: 1) purpose (whether it is political or community-oriented), 2) company/formality (whether it is done individually/privately/informally or collectively/formally, and 3) the intensity of commitment. Adapting this framework enables categorizing political participation, local community participation, and volunteering to more day-to-day matters, such as recycling, reporting problems, and helping neighbors into varying activities on a broad spectrum of civic engagement. For example, "helping a neighbor" would be considered a community activity privately done by an individual, while providing "sustained intensive service" as volunteering for the community would be a community activity and a formal collective action. Similarly, participating in a neighborhood event would be considered a community activity done individually or collectively and informally; "voting" or serving as a representative would be a political activity near public and formal action. This framework illustrates the wide range of civic engagement in various forms.

<Figure 2.1> “The continuum of civic engagement” adapted from Adler & Goggin (2005)



As reviewed, individual or collective actions of civic engagement, regardless of size, advances society’s efficiency and quality. In the societal dimension, civic engagement, such as civic participation, functions as an educational opportunity that helps to accumulate knowledge of how to participate and support the process of decision-making that furthers the quality of democracy (Michels, 2011). Also, in the individual dimension, civic engagement, such as local volunteering, elevates one’s self-respect and self-efficacy and expands one’s social network resulting in a sense of community and belonging to society (Kim, 2018). Other effects of civic engagement include strengthening individual capability, realizing altruistic values (Clary et al., 1996), and reinforcing attachment to one’s community and place (Toomey et al., 2020).

The benefits of civic engagement also extend to immigrants in both the host society and the immigrants themselves. As immigrants follow the rules and orders of the host society from picking up litter and recycling and going beyond, such as volunteering for the community, conflicts between natives and immigrants are more likely to recede. Also, natives – the “dominant group” in the mainstream society – who witness such activities and benefit directly from the immigrants’ positive involvement in the community are more likely to

view immigrants more favorably (Park, Kim, and Choi, 2012). These positive interactions and corrected views of one another can help resolve negative issues or prejudices. In turn, when accumulated, these efforts and changing prejudices of one another can contribute to mutual respect and a favorable social integration – a social model close to Berry’s (1997) ideal type of acculturation strategy. As for discussing the necessity of social integration, one of the persuasive arguments by Ra et al. (2016) is that the failure of it can be devastating to society – spanning from blighted ethnic places, rising crime, hate-based social conflicts rupturing into full-blown riots or acts of terrorism from both sides as the world has witnessed over the last decades particularly in the West. Ra et al. (2016) specifically pointed out how the failure of social integration negatively affects the 2nd generation immigrants that the social conflicts may worsen, such as the case of the teenager riots in Banlieues, France.⁸⁾ Therefore, inducing more civic engagement of immigrants can be one of the main keys to a stable multicultural society.

However, depending on the community and the environment, one can be more or less engaged civically. Individuals, depending on their nativity, can be more engaged in community activities than political activities. Studies show how immigrants show lower levels of civic engagement in general (Song and Soopramanien, 2019), and especially so in political activities when compared to community activities (Lee, 2014). On the other hand, some studies reveal how natives in ethnic

8) The riot began after three 2nd generation immigrant teenagers that were playing football were electrocuted (two of them died) while hiding in an electrical substation to avoid police harrassment. The incident ignited furious riots around France, resulting in three deaths, 126 police and firefighters injured, nearly 9,000 vehicles and several schools burnt, while the president declared a state of emergency in France.

places have low satisfaction and place attachment regarding their neighborhood which negatively influences their community participation (Van Marissing, Bolt, and Van Kempen, 2006). In the perspective that having a wide spectrum of civic engagement keeps a society vibrant, it would be ideal if both types of activities are carried out frequently, in various forms. Therefore, identifying which areas of civic engagement are low and the reasons behind it can be a helpful task for policymakers and the community for the purpose of providing solutions in those areas.

Place attachment

One of the major factors motivating residents to civically engage is place attachment. Place attachment is the bond people form with a place that is meaningful to them (Altman and Low, 1992). One can develop place attachment to a park (Williams and Vaske, 2003), natural setting, house, second house, neighborhood, city, country, and even a grander scale, such as a country and even the earth (Devine-Wright et al., 2015).

The fundamental notion is that once one becomes attached to a place, that they are more likely to take care of the place and show positive civic behavior. In some earlier studies on place attachment, such as by Shamai (1991), behavioral change was part of the scales to measure place attachment (sense of place). It included seven levels ranging from not having any sense of place, place recognition, belonging to a place (feeling togetherness), emotional attachment, identification with place, commitment and involvement in a place, and lastly, sacrifice for a place. It is noteworthy to find the latter two levels are part of the measurement. The underlying assumption is that powerful place attachment, when at its strongest, is eventually

expressed through action.⁹⁾

Place attachment can contain multiple constructs such as place affection, place identity, and place dependence.¹⁰⁾ Place affection is one's positive emotional attachment to a place with a sense of affection (Kals and Maes, 2002). This dimension is critical as place attachment, in order to translate into positive behavior, one should accumulate positive memories of the place and grow affection (e.g., Have an affinity for X, or in plain words, such as, I "love" or "like" the place (Kals and Maes, 2002; Boğaç, 2009). Some other constructs may include "feeling proud about X" (Brown et al., 2004; Lewicka, 2005), or that one will miss the place if they leave (Lewicka, 2005)

Place identity refers to one's cognitive attachment to a place as one identifies with and connects oneself to a place (Proshansky, 1978). Some studies even indicate that in spite of the general literature that shows how place identity is usually built over time, some research tells place identity can grow even without specific experiences in a place as people may identify with the place for what it stands for (Altman and Low, 1992). Williams and Vaske (2003) endeavored to generalize the measures for place identity across multiple natural places, resulting in some of the following items: "I feel X is a part of me," "I identify strongly with X," "X is special to me," and "X means a lot to me."

Place dependence is one's instrumental attachment to a meaningful place for its functions to the point that one becomes dependent on the place, while other alternative places pale in comparison (Stokols

9) Further studies showing the relationship between civic engagement and place attachment will be reviewed later in section 2.2 which lists all the major factors of civic engagement.

10) Some constructs may imply two different dimensions altogether such as "This place feels like home" (Zenker and Rütter, 2014).

and Shumaker, 1981). Some representative measures echoed throughout multiple studies are as follows: “X is the best place for what I like to do” or “no other place compares to this place” (Williams and Vaske, 2003; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006).

2.1.2 Reactive place attachment and civic engagement

The aforementioned concepts regarding civic engagement and place attachment are generally applied to people regardless of their nativity. However, civic engagement and place attachment of immigrants, in particular, can be vastly different from that of natives, who were born and raised in their familiar socio-cultural environment.

Immigrants’ place attachment

Upon immigration, immigrants originating from different cultural backgrounds undergo the process of acculturation¹¹⁾ (Berry, 1997). Immigrants mutually interact between their mother country’s political, economic, and cultural characteristics and the host society’s inclusivity and social support system. They experience positive or

11) While referring to acculturation as the “processes and outcomes of intercultural contact,” Berry (1997: 8) categorizes the four strategies by the willingness to preserve one’s mother culture and the willingness to maintain a cordial relationship with the host society. The assimilation strategy is when the immigrant wishes not to preserve his or her culture and seek to interact with the dominant culture; the integration strategy is when the immigrant preserves his or her cultural identity while maintaining a good relationship with the dominant culture; separation is when the immigrant preserves his/her cultural identity while separating itself from daily interactions with the dominant culture, and; marginalization is when the immigrant does not maintain his or her cultural identity nor have any interactions with the dominant culture – mainly due to discrimination and exclusion in the host society.

negative acculturation while perceiving the meaning of their experiences either as a stress factor or an opportunity. Depending on how they cope with the stress from their experiences, they either successfully or poorly adapt to their new environment (Berry, 1997). Their psychological process of adaptation not only relies on their individual characteristic (the higher the likelihood of successfully adapting if one has received higher education, is a male, or younger) but also the host society's inclusive socio-political environment and the cultural distance between the host society and the immigrant's country of origin.

Immigrants discontinue their bond with their place of origin to resettle in a new country with an unfamiliar environment with little to no close social ties. This life-changing event of (im)migration can indeed be traumatic for the individuals (Gold, 1992). Immigrants may feel nostalgic, isolated, remorseful, and helpless (Brown and Perkins, 1992; Fried, 2000; Sampson and Gifford, 2010). This is because their emotional and affective bond – or place attachment (Altman and Low, 1992), with their point of origin has been discontinued, resulting in a feeling of loss.

Therefore, forming place attachment and creating one's "own narratives of identities" in a new society is an ordeal for (im)migrants in that their entire life world is expected to be reset in an unfamiliar setting set by others (Du, Li, and Hao, 2016: 3199). Efforts of coping may not be fruitful or worthy for their limited time out of work that they might give up and stay aloof and ungrounded. In a study by Boğaç (2009), Turkish-Cypriot refugees relocated in Cyprus demonstrated that both the old and younger generation were mostly not attached to their new environment (in comparison, the older were even less attached than the younger generation), while the

majority of both of the age groups were unable to think of planning for their future regarding their homes and town, nor of remaining in the place. Reflecting this, many place attachment studies report in comparative studies of (im)migrants and natives that the level of place attachment of immigrants is lower than that of natives (Hernández et al., 2007; Lewicka, 2011; Anton and Lawrence, 2014; Wu et al., 2019).

Immigrants' reactive place attachment and civic engagement

Once immigrants set their foot in the host society, they realize they are different from natives – even if they share the same ethnicity such as the Korean-Chinese sharing the ethnic lineage with native Koreans. While Berry (1997) categorized the four strategies of acculturation, he considered the “integration” strategy as the most successful option, in which the immigrant wishes to preserve his or her mother culture while maintaining a favorable relationship with the host society. This integration model works if 1) the host society and the immigrant group are mutually accommodating, 2) the host society is inclusive – accepting of cultural diversity, and 3) both parties have a sense of attachment to the dominant society (Berry, 1997). In reality, studies have shown that immigrants that chose the integration strategy over other strategies have a greater sense of satisfaction with their lives and better mental health (Berry and Hou, 2017). The next, least “problem-imposing” strategy introduced by Berry (1997) is “assimilation” which is when the immigrant wishes not to preserve his or her culture and seek to blend in with the dominant culture. However, assimilation is also delicate, because if immigrants are forced to assimilate in the host society due to lack of an inclusive culture and discrimination, they may decide to isolate themselves

from society, resulting in separation or marginalization – the two least favorable options (Berry, 1997).

However, Berry's theory on immigrants' acculturation strategy has been criticized for simplifying a complicated process, and some alternative theories have been suggested. Schwartz et al. (2010) pointed out that Berry's model does not reflect the complexities of the real world in which diverse kinds of migrants ranging from voluntarily migrated migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, and sojourners of different generations and of varying stages in lives may each have distinctive experiences. Schwartz et al. (2010) further suggest that the acculturation process should consider these three major categories when measuring the degree of integration: practice (e.g., religious practice, cooking a cultural dish, listening to traditional music), value (e.g., individual or collective values, etc.), and identity (e.g., identify with mother country or host country). An immigrant who is well integrated into the host society may show robust traits of the three components and be "bicultural" while keeping the cultural components (practice, value, identity) of the two cultures separate or "biculturally blend" the two cultures together (Schwartz et al., 2010). Schwartz et al. (2010) also explained how the host society's "context of reception" of the immigrant could affect the immigrant's acculturation process. This "context of reception" is composed of the degree of discrimination in the host society and the local immigrant community's support system.

Other studies criticized that Berry's (1997) model lacked the cognitive process of an individual immigrant that weighs the pros and cons before acting on his or her mother culture's beliefs vs. the host society's norm or culture. Weinreich (2009) argued that "enculturation" should be the term in use instead of acculturation. "Enculturation" is

when the “situationalist” immigrant selectively absorbs some parts of his or her heritage while also accepting some elements from the host society’s culture. The immigrant can choose to accept and exercise either culture depending on the situation. Doucerain (2019) explains how Berry’s theory was deficient in the internal cognitive process of immigrants in which they make a bicultural assessment of the cost and benefits of a particular action before acting on it. This assessment results in an immigrant’s action that leans more towards either culture. Both of these internal decision-making processes based on individual evaluations of both cultures are affected by the host society’s culture in that the cost of not abiding by the host society’s cultural norm would depend on the host society’s inclusivity.

While these theories request a cautionary approach to apply Berry’s acculturation theory in real life and contribute more to what seems to be missing, Berry’s acculturation theory still remains relevant to help understand the process of what an immigrant undergoes upon his or her migration. The critiques of Berry eventually build on Berry’s social integration strategy as it implies accepting both cultures to varying degrees and in different forms. Furthermore, while Berry’s four types of acculturation are primarily influenced by the host society’s cultural acceptance of immigrants – whether immigrants are discriminated or not, these theories share a similar vein in that discrimination in the host society eventually takes on a significant role in determining or affecting an immigrant’s acculturation process. This is because with limited resources in society (jobs and business opportunities, space, housing, potential partner, government expenditure on society’s welfare, etc.), having immigrants join further intensifies the competition – or the perception that immigrants may fuel such a change – triggers natives to become defensive and

induces prejudice and discriminatory behavior against “the others” (Blalock, 1965; Quillian, 1995; Ramsay and Pang, 2017). Therefore, discrimination against immigrants in various forms and degrees in the host society almost becomes an ethically unwanted yet inevitably manifested phenomenon.

Nevertheless, on the receiving end, discrimination can result in the immigrants’ despair and hopelessness that can lead to more negative outcomes than living isolated lives in the form of separation or marginalization, such as expressing criminal behavior and violent outbursts (Yang, 2015). Studies on Korean–Chinese immigrants in Korea show how repeated experiences of discrimination in their daily lives influenced their potential and actual frequency of committing violence and crime (Kim, 2015). On the other hand, some immigrants strive to work harder and act as model citizens to prove that even as immigrants, they can serve for society and be recognized (Lee, 2018: 162–163).

Experiences of discrimination also form a distinctive immigrant identity. Portes and Rumbaut (2001: 148) has defined this process as “reactive ethnicity” in which immigrants facing discrimination identifies strongly with their cultural heritage, even resisting the acceptance of the host society’s culture, at times in a hostile manner. This reactive ethnicity can be triggered even when indirect discrimination against their ethnic community and its members is carried out. In a study on Muslims in the United States, Herda (2018) showed how not only the direct experience of discrimination but also the fear of being discriminated for one’s ethnicity or culture, or “anticipated discrimination,” alone can produce the same results of “reactive ethnicity,” in which the immigrant does not identify with the host society but further solidifies his or her ethnic identity. This

“reactive ethnicity” can form among the next generation of immigrants who were born and raised in the host society. Çelik (2015) showed how perceived discrimination, a kind of indirect discrimination, formed a strong reactive ethnic identity among Turkish students in Germany who were disappointed and disgruntled with the dominant culture that looks down on Turkish culture as inferior.

This individual ethnic identity can morph into a collective identity as an immigrant individual is perceived as part of a distinctive group of outcasts in society. Even when an immigrant began his or her journey as an individual landing in a new society, when the host society is not inclusive and continues to discriminate the individual as an “alien” with prejudice based on limited and generalized knowledge of the immigrants’ group, this can shape an immigrants’ collective identity. Yang (2015: 245) showed how discrimination compelled even the former Korean-Chinese who have naturalized to lean more towards their “Korean-Chinese identity,” rather than their “Korean” identity. Their newly formed identity was not the same as the one they had in their mother country, as in point of origin – China, but it morphed into a collective “immigrant” Korean-Chinese identity (Lee, 2014: 166).

As a reaction to discrimination and instability of living as an “alien,” they may also wish to create or live in a place of their own, where they are free from discrimination and “feel safe” (Shin, 2021: 25). This ethnic place can be a secluded place based on separation or can be an open ethnic place based on Berry’s integration strategy (1997), in which natives and immigrants both interact amicably. Nevertheless, once an ethnic place is formed, regardless of its origin of formation – whether it is a product of discrimination or a product

of affordable convenience, immigrants' bond with the place can become deep.

The ethnic place, or neighborhood, may reflect their ethnic identity and community that they identify the place as part of their community. While they eat, visit, live, work, socialize, and easily find daily solutions in their lives in the ethnic place with a familiar cultural environment in an unfamiliar society, the ethnic place provides physical and psychological comfort; they increasingly depend on it and identify themselves with the place (Mazumdar et al., 2000). As they lean on the place for comfort, something that the host society fails to offer, the place takes on a special meaning to immigrants (Chang, 2000; Fried, 2000). Therefore, their place attachment to the ethnic place has a reactive nature originating from their difficulties of settlement due to some level of discrimination in the host society. Therefore, their place attachment can be termed as "reactive place attachment."

This specially-formed immigrants' "reactive place attachment" can become a significant source for taking care of the ethnic place – a type of civic engagement. Estrella and Kelley (2017) demonstrate that personal experience intertwined and reinforced by the culturally and historically rich ethnic environment developed place attachment among Puerto Rican teenagers. Consequently, their place attachment translated into their desire to protect and take care of the community's environment and culture. Although the study did not cover the issue of discrimination, the community youth center, which the study subjects were affiliated with, was founded based on the mission to fight discrimination and assist newly arrived Puerto Ricans in Chicago in 1972 – implying that discrimination in society necessitated such an organization in an ethnic place to protect its

ethnic community and foster ties with the host society by supporting civic engagement.

Immigrants' civic engagement can also be a direct reaction to society's discrimination against them. Lee (2014) explained how the immigrant society's collective action, including volunteering, originated from the sense of their "immigrant community," which motivated their effort to be recognized by the host society. Another study (Lee, 2018) further depicted how Korean-Chinese volunteers in Yeongdeungpo district engaged in crime-preventive neighborhood patrol in ethnic places to mollify the negative image of their immigrant community in Korean society and be recognized. Therefore, the civic engagement of immigrants can be conceptualized as "reactive civic engagement."

Building on existing literature, this research conceptualizes "reactive place attachment and civic engagement" as the immigrants' place attachment and civic engagement that emerge as a reaction to varying levels of discrimination and challenges that they face in the host society as they adapt. Although Estrella and Kelley's qualitative research (2017) is a meaningful study in that it shows the link between immigrants' place attachment in an ethnic place that transforms into their place-caretaking intention, it lacks explanation on the various other civic engagement factors and processes that induce immigrants to become involved. Furthermore, these studies (Lee, 2014; Lee, 2018) do not focus on the detailed process or conditions of how they chose to be civically engaged in an ethnic place in particular but depict immigrants' diverse collective action, which included volunteering in an ethnic place as one of the many examples. Finding the various factors and detailed process of how a Korean-Chinese immigrant becomes civically engaged would be

necessary for our holistic understanding.

2.2 Factors of civic engagement

Then, what are the general factors that drive people to be civically engaged? To answer this study's fundamental question, behavioral studies and place research are pertinent to review. This is because the purpose of this study is to link the meaning of place that leads to behavior in that specific place. Although behavioral studies have been widely researched in the field of behavioral psychology or social studies, there is a grave need for interdisciplinary research in order to gain a better understanding of why citizens become attached to a place, then react in a certain way to preserve the place or participate in such community development (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). In this light, the following will review the relevant factors that lead to civic engagement. While there are a variety of determinants affecting civic engagement, they can be categorized into two categories: relational or personal factors.

2.2.1 Relational factors

Place attachment

A foundational concept closely associated with civic engagement, especially in local areas, is place attachment. Place attachment is the emotional and affective bond between humans and meaningful settings (Altman and Low, 1992). One can develop place attachment to a certain space, a house, or the city, and even beyond. So numerous place-related researchers have defined and redefined the

concept of place attachment that the concept it entails may vary. It is multi-dimensional, including place identity and place dependence (Williams and Vaske, 2003; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006), and place affection (Ramkissoon et al., 2012).

In a study placed in Australia, (Anton and Lawrence, 2014), people with high place attachment were more willing to engage in place-protective political action to protest against an administrative boundary change that would result in reduced seats representing their local councils. Another research by Zhu (2015), using a sample of 1,809 households in the city of Guangzhou, proved evidence that place attachment increases civic participation in the community (reporting problems, attending hearings and residential council meetings, etc.) and partaking in organized associational activities.

A multitude of research has proved the connection between place attachment and civic engagement that is helpful to the community and society at large. This spans from better upkeep of the exterior of houses that collectively leads to a cleaner neighborhood (Galster and Hesser, 1982), a safer neighborhood with less crime and informal social control (Brown et al., 2004; Burchfield, 2009), environmental-conscious behavior, such as picking up litter or recycling (Vaske and Kobrin, 2001; Song and Soopramanien, 2019), increasing residents' intention to stay and promote their neighborhood (Zenker and Rütter, 2014), to participation in local communities or political parties (Lewicka, 2005; Palmer and Perkins, 2011; Wu et al., 2019).

Social ties

Social ties are robust indicators of civic participation (Burchfield,

2009; Palmer, Perkins, and Xu, 2011; Wu et al., 2019). For example, Brown et al. (2004) confirmed that while weak place attachment directly resulted in higher crime rates, social ties played a vital, indirect role in “dampening the positive relationship between home incivilities and crime.” Repeatedly through a multitude of research, the link between social ties and community were found to be critical for people (whether they were natives, migrants, or immigrants) to stay longer in their current residence (Huang et al., 2018; Sheng et al., 2019; Kanakis et al., 2019)

Social ties are also one of the most crucial predictors of place attachment. Social ties, both individual and group ties are significant in developing place attachment (Bonaiuto et al., 1999; Lewicka, 2010). In some research regarding place attachment and civic participation, social ties have been found to be the mediator that links the two; place attachment did not lead to civic activity, but only when mediated by neighborhood ties, it led to civic activity that included participation in protests and various neighborhood activities (Lewicka, 2005).

2.2.2 Personal factors

1) Homeownership

Homeownership, usually a solid indicator of residential stability, is one of the repeatedly reliable variables in literature for both positive behavior and place attachment (Finkelstein and Ringel, 1991; Burchfield, 2009). As for the behavioral effect, it usually results in higher community participation. Prior research linked homeowners with civic behavior spanning from gardening (DiPasquale and Glaeser, 1999) to participating in neighborhood activities and political activities (Zhu, 2015). Since homeowners have more residential stability in that

they are “tied to” where they live, they tend to stay longer in the neighborhood. This enables them to socialize with their neighbors and participate more in their neighborhood communities while growing more affections and place attachment by accumulating fond memories. Also, they may have a higher stake in local events and happenings because of their effects on their property values; thus, they usually have a vested interest in knowing more and caring more about their neighborhood (Fischel, 2001; McCabe, 2013).

However, despite the dominant “homeowners are better citizens” argument in previous literature, the notion is contested in recent studies (Carson et al., 2010; Ha, 2010; Wu et al., 2019). Wu et al.’s research (2019) describes that place attachment and previous experience of participation are the imperative indicators of participation, not homeowners. Native homeowners displayed a statistically significant and negative likelihood to be civically engaged (participate in neighborhood activities, vote on local occasions), while length of residence’s effect was positive and statistically significant.

2) Duration in housing and neighborhood

One of the most frequently proven predictors of civic behavior and place attachment is the length of residence (Goudy, 1982; Lalli, 1992; Prezza et al., 2001; Lewicka, 2005; 2010). Being able to stay in one place for a considerable time also reflects residential stability, allowing more time for a resident to develop more social ties and experience the area more fully with more memories, reinforcing place attachment that further translates into actions of protecting the neighborhood. However, some studies report that its effect on positive behavior tends to become weaker or insignificant after a considerably long time (Loopmans, 2010).

Additionally, some studies have concluded that the homeowner effect on place attachment is not as strong as the effects of length of residency. Carson et al. (2010) elucidated that although homeownership displays a minor yet significant effect on community participation and measures of place attachment, length of residency had a stronger effect on place attachment. Ha (2010) compared social capital, which included a component of place attachment,¹²⁾ of residents of four different types of housing tenures in Seoul (ranging from homeowner, private rental, long-term public rental, to 5-year public rental). He found that residents of homeowner-occupied housing and 50-year public rental estates reported a higher sense of belonging than private rental and 5-year public rental residents. These findings imply that not only housing ownership but more importantly, duration of stay is vitally linked with place attachment.

3) Satisfaction with the neighborhood

Satisfaction with place has also been researched as a predictor of place attachment and some level of civic engagement. Zenker and Rütter (2014) shows that “satisfaction is key” to citizen behavior, by using the Citizen Satisfaction Index, consisting of 21 questions in 4 categories (urbanity and diversity, nature and recreation, job opportunities, cost-efficiency), while having place attachment as a mediator to positively affect citizen behavior regarding place (not intending to leave and word-of-mouth of place). “Happier” and satisfied people are more likely to volunteer and give back to society (Kale, Kindon, and Stupples, 2018). However, Loopmans (2010) warns that “positive appreciation of the neighborhood” may, in fact, decrease

12) Ha (2010) used sense of belonging (I feel accepted as a member of the area) in his study.

community involvement because of the “absence of triggers,” (p. 814) while comfort with status quo becomes a dominant force.

Zenker and Rütter (2014) found that satisfaction with the neighborhood is the strongest predictor of place attachment, trumping other attributes, such as where they were born and residential length. Finkelstein and Ringel (1991) clearly separated neighborhood satisfaction and place attachment as place attachment is multi-dimensional, and highlights that satisfaction is most immediately “predicted by residents’ evaluation of the physical environment and their use of local resources (p. 191).”

4) Socio-economic status

Socio-economic status (SES) that could be measured by income level or education seems to heighten the level of civic engagement. With higher SES, indicating higher social capital (correlated with higher education and wealth to some extent), one is more exposed to the socially-expected social norms and has more time and resources to act accordingly. Therefore, those with higher SES may have the “luxury” to invest more in their surroundings, while having higher social capital that inevitably forces them to adhere to higher socially expected standards (noblesse oblige). However, this assumption can also be usurped as those with higher mobility due to higher SES can easily leave the neighborhood with no strings attached that they do not care nor contribute to their surroundings.

As for place attachment, SES can also bring conflicting results. Higher SES is usually associated with higher mobility, lessening the chance to stay in one place to build enough attachment: higher mobility equals being less place-dependent (Anton and Lawrence, 2014). Yet, higher SES may result in higher place attachment since it

is also associated with homeownership and greater social capital (Lewicka, 2011). Lewicka (2011) suggests that the confusing outcomes of SES are due to other factors either mediating or moderating the outcome.

5) Age

When it comes to civic engagement and place attachment, age has also been reported to give unstraightforward results. In a study on food composting, older residents compared to those in 18 to 34 years were more likely to engage in community improvement projects, such as curbside composting (Wu, Liu, and Brough, 2019). Nevertheless, depending on the expected commitment and expected physical workload of civic engagement, the elderly may not show consistent levels of participation due to physical limitations compared to the youth. Loopmans (2010) found that positive behavior weakens after a very long duration – which is associated with age as well.

As for place attachment, as one grows older in a certain place, one gains more memories about the place, thus adding to strengthened place attachment (Goudy, 1982). Yet, in Lewicka's (2011) extensive review on place research in the previous 40 years, age proves opposing results: at times positive and other times negative or insignificant (e.g., Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006; Lewicka, 2013). Existing literature highlights different types of bonding with the environment according to the changing stages in people's lives (Rowles, 1987; Rubinstein and Parmelee, 1992; Mowl et al., 2000; Boğaç, 2009). This means the kind of environment one is attached to and the degree of attachment may differ at various stages in the course of one's life.

6) Altruism and volunteer incentives

Lastly, there is a higher chance for people to civically engage if they are altruistic or have a clear incentive (e.g., have a clear objective to achieve through volunteering) (Anderson and Moore, 1978; Clary et al., 1996; Shye, 2010). There are altruistic people who do not seek anything in return when volunteering. However, the positive outcomes that are associated with civic engagement may serve as a strong incentive whatsoever (social network, job opportunity, image-making, etc.).

2.3 Ethnic places and civic engagement

Before reviewing the literature on the civic engagement of immigrants in ethnic places, the next section will first begin by discussing the conflicting perspectives regarding ethnic places, then followed by describing the experiences of its residents.

2.3.1 Ethnic places, origins, and perspectives

“Ethnic places” are generally known as a place with a high concentration of immigrants sharing a similar ethnicity in particular. Whether immigrants settled in a specific area by choice (pull factor) or lack of choice due to low mobility and discrimination that exists elsewhere (push factor), the definition of ethnic places may entail a negative or positive connotation. Various social theories related to ethnic places, which mostly views ethnic concentration as a product of isolation and segregation of immigrant groups in the mainstream society in that the immigrants formed a spatially isolated community to avoid such society’s structural discrimination (Burgess, 1925; Park,

1950; Winchester and White, 1988). Since the majority of existing theories were based on a view of assimilation, in which assimilating to the new society is the ideal way, ethnic places (neighborhoods) were considered as glaring evidence of society's failure of assimilation of immigrants, or a "transitory place" until the ethnic groups assimilate (Knox and Pinch, 2000).

Furthermore, when ethnic places are layered with the high concentration of poverty because the majority of immigrant workers are employed in cheap labor work who can only afford a place that is undervalued and dilapidated, the neighborhood can quickly decline and become further isolated from the rest of society – resulting in the conditions of a "ghetto." This may raise social concerns as places with a concentration of the socially withdrawn or resentful immigrants – based on marginalization or separation (Berry, 1997) – continue to live separately in their own system, cut off from the dominant society and not adhering to the host society's expected social norms and order, could cause conflicts with the dominant society and heighten mutual misunderstanding and mistrust. Park et al.'s research (2009) illustrates an ominous future perspective of ethnic places and explains that their fate is heavily dependent on government intervention. Park et al. (2009) describe four scenarios in which an ethnic place first formulates as a place where immigrants first settle, then the area could either, 1) dissipate naturally for various reasons, including the decrease in the immigrant population, lack of reason to congregate or assimilation, 2) become a tourist attraction with proper government policies centered on tourism, 3) become a healthy area coexisting with other areas through social integration policies, or 4) become a slum with no to little government intervention.

However, with globalization as an inevitable phenomenon, “diversity” or “multiculturalism” with the underlying assumption of coexistence is a rising trend for many cities worldwide. Instead of conceiving ethnic places as a “failure of assimilation” or a “transitory place,” regarding such places as an “ethnic economy” – a place that provides more advantages to the ethnic groups and the larger economy is also strongly present (Fainstein and Powers, 2007). This is because the benefits and functions of ethnic places are also integral factors in their formation. Due to a specific place’s location and its advantages, a group of immigrants of the same or similar ethnicity first settle, then with the network and social capital accumulated among themselves, more of the similar background congregates into the area, creating a community and bringing different culture, language, way of life, skills and business opportunities into the area, thereby adding a new “cultural” characteristic and economic function to the place (Knox and Pinch, 2000; Zhang, 2008). Ethnic places that are not physically isolated and are based on Berry’s (1997) integration strategy can be a positive place adding economic vigor and providing a culturally diverse ethnic economy and landscape to the existing society.

Due to the heavy focus on the social structure and role of government behind ethnic places’ origins and future, as discussed in the earlier part of the review, it is easy to dismiss individual and local forces that are equally crucial in explaining ethnic places. Ethnic places are created not only by the macro-level global and social structural forces but through their interaction with local attributes (Zhang, 2008). In an empirical study focused on an African community created due to the rising trade between China and African countries, export-trading opportunities of cheap Chinese products, and

housing affordability in the declining CBD neighborhood in Guangzhou, China, Zhang (2008) elucidates that the ethnic place should be conceived as part of a global and locally-constructed transnational space with the movement of capital, production, and immigrants. In this case, with the Chinese government restricting immigrants from opening businesses, instead of an ethnic enclave economy driving the “ethnic solidarity” in the place, social ties by cultural affiliation centering on the mosque and church and its nearby cafes were the drivers. Similar studies highlight the role of such social and community ties as the driving forces of forming and consolidating an ethnic place (Nelli, 1970; Zhou, 1992; Kim, 2014). Considering the significance of micro-level interactions affecting the ethnic places, it is essential to further scrutinize the experiences of the residents in the area.

2.3.2 Ethnic places and the experiences of residents

Then what are the experiences of the residents in ethnic places? How about the native residents who also live in the area? What is the meaning of an ethnic place to its residents?

Since an ethnic place for immigrants is a place that provides convenience, comfort and serves as a port into the new society from their previous settlements abroad, the experience and the way immigrants bond with the place differs from that of the natives who grew up in the neighborhood. As Berry (1997) explained how immigrants originating from different cultural backgrounds undergo the life-changing process of acculturation, immigrants’ resettlement process in the host society is dynamic and filled with challenges. Their discontinuation of place attachment to their place of origin can cause trauma and a feeling of helplessness (Gold, 1992; Brown and

Perkins, 1992; Fried, 2000; Sampson and Gifford, 2010).

Therefore, as one of their proactive coping mechanism (Berry, 1997), they create a sense of place attachment in the newly arrived place by recreating their familiar original environment in which their cultural identity can be protected and also be in touch with the newly arrived society (Mazumdar et al., 2000), or create an ethnic community with a social network to feel at home (Lapierre and Sinha, 1993). By creating this sense of belonging to a place, a form of place attachment, people can heal (Sampson and Gifford, 2010), feel at ease and safe enough to continue to live for a long period in that area (Hernández et al., 2007). By constructing their newly settled environment with ethnic monuments, business establishments, and by being visibly present in the neighborhood, immigrants create a new sense of place identity while “modifying the landscape in the community” (Kaplan and Recoquillon, 2014). As a result, in ethnic places, for immigrants who have developed a sense of attachment, such feelings can be profound (Fried, 2000).

Over time, once an ethnic place is equipped with both the physical and social attributes epitomizing an ethnic identity, the place becomes a symbolic and significant place for the immigrants, increasing their place attachment (Chang, 2000). In a significant study by Mazumdar et al. (2000), the ethnic place – Little Saigon in California, United States – empowered immigrants to be “rooted and connected again” in the host society by providing a social network, various cultural and religious services, employment opportunities, and by reminding immigrants with the collective memories of their original settlement through the physical and social environment. The research concluded that the existence of Little Saigon signals the host society of the immigrants’ intention to be connected to the new society while

maintaining their ethnic identity by collectively contributing to forming a continuous place identity in the ethnic place, as place attachment encompasses an “interactional potential” linking the past and the expectation of the future (Giuliani, 1991; Milligan, 1998).

On the other hand, for the experience of natives residing in ethnic communities, existing literature usually focuses on the natives’ interaction with immigrants or perceptions of the immigrants or their ethnic place as a snapshot instead of explaining their process of settlement.

Natives tend to view their ethnic place and neighbors in a negative light, which also negatively impacts their level of community participation and housing and neighborhood satisfaction. In a study on the effects of ethnic places, the native resident’s perceptions of their immigrant neighbors and neighborhood in Seoul were surveyed (Park, Kim, and Choi, 2012). The results showed that the native residents thought the high concentration of immigrants did not benefit the neighborhood economy and rather harmed the neighborhood’s image, housing value, and educational environment. Native residents displayed a low level of community participation, while perceiving immigrants as loud, disorderly, not law-abiding, and associated with crime. The study further found that when natives perceived that their immigrant neighbors took care of their environment and helped activate the neighborhood economy, they were more likely to be satisfied with their housing situation, less likely to move elsewhere, and more likely to socialize with the immigrants. Additionally, once natives thought the presence of immigrants is constructive to the educational and cultural environment, they had more willingness to socialize with immigrants.

Native residents tend to be in conflict with immigrants in ethnic

places. Native residents in ethnic places may feel as if the ‘others’ are taking over ‘their turf’ as the proportion of immigrants continuously rise over time, resulting in decreasing housing and neighborhood satisfaction, and even place attachment (Van Marissing, Bolt, and Van Kempen, 2006: 284). A comprehensive research by Park, Kim, and Jung (2009) that covers four ethnic places in South Korea, illustrates how except for the one area (Seorae village) considered affluent with a high concentration of immigrant expatriates, all neighborhoods revealed conflicts between native and immigrant residents. Even the neighborhoods in which the natives are heavily dependent on immigrants for the local economy were “filled with mutual distrust and misunderstanding.” Park et al. (2009) added that from the daily neighborly relations to larger scopes involving economic competition in the local market, natives and immigrants showed hostile and competitive forms of interactions.

Native residents interact less with immigrants in their daily lives or through work, although such interaction contributes to a higher level of trust in immigrants. Shim et al. (2017)’s research on trust and interaction with immigrant neighbors in a Chinese ethnic place in South Korea finds that immigrants had a higher level of trust of Korean natives and native neighbors if they interacted with a native friend or colleague in the past two weeks; whereas, natives that interacted with an immigrant colleague in the past two weeks had a higher level of trust of immigrants in general and immigrant neighbors. Yet, natives, compared to immigrants, had less interaction with immigrants (75% vs. 38%). This social distance is echoed in other studies in that the higher the concentration of immigrants in a neighborhood is, the stronger the exclusive attitude of natives was (Min and Kim, 2013).

These studies on natives in ethnic places reveal an unfortunate state in which there is low satisfaction with their housing and neighborhood, mutual mistrust and misunderstanding, negative views of their immigrant neighbors and immigrants in general, little interaction with immigrants, resulting in a hostile and competitive environment in which native resident's civic participation decreases. However, it is worth noting that these negative attitudes and feelings were not everlasting but conditional. More daily to work-related interactions between the groups resulted in higher trust (Shim et al., 2017), while those with a positive perception of immigrants and immigrant neighbors in terms of taking care of the environment were open to socializing more with immigrants and had higher residential satisfaction (Park et al., 2009).

2.3.3 Ethnic places and (im)migrants related to civic engagement

Moving to the subject of civic engagement in ethnic places, compared to the previously reviewed literature on the formation and experiences related to ethnic places, existing literature on the actual civic engagement of immigrants in Korea is rare. This may be because immigrants face the additional challenge of adapting to the new environment and culture of the host society, or do not know the channels or methods to be involved, immigrants compared to natives are less civically engaged (Song and Soopramanien, 2019), which may explain why a bulk of literature on immigrants' collective behavior usually focuses on adaptation. Even more sparse is to find research on the civic engagement of immigrants specifically situated in ethnic places. Thus, this section will also include the civic behaviors of migrants as well as immigrants.

Within the limited range of literature on such a specific subject, civic engagement in (im)migrant neighborhoods usually centers on “whether one is willing to stay” in the neighborhood (Kim, 2000; Boğaç, 2009; Sheng, Gu, and Wu, 2019). In Sheng et al.’s (2019) study on migrant enclaves (rural-to-urban migrants), the effect of place attachment (questions including “I feel part of the neighborhood”) was positively significant and even greater than the positive effect of residential satisfaction, while social bonds mediated other independent variables’ effects (age, education, income) to positively influence both residential satisfaction and intention to stay. In a study on Chinese ethnic places in Seoul, Kim (2000) finds that the increasing concentration level of the Chinese (Korean-Chinese included) population both alters the living pattern and cultural, physical landscape in the area, while the immigrants’ willingness to settle as long as possible was decisive.

The willingness to protect an ethnic community and environment in ethnic places is also a form of civic engagement spotted in the literature. Estrella and Kelley (2017) showed how Puerto Rican teenagers in an ethnic neighborhood full of their cultural heritage strengthened their place attachment, thus influencing their willingness to protect and introduce their culture to others while contributing to their community. This desire was primarily influenced by the social environment, which centered on a youth center engaged in community activities. Once community members developed a special affection or attachment to the place because of the ethnic identity that the place stands for, they were more involved in the community.

Although not specifically located in an ethnic place, studies of (im)migrants’ positive behavior are also pertinent. Song and Soopramanien’s (2019) comparative study on natives (those who were

born in Beijing) and migrants on their action for pro-environmental behavior shows the importance of the social bonding dimension of place attachment (questions include “I like the local culture and tradition of this city,” “My friends here strongly connect me to this city”), although migrants had lower place attachment overall. Another study on Chinese students in South Korea (Kou and Park, 2015) investigates the constructs of social capital that influence the level of adaptation which comprehensively includes place attachment, aspiration to participate in the local community, familiarity with the physical environment, and friendly relations with neighbors and friends. The results indicate that the higher the level of perception of trust, network, and social order, the higher one’s place attachment and aspiration to participate in the local community. The research further shows the longer length of stay contributed to the aspiration to participate. Rochelle and Shardlow (2012) demonstrate in their research on Chinese volunteers in the United Kingdom how those who cared deeply about the host country’s events – which is a type of place attachment – and those with more social interaction were more likely to volunteer in the city. Other research on immigrants’ organizational activities and volunteer activities of female immigrants of international marriages showed the incentives of civic engagement in the host society and how their volunteering activity helped them to adapt and gain a sense of affiliation to the host society (Kim, 2018; Moon, 2019).¹³⁾

13) Moon (2019) illustrated how female Chinese marriage immigrants in Taiwan widened their social network through Chinese immigrant associations and how they became civically engaged in the host society by first participating in a Taiwanese government-supported dance program which they further developed into a profitable activity, along with volunteering work. The study also showed how they became fulfilled in their lives and grew a sense of community, highlighting the importance of the immigrant social network and government support.

2.4 Differentiation from previous studies

Except for a few, studies on ethnic places (neighborhoods) usually center on the push-and-pull factors of immigrants to the ethnic area, their experiences in the city, or difficulties of adapting to the host society, not going beyond to consider their civic actions. This is more distinct in Korean literature. This may be due to the general perspective and expectation that immigrants must be preoccupied with adapting to the host society. Yet, this may also reflect society's failure to recognize them as actual "citizens," and not expect the same standards held for native citizens.

Although research by Estrella and Kelley (2017) well explains that the personal memories and the physical and social environment of the ethnic places with rich historical and cultural assets form a sense of place attachment that transforms into civic engagement, it does not show the detailed process of how they become attached, nor the various other factors and conditions that may have influenced their attachment. Overall, there is an evident lack of literature on the civic behaviors of immigrants specifically in ethnic places. As reviewed in this study, existing literature that includes the experiences of both natives and immigrants in ethnic places heavily focus on the perception and mutual understanding, or the neighborhood effects, again not on civic engagement. More importantly, since ethnic places are unique places for immigrants as they symbolize their mother culture and aid their adaptation to the host society, and serve as a place where they can take center stage and feel attached to (Fried, 2000; Chang, 2000), it is imperative to find out how this distinctive spatial characteristic particularly affects immigrants' civic engagement.

As for what drives local civic engagement, place attachment is one of the critical points discussed in this research since it is considered

as the link between place and action. There have been numerous studies regarding place attachment alone, especially in the field of psychology, and multiple studies that link place attachment to behavior in behavioral science. However, the majority of research that connect place attachment and civic engagement center on environmental behavior (Vaske and Kobrin, 2001; Song and Soopramanien, 2019). Furthermore, studies that connect place attachment to specific behaviors of civic engagement and citizen behavior are fairly limited (Shaykh-Baygloo, 2020; Wu et al., 2019). Oftentimes, citizen behaviors are gauged by proxy variables such as “knowing the names of local politicians,” church attendance, and gardening (DiPasquale and Glaeser, 1998), intention to stay in a neighborhood (Zenker and Rütter, 2014; Sheng et al., 2019) or “willingness” or “desire” to engage instead of actual previous experience of engagement (Lewicka, 2005; Walker and Ryan, 2008). More importantly, to my knowledge, no literature compares the paths from native to immigrants involving individual characteristics mediated by place attachment to civic engagement.

Therefore, this research intends to fill the void in previous literature in the first quantitative research by concentrating on Korean-Chinese immigrants – while having natives as a reference for comparison – living in an ethnic place, adding a meaningful perspective of civic engagement applied to both groups, while purposefully focusing on actual local civic actions. This quantitative research will contribute to existing research in that it takes a sequential approach to how one eventually showed civic engagement through place attachment and social ties. The qualitative research in the latter part will provide a deeper understanding of Korean-Chinese immigrants volunteering in an ethnic place by supplying more

insights uncovered by the former quantitative research section. This study is meaningful because currently, ethnic places, specifically the Korean-Chinese ethnic places and Korean-Chinese immigrants are at the crossroads of becoming further isolated from mainstream society. Finding what factors of Korean-Chinese immigrants induce them to be locally engaged in improving their living environment from the bottom-up – compared to natives – can shed light on how to improve ethnic places and also have further implications for immigrant-related policies.

3. Korean Policies on Immigrants and Ethnic Places Regarding Civic Engagement

While it is not the objective of this research to evaluate the current state of immigration or immigrant policies, it is relevant to review existing institutions and policies in order to grasp where the civic engagement factor, if any, in the government sector of South Korea is positioned, so that the results of this research can contribute to policy recommendations.

This chapter reviews the current institutions, law-mandated plans, and policies for immigrants, including the Korean-Chinese. The central government and Seoul Metropolitan Government's policy framework and immigrant (including Korean-Chinese) policies related to civic engagement¹⁴⁾ are analyzed based on the "continuum of civic engagement (Adler and Goggin, 2005)," adapted for this study.

3.1 Central government's policies

The Republic of Korea's immigration and foreigner policies are based on the Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea (FTFRK), which mandates the Ministry of Justice to operate the Immigration Policy Committee (외국인정책위원회) to involve various ministries to decide policies and guidelines regarding the country's immigration policies. As a result of decisions made by the Immigration Committee, the comprehensive Master Plan for Immigration Policy is produced, giving directions to each ministry and

14) Considering the case study area is in Seoul, analyzing the master plan of Seoul's immigrant policy seemed relevant.

municipal government's policy execution regarding immigrants.¹⁵⁾

In the most recent 3rd Master Plan for Immigration Policy for 2018 through 2022, self-reflection on the past policies over the last decade is made, evaluating how in the past attracting highly educated talents – including students – was the focus, whereas now creating a virtuous cycle of immigration is considered key. This is clearly reflected in one of the objectives: “inflow of immigrants leading to self-reliance,” then followed by their growth, and eventually “contribution” to society (p. 33). Also, it assessed its past policies to lack cooperation among immigration-related committees and immigrants' participation. Compared to the first Master Plan,¹⁶⁾ the 3rd Master Plan (MP) has given more attention to encouraging social participation from the immigrants, shifting its main focus away from adaptation (see Table 3.1).

15) In general, the term “immigrant” indicates those who have immigrated from another country, regardless of his or her nationality. It is a term that includes “foreigners” – one that narrowly defines those with nationalities from abroad. In South Korea, the term “foreigner (외국인)” is usually used for government institutions and policies in Korean, not extended to “immigrants.” Yet, the coverage of Korea's policies is tantamount to the international level of comprehensively covering immigration policies which includes immigrants (Jung, 2016). The Framework Act on Treatment of Foreigners Residing in the Republic of Korea (FTFRK, 재한외국인 처우 기본법), clearly defines in Article 2: “The term ‘foreigners in Korea’ means those who do not possess the nationality of the Republic of Korea and who legally stay in Korea for the purpose of residing in Korea.” Yet, the law includes supporting immigrants in multicultural marriages, Dongpos, children and partners of Korean nationals through unofficial marital relationships, foreigners with permanent residency status, refugees intending to reside in Korea, naturalized Koreans, and skilled foreign workers.

16) As a 5-year plan, the 1st Master Plan (2008-2012) was followed by the 2nd Master Plan (2013-2017), while its name is alternated with the “basic plan.”

Based on the analysis through the lens of the adjusted “continuum of civic engagement (See Figure 3.1),” out of the 16 action plans under the five major policy directions of the 3rd MP, six are related to civic engagement. About two action plans are specifically devised to civically engage immigrants, while four action plans indirectly contribute to civic engagement by facilitating access or building the infrastructure to make civic engagement more accessible.

Action plan II-4, “Help immigrants integrate into local society,” contains the most highly relevant content regarding civic engagement in the political activities spectrum in the “continuum of civic engagement”: implementing policies encouraging immigrants’ active participation in their local communities. The major sub directions include “providing foreign residents with more opportunities to be part of the policy-making process of local communities,” including the appointment of foreign residents as representatives in a municipal advisory council – which positions itself to the right end of the political activities spectrum in the “continuum”; offering local information in multiple languages; and aiding marriage immigrants to engage in volunteering – which can be categorized as community activities on the collective and formal part of the continuum. Action plan III-2, “enhance a management system of foreign residents,” encourages immigrant residents to participate in crime prevention to make the living environment safer – a volunteering act located on the right end of the continuum of community activities. This is the crime prevention program this research used as a case study in the qualitative analysis.

Other indirect ways of increasing civic engagement range from 1) enhancing the current civic complaint system and official information channels for immigrants (located in the middle right of the continuum

of political activities, as it provides a platform for official complaints, more than inquiries); 2) improving communications and social networks with immigrant communities for best practices (positioned in the middle right in community activities of the continuum as it solidifies memberships in community groups) and developing a specialized service model for ethnic places (II-5), and building more official human rights channels for immigrants by partnering with various support organizations, which is about building or consolidating a platform for immigrants to become more proactive about their human rights. Therefore, this could be categorized as a way of building a foundation for advocating a certain cause, a political activity in the continuum. Additionally, one of the sub-action plans of II-1 (providing support to settle and promote integration) encourages immigrants and Koreans to participate in multicultural and social integration education programs (community activity).

The rest of the action plans are largely divided between 1) quality control – being selective about whom to accept, and 2) adaptation – for better daily living and securing basic human rights conditions. Less weight is given, yet some action plans are about promoting inter-cultural exchange and promoting multicultural awareness.

<Table 3.1> Policy directions and action plans in the 3rd Master Plan for Immigration Policy
 (Source: Ministry of Justice, Immigration Policy Committee. Summary and assessment made by the author on the two right hand columns)

| Policy directions and action plans in the 3rd Master Plan for Immigration Policy | Target population & main objective | Civic engagement factor (O Yes, X No, Δ Partially) |
|---|---|---|
| I. Orderly openness with public consent | | |
| I-1. Attract foreign talents and support growth · Strengthen infrastructure for invitation and settlement · Enhance foundation for education · Provide greater support for growth | Attract highly skilled talents, international students with higher degrees. | X quality control |
| I-2. Attract and utilize employment-based immigrants to secure a growth engine · Actively respond to the demands for employment-based immigration · Improve a system to accept and utilize low-skilled immigrants ① Protect Korean jobs by introducing Worker Levy Program and make employers pay the levy equivalent to the wage gap between Koreans and foreigners. ② Prevent immigrants from settling by strong monitoring and reinforced visa screening when changing visas. ③ When determining the number of foreign workers to accept, verify whether Koreans jobs are being replaced, and strengthen info collection of personal data of foreigners “upon receiving visa applications to discourage foreigners from staying in Korea for the long term, and to handle illegal immigrants.” (p. 44) | Reduce the number of unverified low-skilled workers, and protect Korean jobs. | X quality control |
| I-3. Boost the economy by attracting tourists and investors · Set a customized strategy for each target group · Lay the foundation to stimulate in-bound tourism · Improve startup and investment immigration systems | Increase tourists and investors. | X quality control |
| I-4. Advance a system of accepting foreigners and improve the residence and nationality systems · Set a plan for accepting foreigners and introduce an impact analysis system (Mice/medical/cruise tourism, etc.) · Improve the visa and residence system | Raise the quality of immigrants. | X quality control |
| - Improve the nationality system (review responsibility for mandatory military service for naturalized citizens) | Review the nationality system, including naturalized citizenships. | Δ civic responsibility (not voluntary) |
| II. An Integrated Society with Independent and Active Immigrants | | |
| II-1. Provide settlement support based on the immigration stage and promote social integration · Create an immigrant-oriented environment to help immigrants settle down(improve online public services with more accessible information, better access to the Immigration Contact Center for civil complaint, create radio broadcast programs for foreigners on daily information, etc.) | Enhance the living environment for immigrants (including visiting foreigners) by providing more accessible public service and daily information. ※ Laying infra. for civic engagement (making civil complaints). | Δ provide infrastructure |
| - Implement social integration education programs covering all stages of immigration (strengthen multicultural educators, create more educational programs about Korea’s history and heritage, encourage both immigrants and Koreans to join the social integration program), link social integration education programs to obtaining permanent residence visa and nationality. | Encourage social integration by providing more multicultural and Korean-related programs to immigrants and also Koreans. | O |
| - Support immigrants to land a job and have a successful career | Provide job support for marriage immigrants, foreign youths, refugees, and low-skilled workers | X adaptation |

| | | | |
|---|--|---|--------------------------------|
| | in farming. | | |
| - Advance a system for marriage immigration and enhance protection for victims of international marriage fraud (also included helping marriage immigrants adjust to society with useful information and a tailored program) | Enhance protection for international marriages both for Koreans and foreign spouses. | X | adaptation |
| II-2. Enhance capabilities of children with immigrant backgrounds · Nurture global talents for future society · Strengthen support policies by developmental stage and target characteristic | Help children with immigrant backgrounds adjust and fulfill their potential. | X | adaptation |
| II-3. Improve welfare programs to help immigrants integrate into society · Provide the social safety net for immigrants · Improve living environment and medical services (improve the environment of foreigner-dense areas (ethnic places) with field surveys, find a standard business model by type of residence to improve it, and establish a legal ground for it) | Support immigrants with living facilities. | X | adaptation |
| II-4. Help immigrants integrate into local society · <u>Implement policies to encourage immigrants to actively participate in social activities</u> ① <u>Provide foreign residents with more opportunities to engage in policymaking process of local communities (MOIS)</u> - Appoint foreign residents as a member of 'a municipal advisory council for foreign residents' and boost the operation of the council. ② <u>Offer information in multiple languages (MOJ)</u> - Provide local and living information in various languages such as cultural and sports events and set a legal framework. ③ <u>Find best practices (MOJ)</u> - Find great examples of immigrants who successfully integrate into Korean society and participate in social activities and promote the best practices. ④ <u>Help marriage immigrants do volunteer work</u> | Help immigrants participate in civic engagement. | 0 | |
| II-5. Improve local services ① <u>Build a network with related local organizations(MOJ)</u> - Find best practices of local government agencies which have successfully built network with related organizations, develop standard models, build a network with related local organizations and promote exchanges. ② <u>Develop a local specialized service model(MOJ)</u> - Develop a service model to support social integration of second-generation of immigrants and their growth considering local characteristics such as areas where many ethnic Koreans(overseas Koreans), foreign workers, marriage immigrants, international students reside. | Improve communications and network with immigrant local social networks. ※ Focusing on creating social ties with immigrant organizations. | △ | provide infrastructure(social) |
| III. A Safe Society Where Koreans and Immigrants Go Together | | | |
| III-1. Establish a safe and efficient border control system | | | |
| · Build an immigration system to meet the needs of a large number of immigration service users · Introduce a system that prevents foreigners on a watchlist from entering Korea to promote national interest · Enhance an immigration system at sea ports | Safer immigration control for the country. | X | quality control |
| III-2. Enhance a management system of foreign residents · Prevent illegal immigration and promote compliance with Korean laws (mostly about improving the illegal immigration system through punishment and investigation, except for one: "Promote basic law and order in the Korea Immigration & Integration Programs" · Create a safe living environment(<u>strengthen patrol and work with immigrant residents and private groups to participate in crime prevention</u>) | Safer immigration control for the country, and safer living environments ※ An education program of Korean law and order is promoted, also the partnership with immigrants for neighborhood patrol of ethnic places. | 0 | |
| IV. A Just Society Where Human Rights and Diversity are Respected | | | |
| IV-1. Strengthen systems that defend human rights for migrants | | | |
| · Reinforce anti-discrimination mechanism · Design means for systematic human rights protection (Allow greater authority of the Council for promoting foreign residents' human rights and interests*(MOJ) - <u>A year-round access to channels ensuring foreign residents' interests will be opened.</u> Difficulties foreign residents face upon their | Help immigrants to defend their rights by building more official channels. | △ | provide infrastructure |

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| visits/meetings with government officials and cases of human rights infringements will be addressed by partnering with various organizations supporting foreign residents.) | | |
| · Strengthen ways to protect human rights of migrant workers | | |
| IV-2. Human rights for vulnerable migrants | | |
| · Prevent human rights violations against migrant workers in agricultural, fishery, livestock industries | Raise human rights conditions for immigrants. | X adaptation (basic human rights) |
| · Strengthen human rights protection efforts for women and children migrants | | |
| · Ensure human rights for foreign nationals during their investigation and detention | | |
| IV-3. Promote cross-cultural tolerance and cultural diversity | | |
| · Introduce more multiculturalism events and develop a cultural diversity index | Create more events and raise awareness about cultural diversity. | X cultural promotion/ exchange |
| · Promote a better understanding on cultural diversity | | |
| IV-4. Forge closer ties with overseas Koreans for their greater success | | |
| · Discover talents of young overseas Koreans and encourage them to forge closer ties with their mother country | Deepen ties with overseas Koreans. | X cultural promotion/ exchange |
| · Allow greater convenience in visit and residence for overseas Koreans and promote a better understanding on overseas Koreans in Korean society | | |
| IV-5. Design refugee policies with global standards | | |
| · Establish a system where refugees can be integrated into Korean society | Help adaptation of refugees. | X adaptation |
| · Advance the refugee screening process Enhance the international cooperation for the refugee crisis | | |

3.2 Seoul Metropolitan Government's policies

The Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG), in accordance with the Master Plan by the central government (Ministry of Justice), also established its own Master Plan (Master Plan of Seoul's Foreign Resident and Multicultural Family Policies, 서울시 외국인 주민 다문화 가족 정책 기본계획) to execute its citywide immigrant policies. The first master plan in 2014 was followed by the current 2nd master plan in 2019 (see Table 3.2). It includes four objectives: 1) culturally diverse city by strengthening democratic citizen capacities, 2) human rights-centered safe city where people show mutual respect and communicate, 3) sharing responsibilities and rights as citizens (work, life, learning city), and 4) inclusive city for everyone created through governance.

Out of 14 action plans under the four main objectives, five action plans directly encourage civic engagement: 1) increase platforms for immigrants to raise their voices in local policy – especially in areas

with a high concentration of immigrants¹⁷⁾ (aiding the infrastructure for community activities in the continuum); 2) bolster the representation of immigrant residents as representatives to participate in local and citywide matters (on the far right of the political activities spectrum in the continuum); 3) support multicultural family gatherings to help each other (classified as a way of activating community activities); 4) create programs that encourage immigrant children and exchange students to participate in leisure activities and volunteer for the local community (two community activities on different scales of community activity in the continuum); and 5) organize a global culture week to host various events that enable Koreans and immigrants to communicate and understand each other's culture, and in turn, raise awareness. Since creating events for mutual interaction, this can be classified as a community activity in the continuum.

Indirectly, three action plans foster civic engagement: 1) building physical infrastructure as a center to support immigrants daily-living (or exchange students) and mutual exchanges in ethnic places, and 2) fostering social infrastructure by supporting immigrants to use their expertise to help other immigrants and raise awareness on human rights and cultural diversity. The former is about building a center that would serve as a place for community activities and exchanges, so it can be classified as a policy to help community activities for membership, in the continuum. Whereas, the latter is about educating immigrants into experts to help other immigrants professionally regarding human rights, therefore, it may function as a way to grow human resources to be actively involved for human rights interests –

17) In other words, an ethnic place, or ethnic place. However, official documents avoid the term as it may imply negative connotations.

essentially, a type of political activity. Additionally as a sub-action plan, civic engagement is indirectly induced by empowering immigrants to be well-informed in Korea's electoral and legal system, and other relevant foundational knowledge essential for political participation. For example, foreigners with continuous residency have rights to vote for major local issues as a resident (주민투표) based on the Residents' Voting Act, Article 5.2¹⁸⁾; while foreigners who have preserved permanent residency status for three years can also vote for the elections of local council members (Elections Act Article 15(2)-3¹⁹⁾). Being knowledgeable of the system makes a difference as it makes civic engagement more accessible.

18) <Residents' Voting Act> Article 5.2 (Residents' Voting Rights)

Article 5 (Residents' Voting Rights)(1) Residents over 19 years old and who fall under any of the following subparagraphs as of the base date of preparation of a pollbook pursuant to Article 6 (1) shall have the residents' voting right: Provided, That those who have no suffrage pursuant to Article 18 of the Public Official Election Act have no residents' voting right.

2. A foreigner who is qualified for continuous residence in the Republic of Korea (including cases where he or she is qualified for continuous residence by permission for change of qualifications for staying or permission for extension of the period for staying) pursuant to Acts and subordinate statutes related to immigration control, and who is prescribed by ordinance of a local government.

19) <Elections Act> Article 15 (Voting Right)

(2) Any person of 19 years of age or above who falls under any of the following as of the basis date of preparation of the electoral register under Article 37 (1) shall have a right to vote in the elections of local council members and the head of the local government in the relevant district:

3. Any person who is enrolled in the register of foreigners of the relevant local government pursuant to Article 34 of the Immigration Act as a foreigner for whom three years have passed after the acquisition date of qualification for permanent residence under Article 10 of the same Act.

The rest of the action plans are mostly focused on helping the adaptation through diverse means (ranging from basic human rights, childcare, safety to life-long learning), cultural promotion on diversity, and inter-governmental cooperation.

In terms of execution, the city has continued to organize Foreign Resident Representative Committees since 2015, aiming to engage immigrants in the decision-making process of municipal matters. It also expanded multicultural family and immigrant support centers in ethnic places so immigrant residents can easily access official information offline and get the necessary help in their neighborhood. The city also manages a multi-language official municipal website (Seoul Hanultari) to provide current news and announcements about the city with useful and updated information, a community board with all immigrant-related events, while linking other similar immigrant support centers to its website.

<Table 3.2>

Policy directions and action plans in the 2nd Master Plan of Seoul's Foreign Resident and Multicultural Family Policies

(Source: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2019. Summary and assessment made by the author on the two right hand columns)

| Policy directions and action plans in the 2nd Master Plan | Target population & main objective | Civic engagement factor (O Yes, X No, Δ Partially) |
|---|---|---|
| I. Culturally diverse city by strengthening democratic citizen capacities | | |
| I-1. Enhance democratic citizen capacity | | |
| I-2. Strengthen foreign residents meetings and organization's activities | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Operate a democratic citizen academy to deepen understanding about Korea's elections, politics, law, education, etc. · Activate meetings of multicultural families and financially support them for their easier settlement and exchange living information · Strengthen capacity of Korean-Chinese and support social integration projects (harmonious coexistence, alleviate security threat, improve perceptions, and help settlement to Korea) · Educating public officials about multiculturalism | Empower immigrants to participate in local and citywide matters | O |
| I-3. Establish infrastructure for cultural diversity | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Hold a 'global culture week' to raise awareness and have citizens and foreign residents communicate · Develop contents about understanding immigrant culture | Raise awareness for cultural diversity for Seoul citizens and engage both | O |

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Provide cultural diversity education programs by visiting schools, public officials and general citizens · Host Seoul Global Sports Festival every year to increase cultural exchanges | immigrants and natives to events | |
| II. Human rights-centered safe city where people show mutual respect and communicate | | |
| II-1. Secure human rights and labor rights for foreign residents | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Provide education for foreign residents on human & labor rights and Koreans on anti-discrimination · Expand projects for foreign residents and refugee human rights, and add supporting programs for homeless foreigners and pre-naturalized foreigners | Secure human rights for immigrants | X adaptation (basic human rights) |
| II-2. Strengthen capacity of foreign residents' sense of safety | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Program for foreigner facility's safety education · Introduce CPTED in ethnic places, creating a safe environment | Enhance the living environment for immigrants and educate residents | X adaptation |
| II-3. Reinforce connections of services for endangered immigrants | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Provide tailored rental housing for single parent of foreign nationality or multicultural families · Expand sexual abuse-preventive education and one-stop support for victims of sexual abuse or harrasment · Provide psychiatric help for foreign residents (non-verbal treatment and consulting programs) · Childcare pre and post-birth for multicultural families · Operate a facility for immigrant children's smooth transition to Korea | Secure human rights and support childcare for immigrants | X adaptation |
| III. Sharing responsibilities and rights as citizens (work, life, learning city) | | |
| III-1. Build a policy support system based on different stages of immigration settlement and life cycle | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Integrate and reinforce existing foreigner help centers · Create a public and private multi-use foreigner help center (Didim Plaza) that includes a foreign exchange student dormitory in Daerim where there is a concentration of Chinese population. · Build a second Global Center for those from central asia near Dongdaemun (where many from the continent resides) | Build or reinforce infrastructure to help immigrants | △ provide infrastructure(physical) |
| III-2. Support children of foreign residents & multicultural families | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Help low-income multicultural families' house repair · Operate a multicultural nursery, and mandatorize multiculturally sensitive education for educators · Provide hourly childcare service | Secure human rights and support childcare for immigrants | X adaptation |
| III-3. Create a life-time learning foundation for diverse residents | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Create various programs that encourage bilingual experts for children and also parents · Provide school or career consulting for children of multicultural family · Utilize sub-district center's learning programs to teach cultural diversity | Create programs that encourage cultural diversity and mutual exchanges between immigrants and Koreans | X adaptation |
| III-4. Support foreign residents' universal right to work | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Provide more job opportunities for foreigners in foreigner-support facilities · Expand the foreign exchange student global internship organized in the city government and connect it to private companies · Foster more professional lecturers on human rights and cultural diversity · Foster expert advisors for foreigners' daily problems in life | Support immigrants with job opportunities related to immigrants' lives | △ provide infrastructure(social) |
| III-5. Help adaptation to local community by sharing leisure activities | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Operate winter youth camps for low-income multicultural family children (e.g., Supporting usually unaffordable activities, such as ski camps) · Manage a soccer team of 150 multicultural pre-teens (age 5~12), while working with Yeongdeungpo multicultural family support center · Expand the operation of the global volunteering group and foreign exchange student global internship to raise the sense of affiliation as a citizen by providing them with experiences to socially contribute | Create programs that encourage immigrant children and exchange students to participate socially, and contribute to society | 0 |
| IV. Inclusive city for everyone created through governance | | |
| IV-1. Expand and diversify governance with foreign residents' | | |
| | | 0 |

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p>participation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Form and manage sub-district (gu) foreign resident representative committees in 2~3 ethnic places as a test operation Support foreigner resident networks Carry out policy discussions with immigrants and existing residents to set and share a mid to long-term vision for the neighborhood with a high concentration of foreigners Operate Seoul's five southwestern sub-district's public-private taskforce to find ways to manage current issues in ethnic places with a high concentration of Korean-Chinese (1 general meeting a year, while operating more sub-groups within the taskforce) | <p>Increase and strengthen platforms for immigrants to participate to make changes for the neighborhood and city.</p> | 0 |
| <p>IV-2. Participatory policy-making with foreign residents</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strengthen the representation of the foreign resident representative meetings by creating a legal basis for the organization, and have the representatives continue to participate and contribute to municipal matters even after their term (2 years) is over | <p>Encourage immigrant residents to participate in local and citywide matters</p> | 0 |
| <p>IV-3. Build a collaborative system among the central, municipal, sub-district (Gu) government, and other relevant organizations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cross-cutting cooperation among relevant bureaus (housing bureau, welfare policy bureau, public health bureau, women and family policy bureau, office of education and life-long learning bureau) | <p>Partnership among government bodies for efficacy</p> | <p>X inter-governm ental cooperation</p> |

3.3 Policies for Korean-Chinese residing in Seoul

While an immigrant nonetheless, the Korean-Chinese in Korea are unique in their status as they are considered as a “Dongpo²⁰⁾” – a foreign nationality Korean, according to the Act on the Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Koreans (재외동포의 출입국과 법적 지위에 관한 법률). This legal concept was first introduced with the said Act in 1999 (revised in 2004 to include Korean-Chinese) which was designed to protect overseas Korean nationals by providing them with legal rights for long lengths of stay up to two years in Korea which can be extended, and granting equal rights as Korean nationals concerning employment, financial transactions, real estate, and foreign currency exchanges. Also, the introduction of the H-2 visa allowed Dongpo’s employment in manual labor and free enter-and-exit if they had family in Korea.²¹⁾

20) Technically meaning overseas Koreans with Korean nationality, yet on legal terms it also encompasses those without Korean nationality but have proved they have held the Korean nationality in the past, or that they are lineal descendants of a Korean.

While the F-4 visa is more accommodating in terms of being able to renew one's stay every three years, indefinitely, without having to leave the country, manual labor is not allowed when residing with the visa. On the other hand, the H-2 visa is more limiting as it allows one to stay for three years, and four years and ten months when extended. To renew the visa, every three years, one must return to one's country of origin and then renew the visa.

Although the central and municipal government's policies reviewed in the previous sections apply to all immigrants, including Korean-Chinese immigrants residing in Korea in general, this section specifically looks at the policies specially designed for the Korean-Chinese in Seoul. In Seoul, there are nearly 219,130 Korean-Chinese residents, accounting for 48.8% of immigrant residents (SMG, 2019). Out of 219,130, 12.5% are naturalized (27,398); 35.7% are on a F-4 visa, 26.3% on a H-2 visa, and 5.2% are on a international marriage visa (H-6) – given to immigrants married to a Korean national (SMG, 2019). The Seoul Metropolitan Government, considering this sizable number and concentration of Korean-Chinese residing in the city, has created a separate program targeted to the Korean-Chinese to assist their social integration.

According to SMG's report (2019), 194 million KRW was spent on 11 projects for the Korean-Chinese residents, executed by seven

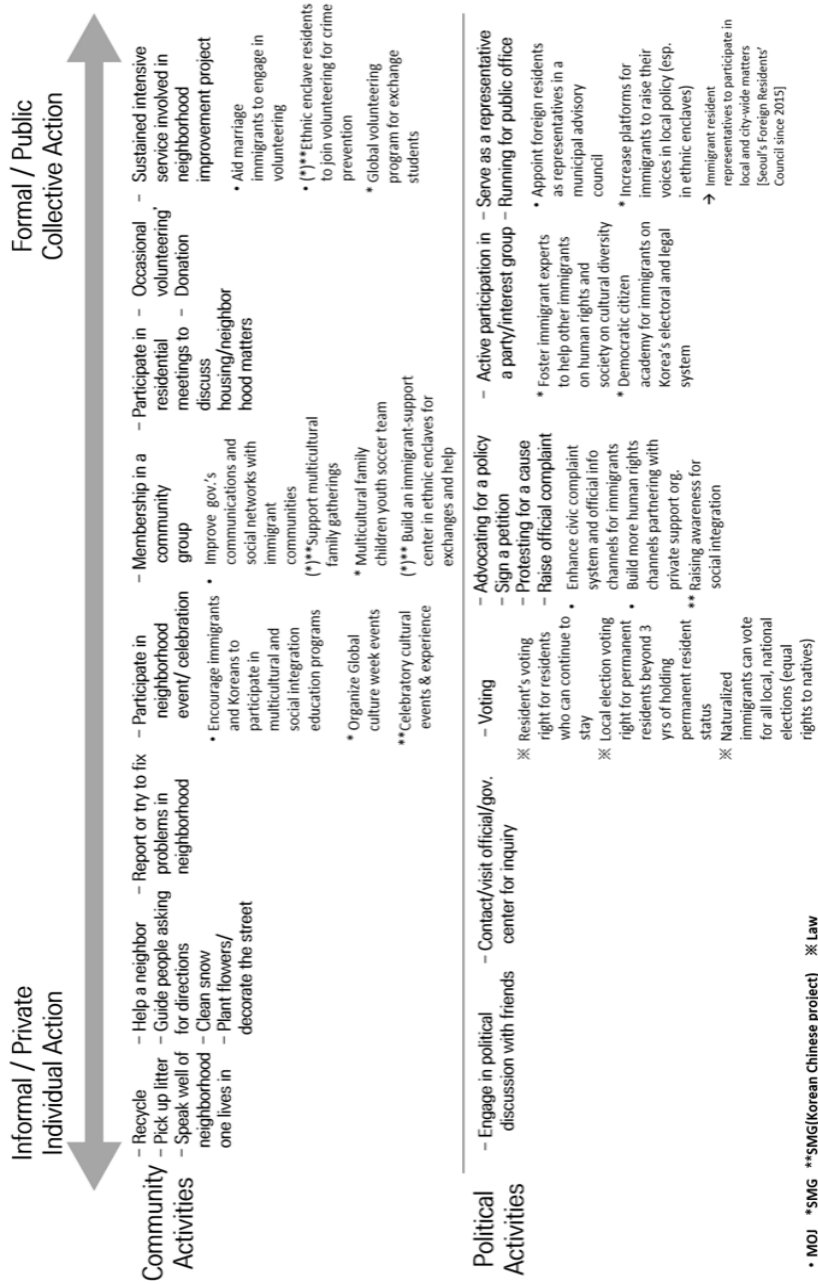
21) As of January 2021, out of 633,123 long-term (longer than three months) Korean-Chinese residents, the majority are staying in Korea with a F-4 visa granted to foreign nationality Koreans ("Dongpo"), accounting for 55.6% (351,844); 19.4% are staying with an H-2 visa; 15.2% (96,049) are residing with permanent residency (F-5); 2.7% (17,360) are living with an int'l marriage immigrant visa (F-6) (Ministry of Justice, 2021). On a separate account, 85,977 Korean-Chinese have naturalized (Ministry of Interior and Safety, 2019).

municipalities (gu). 44% was spent on joint crime preventive patrol volunteering, 20% on celebratory events, and 12% each respectively on cultural experiences, campaigns, and self-help gatherings. Since then, the city expanded on other kinds of joint volunteering programs spanning from helping foreigners at times of disasters, emergency translation services, post-disaster restorative activities, social order or safety awareness campaign activities. In 2020, SMG planned to select five to six project proposals on this social integration project for the Korean-Chinese from the 25 municipalities within Seoul to financially support them up to 30 million KRW.

SMG's Korean-Chinese-specific policies were mostly focused on fostering community activities carried out collectively and in neighborhoods with a high population of Korean-Chinese. Political activities were limited to raising awareness on diversity in ethnic places. The city's endeavor of expanding and diversifying more volunteer activities with immigrant residents was noticeable.

<Table 3.3>

South Korea's (Ministry of Justice) and SMG's immigrant policy action plans and projects related to civic engagement classified by the "continuum of civic engagement" adapted from Adler & Goggin (2005)



3.4 Assessment of Korean policies

Although not within the scope of this research, a multitude of projects and up-to-date policies in accordance with the Master Plans are being carried out throughout the country and by different levels of government,²²⁾ demonstrating that, in quantity, there are various institutional platforms that either directly or indirectly encourage immigrants to be civically engaged. However, the accessibility – in terms of language and cultural barriers, access to information, and the quality of such institutions and programs are contested, varying among regions and programs. Furthermore, the visa status of the foreign national Koreans (Dongpo), which includes the Korean-Chinese, limits their participation due to its three year renewal system in which one needs to return to one's country of origin to renew their visa (H-2).

Lee (2017), after analyzing all the immigrant and foreigner policy execution plans of Gyeonggi and Seoul in 2016, concluded immigrant social integration programs' policy goals and their milestone indices fail to match, in which many programs' milestones were overly focused on the number of participants. Furthermore, Lee (2017) points out how, in spite of some immigrant advisory or resident councils, that such council meetings are held once or twice a year, while whether the representatives well represent other immigrants is unverified, let alone how their proposals are being reflected in policy is unknown. For example, when calling for applications for the fairly new (since 2015) Foreign Residents Council in Seoul,²³⁾ the website

22) However, redundancy of programs and policies among different government organizations is a crucial problem identified in many studies (Ra et al., 2016; Lee, 2017)

23) <http://global.seoul.go.kr/>

only shows the qualifications to apply, and not the principles for the evaluation, nor how the distribution of nationals or residency status will be made among the 20 to 30 council members. The records from each meeting are not open for the public, thus, leaving other citizens wondering whether the council is serving its purpose or simply projecting an “image” of diversity.

A comprehensive analysis on immigration policies a decade ago by Park (2011) concluded that policies were at a “barely rudimentary level,” viewing foreigners in a position of a bystander and focusing on elementary counseling, Korean language education, and translation, while focusing mostly on assimilation. However, upon reviewing the current institutions and policies, this chapter carefully ends with an assessment that there has been much progress in South Korea’s immigration policy in terms of fostering civic engagement among immigrants – at least from the exterior. Even particularly setting aside a separate program for the immigrant group with the highest concentration in the city (Korean-Chinese) is detailed in its endeavor.

Governmental efforts are evolving from the policy focus of immigrants’ basic adaptation and attracting immigrants from more of the developed world in the past, to recently accepting the fact that immigrants increasingly intend to settle, and, thus, including more civic engagement factors. However, as South Korea is yet sailing through a time of transition, there is plenty of room for improvement on the way to better the qualities of policies for social integration, including enhancing residential stability of immigrants, for example, for those holding H-2 visas.

4. Civic Engagement Factors of Immigrants, Compared to Natives

The purpose of this chapter is to identify the factors and paths – such as personal characteristics, the degree of place attachment to their neighborhood, and social ties – that lead to the Korean-Chinese immigrants’ civic engagement in their ethnic place. The natives are used as a reference group to immigrants to provide a comparison. In the latter analysis, civic engagement activities are categorized into political and community activities for a more detailed analysis. By identifying which area of civic engagement – political or community – is lower than the other, the results can further provide policy implications that such areas are where more attention should be given.

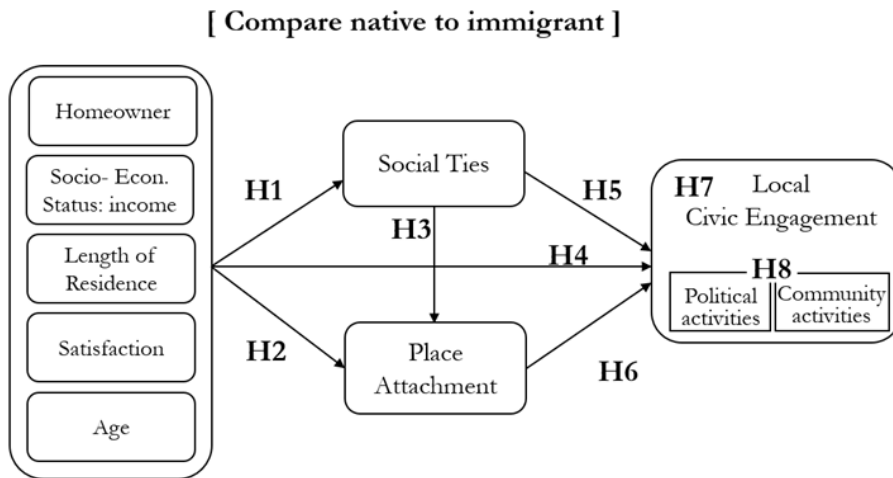
Thus, this research hypothesizes that the individual characteristics pass through social ties and place attachment, eventually influencing civic engagement, while such paths and their impacts will differ between the two groups. Since natives are more innately accustomed to the ways of civic engagement in Korean society, this research predicts they will be less affected by place attachment concerning civic engagement than immigrants. While this research expects natives and immigrants to show different paths in a more detailed analysis that categorizes political and community activities separately, political activities are expected to be lower for immigrants than community activities.

4.1 Hypotheses

Therefore, reflecting the above, this research intends to test the following hypotheses:

- H1 Individual characteristics will affect social ties.
- H2 Individual characteristics will affect place attachment.
- H3 Social ties will positively influence place attachment.
- H4 Individual characteristics will directly impact civic engagement.
- H5 Social ties will serve as a mediator between individual characteristics and civic engagement.
- H6 Place attachment will act as a mediator between individual characteristics and civic engagement.
- H7 Immigrants and natives will differ in terms of what directly affects civic engagement (Natives' civic engagement will be higher and will not be influenced by place attachment, as much as immigrants).
- H8 In addition to H7, immigrants and natives will show different paths concerning what type of civic engagement (political or community activities) they engage in (Immigrants will engage less in political activities).

<Figure 4.1> Research framework



4.2 Data and methodology

4.2.1. Survey and data

The population the survey reflected were those above 20 years of age registered as residents in Daerim 1 to 3 dong areas as of June 2019 (Seoul's registered resident population for the second quarter of 2019). In total, there were 60,579 residents above 20 years old in Daerim, while 44,143 were native Koreans and 16,436 immigrants. Quota sampling that reflected the ratio of gender and age cohorts in each group was applied to reflect the population. All participants were above 20 years of age and have lived in Daerim-dong for a minimum of three months. From September to October 2019, 260 participants were surveyed, consisting of 130 immigrants and 130 native Koreans.²⁴⁾ To employ structural equation modeling, factor analysis is

24) As a limitation of the survey, while this research focused on the Korean-Chinese out of the overall immigrant groups, the survey samples in this chapter did not differentiate between Korean-Chinese and Han

necessary. Therefore the size of samples is required to be at least five times that of the employed observed variables (Gorsuch, 1983). 18 variables were used for this study; thus, at least 90 samples are required.

The survey questionnaire first consists of personal information, such as gender, date of birth, the total length of residence in Seoul and in Daerim, respectively, one's nationality, type of visa (if not Korean). The next part consists of asking 11 questions on one's level of place attachment in 5-point Likert scales, neighborhood satisfaction in 5-point Likert scales, and four questions on social ties in varying levels of closeness ("How many neighbors do you have that you can ask for small favors?"; "How many neighbors do you have that you say hello to?"; "How many friends in Daerim do you have that you can ask for help?"; "How many friends in Daerim do you have that you can go out and spend time with?"). The next part consists of asking 18 questions about one's civic engagement level in 5-point Likert scales, referring to the adjusted Adler and Goggin's (2005) framework on the "continuum of participation," ranging from individual/informal community participation (helping neighbors, speaking good of the neighborhood) to formal/collective participation (volunteering), individual/informal political participation to collective/formal political participation. The last part asks about relatively sensitive personal information, such as income level, homeownership, education level.

Each dong's residential and commercial corridors were identified for its high concentration of users or for its representative characteristic of the neighborhood, such as where low-rise villas or high-rise

Chinese in the immigrant group. Also, whether naturalized Koreans reported themselves as Koreans or immigrants has not been verified.

apartment complexes are highly concentrated. Therefore, near the Daerim station area, within representative residential areas concentrated with low-rises or apartment complexes, Daerim central market corridors, neighborhood parks, and public centers were identified as central points for sampling.

Also, the surveyors collected samples throughout the entire three weeks – including weekdays, weekends, and several holidays at various hours (10 am to 8 pm) throughout the day to access a diverse population reflecting the distributional flow depending on the time and days.

4.2.2 Measurements

Out of 18 measures of civic engagement, six variables were extracted from a principal component analysis. Out of 11 measures of place attachment, five variables were extracted from a principal component analysis and constructed into one latent variable, creating another latent variable. As a result, two latent variables and seven observed variables were used in total.

<Table 4.1> Selected and unselected items of the questionnaire

| Selected items (by PCA) | Unselected items |
|---|--|
| <p>Civic engagement (5-point Likert scale)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I've participated in elections, voting, or demonstrations for Daerim. 2. I've signed a petition or proposed an official complaint for Daerim. 3. I've participated in a festival or campaign in Daerim. 4. I've volunteered for Daerim. 5. I've participated in local environmental improvement projects in Daerim. 6. I've engaged myself in apartment/town meetings, or similar community development discussion meetings. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. I've accessed or contacted official resident centers or immigrant help centers. 8. I've picked up trash in Daerim. 9. I've been involved in environmental improvement/beautification activities, such as planting flowers. 10. I've shoveled away snow to clear the road in Daerim. 11. I've recycled in Daerim. 12. I've intervened or reported to authorities when fights or similar dangerous activities were present in Daerim. 13. I've intervened or reported to authorities when I saw a suspicious person. 14. I've tried to fix/report to authorities when I saw a dangerous/broken facility here. 15. I've helped a neighbor. 16. I've helped a stranger find his/her way in Daerim. 17. I've promoted the advantages of Daerim to others I know. 18. I've tried to change someone's negative perception of Daerim |
| <p>Place attachment (5-point Likert scale)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. This neighborhood means a lot to me. 2. This neighborhood is part of my identity. 3. I will miss this neighborhood much if I leave. 4. I am proud of this neighborhood. 6. This neighborhood feels like my home. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. This neighborhood is the best place for me to do what I want/need to do. 7. I want to stay in Daerim after 10 yrs. 8. I want to stay in Seoul after 10 yrs. 9. I am interested in what happens here (Daerim). 10. I trust my neighbors here. 11. I think this neighborhood is safe. |
| <p>Individual Characteristic</p> | <p>Age, months in Daerim, months in current housing, homeowner, income, level of satisfaction with life in Daerim (5-point Likert scale: 1 not at all ~ 5 very satisfied)</p> |
| <p>Social Ties</p> | <p>Aggregated score of 4 gradually ascending levels of social ties with different weights (1) How many neighbors do you say hello to? (x 1) (2) How many neighbors can help you with simple daily chores (babysitting, taking care of your pet, receiving mail)? (x 1.5) (3) How many friends do you have that you can engage in social activities with? (x 2) (4) How many close friends do you have that you can ask for help when you are in a difficult situation (x 2.5)</p> |

<Dependent variable>

Civic Engagement

Out of 18 measures of civic engagement, 6 variables were extracted from a principal component analysis (PCA) repeated on both immigrant and native groups (see Table 4.1), creating a latent variable. All of the questions consisted of 5-point Likert scales

ranging from (1) never; (2) seldom; (3) sometimes; (4) often; to (5) frequently. The objective of conducting a PCA on both groups is to extract common measures from both groups to later conduct a structural equation model. Therefore, narrowing down the items usable for later analysis is key. The scales for the constructs of civic engagement were developed based on Adler and Goggin's (2005) "Continuum of Civic Engagement," and other literature on environmental behavior (Song and Soopramanien, 2019), participation (Lewicka, 2005; Palmer and Perkins, 2011; Wu et al., 2019), and informal social control (Brown et al., 2004; Burchfield, 2009) adapted to the objective of this research.

Upon a PCA on the immigrant group with varimax rotation, 4 components were extracted with eigenvalues exceeding 1; the first component explained 30.82% of the variance with an eigenvalue of 5.548. Component 1's loadings of individual items ranged from 0.590 to 0.855 (item 1 through 6). The reliability was satisfactory with a Chronbach's α at 0.875. KMO measure showed significance with a value of 0.855, as well as Bartlett's test of sphericity (χ^2 (153) = 1319.322, $p=0.000$).

Then performing a PCA on the native group with varimax rotation, 4 components were extracted with eigenvalues exceeding 1; the first component accounted for 24.90% of the variance. Loadings of individual items spanning from 0.623 to 0.808 (1 through 7) constituted component 1. Component 1 showed satisfactory reliability as its Chronbach's α was 0.899 – as demonstrated by Chronbach's α , which is generally above 0.8 (Lewicka, 2005). The Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy was significant with a value of 0.889, and Bartlett's test of sphericity was also significant (χ^2 (153) = 1590.497, $p=0.000$).

All of the other three components extracted from both immigrant and native groups were discarded as the loaded items differed between the two groups. Therefore, the common items of both groups extracted from both of the first components were as follows: item 1 - 6 (*I've participated in elections, voting for Daerim; Signed a petition or proposed an official complaint for Daerim; Participated in a festival in Daerim; Volunteered in Daerim; Engaged in apartment/town or community development meetings; Accessed official centers or the like*). Combining all the samples into one group, the Chronbach's α showed a satisfactory reliability level of 0.916, while each group also respectively recorded high and satisfactory levels of reliability. As a result, these 6 variables were used to create a latent variable: Civic Engagement.

<Independent variable>

Place attachment

Out of 11 measures of place attachment, 5 variables were extracted from a PCA repeated on both immigrant and native groups, creating a latent variable. All of the items (see Table 4.1) were measured by 5-point Likert scales ranging from (1) strongly disagree; (2) disagree; (3) neither agree nor disagree; (4) agree; to (5) strongly agree. These items on place attachment were largely based on Williams and Vaske's (2003) study on place attachment, along with other place-related research (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006; Lewicka, 2013; Sheng et al., 2019). The process of extracting common items from both groups was identical to the process of producing a latent variable for civic engagement.

Thus, the common items from both immigrant and native groups were as follows: item 1 - 4, and 6 (*This neighborhood means a lot to*

me; This neighborhood is part of my identity; I will miss this neighborhood much if I leave; I am proud of this neighborhood; This neighborhood feels like my home). Combining all the samples into one group, the Chronbach's α showed a satisfactory reliability level of 0.913, while each group also respectively recorded high and satisfactory levels of reliability. As a result, these 5 variables were used to create a latent variable: Place Attachment.

Social ties

Respondents were asked to answer four questions with varying levels of intensity ranging from loose ties to close ties that later were each given varying weights for calculation: (1) "How many neighbors do you say hello to?"; (2) "How many neighbors can help you with simple daily chores (baby-sitting, taking care of your pet, receiving mail)?"; (3) "How many friends do you have that you can engage in social activities with?"; and (4) "How many close friends do you have that you can ask for help when you are in a difficult situation?" After continuous variables were created for each question, weighted values were multiplied for each different question, showing the degree of closeness. The lowest value, 1, was multiplied for question (1), 1.5 was multiplied for question (2), 2 was multiplied for question (3), and 2.5 was applied for question (4) – displaying the highest degree of closeness. After this, the 4 multiplied scores were summed according to their given weight to create a final score standing for social ties.

Homeownership, duration in house and neighborhood

Homeownership – as one of the major predictors of place attachment and civic participation – is a binary variable (1 = homeowner; 0 = not a homeowner). Duration in house and neighborhood are

continuous variables – both expressed in total months of stay.

Socio-economic status

Income level was used to explain the respondents' socio-economic status. The variable was initially an ordered categorical variable ranging from level 1 (below 1 million KRW per month) to 10 (9 million KRW and above). However, considering both the average and the median value (both level 5: 4-5 million KRW), a dummy variable was created that indicated being above the average and median value (level 6, 5 million and above = 1, below the said range = 0).

Neighborhood satisfaction

Initially, neighborhood satisfaction was measured on a 5-point Likert scale: "Considering everything, how satisfied are you with the life in the neighborhood on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 not at all; 2 not that much; 3 average; 4 quite satisfied; 5 very satisfied)? Eventually, the variable was transformed into a binary variable in which 1 indicated whether one answered with 4 (quite satisfied) to 5 points (very satisfied); 0 = 1 to 3 points.

<Control variable>

Age

For accuracy, respondents were informed to write down their birth years.

4.2.3 Analysis methods

To observe the differences between the two groups, this research first compared the two groups' means with the Student's T-Test. Then, it employed the structural equation model (SEM) based on path

analysis. Lastly, after categorizing civic engagement into two different types (political activities and community activities), the same SEM framework was applied for two additional models, each representing the two types of civic engagement activities.

In comparison to the method of multiple regression, SEM is advantageous for estimating the independent variables' paths towards the dependent variable through a sequential order. Therefore, researchers can identify the causal links between various variables that affect one another through different paths instead of having unified results of causality produced at once. Also, another representative advantage is the application of latent variables that can display the multi-dimensional aspects of certain constructs. The standardized coefficients in the model are based on maximum likelihood estimates. AMOS and SPSS 23 have been used.

4.3 Analysis of factors for civic engagement

4.3.1 Descriptive statistics

Individual characteristics

In general, immigrant residents stayed shorter in Seoul, in Daerim, and in their current housing than natives. There are fewer homeowners in the immigrants' group (10%) than the natives' group (41%) – though both groups report low homeownership when combined (25% out of the total sample). This is far lower than the average owner-occupied housing share in Seoul (42.9%) according to the Housing survey (SMG and Ministry of Land and Transportation, 2017).

In general, statistics based on the Student's t-test demonstrates that immigrant residents have less residential stability as they have

lower housing ownership shares, and they showed a statistically significantly shorter length of stay in the house, neighborhood, and city than the natives. Also, immigrants show a lower level of economic capability and social capital, as the average income and the immigrants' general education level were lower than that of natives as well. However, the two groups do not show any statistical differences concerning the satisfaction level with life in the neighborhood and social ties.

<Table 4.2> Descriptive statistics of individual characteristics

| Items | Total (N = 260) | | | | Immigrants | | Natives | | Difference |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|-----|--------|--------|--------------|-------|---------------|--------|------------|
| | Min | Max | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | T-value |
| Age | 20 | 84 | 47.86 | 14.48 | 47.00 | 11.05 | 48.72 | 17.24 | -0.955 |
| Gender | 0 | 1 | 0.54 | 0.50 | 0.58 | 0.49 | 0.49 | 0.50 | 1.494 |
| Seoul month | 3 | 960 | 200.37 | 211.98 | 90.47 | 61.01 | 310.28 | 249.31 | -9.764*** |
| Daerim month | 3 | 888 | 178.62 | 206.68 | 75.49 | 56.43 | 281.75 | 247.27 | -9.272*** |
| House month | 3 | 888 | 120.46 | 146.86 | 51.83 | 48.62 | 189.09 | 177.34 | -8.511*** |
| Homeowner | 0 | 1 | 0.25 | 0.44 | 0.10 | 0.30 | 0.41 | 0.49 | -6.070*** |
| Income (mill. KRW) | 0.5 | 9.5 | 4.29 | 2.20 | 3.85 | 2.01 | 4.74 | 2.29 | -3.340** |
| Income (High, above median & mean) | 0 | 1 | 0.35 | 0.06 | 0.23 | 0.42 | 0.48 | 0.50 | -4.279*** |
| High education (beyond high school) | 0 | 1 | 0.56 | 0.50 | 0.48 | 0.50 | 0.63 | 0.48 | -2.389** |
| Satisfaction with life in Daerim | 0 | 1 | 3.41 | 0.65 | 3.36 | 0.63 | 3.46 | 0.67 | -1.233 |
| Social ties (weighted scores) | 0 | 209 | 46.71 | 32.57 | 43.59 | 27.96 | 49.83 | 36.44 | -1.549 |

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Civic engagement level

The level of civic engagement is significantly lower for immigrants than natives. Civic engagement levels of immigrants are below 2 points for every measure, while natives are near to or above 2 points for every measure. The mean for immigrants is 1.24 compared to 2.05 for natives. Since immigrants are less accustomed to the host society's language, norms, and regulations, voting or participating in

local political occasions, volunteering, or participating in local improvements are less accessible and difficult for them. Also, while familiarizing oneself with the host society is a priority, civic engagement may come after.

<Table 4.3> Descriptive statistics of civic engagement

| Items | Total (N = 260) | | | | Immigrants | | Natives | | Difference |
|--|-----------------|-----|------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|------------|
| | Min | Max | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | T-value |
| 1. Participated/voted in elections or in a demonstration | 1 | 4 | 1.71 | 1.02 | 1.13 | 0.52 | 2.29 | 1.07 | -11.160*** |
| 2. Signed a petition or proposed an official complaint | 1 | 4 | 1.78 | 1.08 | 1.24 | 0.59 | 2.33 | 1.17 | -9.486*** |
| 3. Participated in a festival or campaign | 1 | 4 | 1.74 | 1.03 | 1.41 | 0.84 | 2.08 | 1.09 | -5.541*** |
| 4. Volunteered | 1 | 5 | 1.57 | 0.96 | 1.20 | 0.66 | 1.95 | 1.06 | -6.808*** |
| 5. Participated in local environmental improvement projects in Daerim. | 1 | 5 | 1.39 | 0.78 | 1.17 | 0.52 | 1.62 | 0.93 | -4.797*** |
| 6. Engaged in apartment/town meetings, or similar community development discussion meetings. | 1 | 5 | 1.65 | 1.01 | 1.28 | 0.70 | 2.03 | 1.12 | -6.495*** |

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Place attachment

Similarly, the level of place attachment is significantly lower for immigrants than natives. The items extracted through PCA regarding place attachment (item 1 - 4, 6) mostly rate around 2 points for immigrants, while natives rate all above 3 points. The average place attachment for immigrants is 2.60 versus 3.47 for natives. As previous studies tell, it is difficult for immigrants to form place attachment in a new society (Hernández et al., 2007; Du et al., 2016) even in ethnic places (Boğaç, 2009).

<Table 4.4> Descriptive statistics of place attachment

| Items | Total (N = 260) | | | | Immigrants | | Natives | | Difference |
|---|-----------------|-----|------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|------------|
| | Min | Max | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | T-value |
| 1. This neighborhood means a lot to me. | 1 | 5 | 3.43 | 1.18 | 3.05 | 1.10 | 3.82 | 1.13 | -5.557*** |
| 2. This neighborhood is part of my identity. | 1 | 5 | 2.93 | 1.22 | 2.45 | 1.06 | 3.41 | 1.19 | -6.824*** |
| 3. I will miss this neighborhood much if leave. | 1 | 5 | 2.94 | 1.24 | 2.42 | 1.07 | 3.45 | 1.19 | -7.349*** |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|-----------|
| 4. I am proud of this neighborhood. | 1 | 5 | 2.76 | 1.18 | 2.32 | 1.03 | 3.20 | 1.16 | -6.497*** |
| 6. This neighborhood feels like my home. | 1 | 5 | 3.12 | 1.37 | 2.76 | 1.26 | 3.48 | 1.38 | -4.414*** |

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

4.3.2 Scale measurement

Prior to conducting an SEM, since it is necessary to evaluate how tightly associated the items are as a group for both of the latent variables, reliability is measured by the Cronbach's alpha (α). Both civic engagement and place attachment's Chronbach's α is satisfactory (civic engagement 0.916, place attachment 0.913) as they are higher than 0.7, indicating an appropriate internal consistency.

<Table 4.5>

Confirmatory factor analysis for civic engagement and place attachment

| Constructs and scale items | Factor loadings | Chronbach's α |
|--|-----------------|----------------------|
| Civic engagement | | |
| 1. Participated/voted in elections or in a demonstration | 0.88 | 0.916 |
| 2. Signed a petition or proposed an official complaint | 0.79 | |
| 3. Participated in a festival or campaign | 0.79 | |
| 4. Volunteered | 0.81 | |
| 5. Participated in local environmental improvement projects in Daerim. | 0.81 | |
| 6. Engaged in apartment/town meetings, or similar community development discussion meetings. | 0.68 | |
| Place attachment | | |
| 1. This neighborhood means a lot to me. | 0.89 | 0.913 |
| 2. This neighborhood is part of my identity. | 0.71 | |
| 3. I will miss this neighborhood much if I leave. | 0.81 | |
| 4. I am proud of this neighborhood. | 0.78 | |
| 6. This neighborhood feels like my home. | 0.68 | |

Next, a confirmatory factor analysis was conducted to examine whether the data suits the hypothesized measurement model for the constructs of place attachment and civic engagement. The

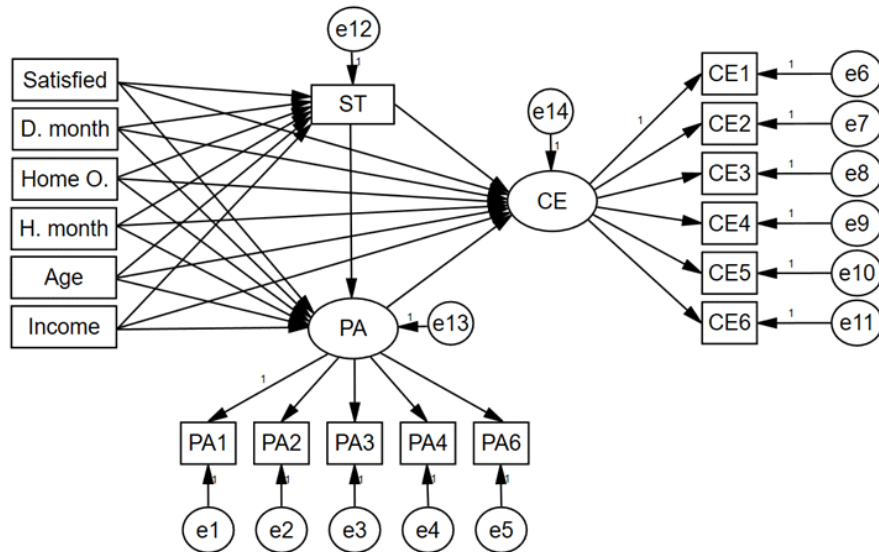
standardized factor loadings based on maximum likelihood estimates are shown in Table 4.5. The χ^2 is 44.018 with 29 degrees of freedom ($p = 0.37$). The comparative fit index (CFI) is 0.993, which is a good fit (>0.90), the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) is 0.045 (<0.05). The results display a good model fit, demonstrating that the constructs of both place attachment and civic engagement comprise the observed items appropriately.

Additionally, the average variance extracted for the constructs (AVE) is 0.56 (>0.5), showing a good convergent validity according to Schwabe, Korthals, and Schils (2019); the construct reliability is 0.93, also displaying a good construct reliability. The discriminant validity is also satisfactory with the correlation coefficient between the two latent constructs estimating 0.618; the squared value of the correlation coefficient is 0.38, lower than the AVE.

4.3.3 SEM results and discussion

After demonstrating the reliability of the constructs, the structural equation model (SEM) is analyzed (Figure 4.2). The individual characteristics – including residential length in Daerim and in current house, housing ownership, age, income, and satisfaction with neighborhood – pass through social ties, then through place attachment, eventually reaching civic engagement. The individual characteristics also directly affect civic engagement on their own.

<Figure 4.2> Integrated structural equation model



The measures of model fit represent an acceptable model fit. The RMSEA is 0.064 – an acceptable-to-good fit as it is below 0.07 and near to 0.06 according to Steiger (2007) and MacCallum et al. (1996). The CFI is 0.879 – near the cut-off point of 0.9, as values closer to 1.0 indicate a good fit. The χ^2 is 1064.905 with 339 degrees of freedom ($p = 0.00$), the TLI is 0.836, and the GFI is 0.822. All of the path coefficients are standardized for comparative analysis.

Results show that some individual characteristics directly impact civic engagement on both groups, while some do not, partially validating Hypothesis 4 (*Individual characteristics will directly impact civic engagement*). For immigrants, only place attachment positively impacted civic engagement ($\beta = 0.329$, $p < 0.01$), while age had a significant and negative effect ($\beta = -0.269$, $p < 0.01$). For natives, months in Daerim ($\beta = 0.425$, $p < 0.01$), high income level ($\beta = 0.256$, $p < 0.01$), satisfaction ($\beta = 0.129$, $p < 0.1$), and social ties ($\beta = 0.430$, $p < 0.01$) directly increased civic engagement. Yet, months in house

had a statistically significant and negative effect ($\beta = -.165, p < 0.1$). Age, homeownership, and place attachment had no effect on civic engagement.

These results lay out a critical difference between immigrants and natives, corroborating with Hypothesis 7 (*Immigrants and natives will differ in terms of what directly affects civic engagement: Natives' civic engagement will be higher, and will not be influenced by place attachment, as much as immigrants*). Although natives have a greater place attachment than immigrants, the natives' place attachment does not translate into civic engagement. For natives, in the following descending order, social ties, months in the neighborhood, income, satisfaction had a positive influence on civic engagement in a direct manner. For natives to engage, place attachment was not essential, but their length of stay in the neighborhood and satisfaction with the neighborhood, high income, and most importantly, their social ties were robust measures predicting civic engagement. Once natives have friends and neighbors to engage with, become familiarized and satisfied with the neighborhood, and are economically well off, they are more likely to be civically engaged. Conditions are more vital than their bonding with place. This could be because they are more accustomed to basic civic activities that their actions are less place-bound but rather innate from their upbringing – which explains individual characteristics directly influencing civic engagement.

For immigrants, individual characteristics did not matter, but their place attachment to their neighborhood was solely the key to their engagement in the neighborhood. In other words, unlike natives, immigrants' civic engagement is place-bound. Whether they were economically well off, satisfied with their life in the neighborhood,

duration of stay in house or place did not matter. Age had a statistically negative effect on immigrants, indicating that with age, one tends to be more accustomed to their way of life that they decline to change their manners and less engaged in the new society. Only when immigrants created a sense of bond with the place, whether it be identifying oneself with place, feeling at home, feeling proud, once they develop a sense of personal meaning with the place, they become engaged in local events and activities.

This may also have to do with place scale, meaning that the scale of one is attached to may differ between immigrants and natives. This particular study specifically focused on the neighborhood-level place attachment and neighborhood-level civic engagement. While immigrants may have a sense of place attachment (the kind that makes them engaged) that belongs to their immediate surroundings in the ethnic place, natives may develop a stronger bond with a larger city scale, surpassing their immediate residential environment. This partially coincides with Hernández et al.'s (2007) study that compares native and immigrant's place attachment level depending on place scale (island, city, neighborhood). The study concludes that although the trend of the degrees of place attachment from larger to smaller scale (the larger the scale, the stronger the place attachment) is somewhat similar for both groups, immigrants' attachment to all scales albeit existed, yet showed a small difference (within 0.1 to 0.2 points in a total 6 point Likert-scale) compared to the larger gap shown in the natives (within 1 to 1.7 difference). This study depicts how although the place attachment level is usually lower for immigrants, once they develop such an attachment in their neighborhood, this place attachment may determine the attachment level for other dimensions (city, country) altogether. The immediate

surrounding is important for them to build on to be locally engaged, unlike natives who have a larger scale of place attachment to an area perhaps beyond the neighborhood. This corroborates with Estrella and Kelley's (2017) study on the Puerto Rican youth's strong willingness for civic engagement, mainly taking place in their ethnic place where cultural assets accentuated their ethnicity.

As for place attachment, although natives' place attachment did not encourage them to engage, the following lists what developed place attachment for natives. Age ($\beta = 0.301$, $p < 0.01$), month in Daerim ($\beta = 0.262$, $p < 0.05$), and social ties ($\beta = 0.224$, $p < 0.05$) positively affected place attachment. However, satisfaction, high income, month in house, nor homeownership had no effect.

Immigrants, on the other hand, noting that place attachment was pivotal to their civic engagement, satisfaction with the neighborhood ($\beta = 0.276$, $p < 0.01$), social ties ($\beta = 0.208$, $p < 0.05$) were statistically significant for the development of place attachment. Yet, age worked detrimentally ($\beta = -0.155$, $p < 0.1$). Satisfaction and social ties for immigrants did not directly translate into civic engagement. However, through place attachment, they indirectly led to action, which partially verifies Hypothesis 3 (*Social ties will positively influence place attachment*) and 6 (*Place attachment will act as a mediator between individual characteristics and civic engagement*). In sum, both groups' paths indicate some individual characteristics affect place attachment, partially confirming Hypothesis 2 (*Individual characteristics will affect place attachment*).

Age influenced the development of place attachment for natives, whereas it worked negatively for immigrants. There may be psychological explanations behind this difference, yet we surmise that the experiences and feelings as one ages in a neighborhood may

serve differently for natives and immigrants. Usually, place attachment forms with the accumulation of positive memories over time. For natives, aging and the duration in the neighborhood mattered for their development of place attachment. They may have gradually familiarized themselves with the neighborhood over time, building fond memories. For immigrants, neither duration in house nor the neighborhood was important for either engagement nor place attachment. They may have a more cautious attitude towards bonding with place, or even action regardless of the passing of time that has commonalities with aging. Instead, social ties and satisfaction were at work for the development of place attachment. This corroborates with Boğaç's (2009) finding in that the elderly immigrants, compared to the younger ones, were even less attached to their new environment.

Social ties that are also influenced by individual characteristics, lead to place attachment for both groups (natives: $\beta = 0.224$, $p < 0.05$; immigrants: $\beta = 0.208$, $p < 0.05$) – confirming Hypothesis 3 (*Social ties will positively influence place attachment*). Social ties directly affect civic engagement for natives, while for immigrants it indirectly passes through place attachment to have an effect on engagement. Then what influences social ties? For both groups, in a descending order, months in neighborhood (natives: $\beta = 0.389$, $p < 0.01$; immigrants: $\beta = 0.256$, $p < 0.05$), satisfaction (natives: $\beta = 0.298$, $p < 0.01$; immigrants: $\beta = 0.274$, $p < 0.01$), and high income (natives: $\beta = 0.187$, $p < 0.01$; immigrants: $\beta = 0.148$, $p < 0.1$) function commonly in a statistically positive manner. Homeownership was only positively significant for natives ($\beta = 0.170$, $p < 0.05$). While age negatively affected both groups (natives: $\beta = -0.158$, $p < 0.05$; immigrants: $\beta = -0.172$, $p < 0.05$), month in house was only significant and negative for immigrants ($\beta = 0.314$, $p < 0.01$). These findings confirm

Hypothesis 1 (*Individual characteristics will affect social ties*).

Higher income, satisfaction with the neighborhood, months in Daerim commonly increase social ties for both groups, meaning those who are familiar and satisfied with the neighborhood through the passing of time, and well-off enough to afford to spend the time to socialize and get to know their neighbors tend to make more social ties. Yet, age functions as a barrier to creating more social ties for both groups as one becomes less malleable as one ages in terms of experiencing and socializing more as well.

Social ties also act as a mediator for some individual characteristics, positively influencing civic engagement, partially verifying Hypothesis 5. For natives, while homeownership was not significant for neither place attachment nor civic engagement, homeownership positively affected social ties ($\beta = 0.170$, $p < 0.05$) which later affected civic engagement. For immigrants, high income, months in Daerim did not matter for place attachment, nor civic engagement, yet these two characteristics positively influenced social ties, which positively impacted place attachment, eventually leading to civic engagement. The findings on social ties corroborate with previous research emphasizing the role of social ties in civic engagement (Putnam 2000; Lewicka 2005; Huang et al., 2018).

Notably, homeownership, unlike the prevailing literature asserting “homeowners are good citizens” (DiPasquale and Glaeser, 1998; Fischel, 2001; McCabe, 2013; Zhu, 2015), did not matter for direct civic engagement for neither group nor did it affect place attachment, while merely affecting the natives’ social ties alone. This may be due to the fact that homeownership is low in this particular ethnic place (25% homeownership in the sample). Also, this can be explained that the effects of somewhat homogeneous variables “length of stay in

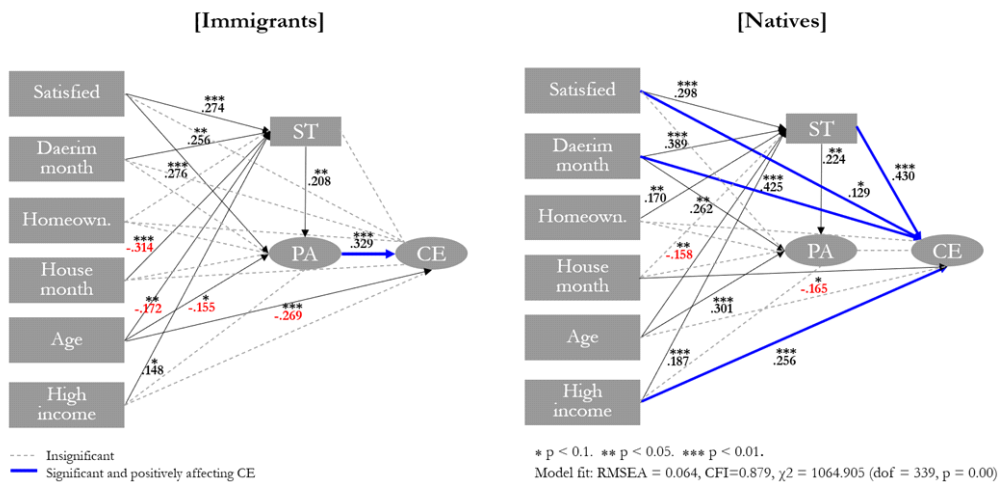
home and neighborhood” were controlled properly.

<Table 4.6> Total SEM results of the integrated model

| Paths | | Immigrants | | | Natives | | |
|-------|--------------|------------|-------|---------|---------|-------|---------|
| | | Coeff. | S.E. | P-value | Coeff. | S.E. | P-value |
| ST ← | Inc_high | .148 | 5.368 | * | .187 | 4.839 | *** |
| | Age | -.172 | .197 | ** | -.158 | .130 | ** |
| | Satisfied | .274 | 4.466 | *** | .298 | 4.819 | *** |
| | Daerim_month | .256 | .057 | ** | .389 | .014 | *** |
| | Homeowner | .004 | 7.731 | .964 | .170 | 6.188 | ** |
| | House_month | -.314 | .066 | *** | .018 | .018 | .846 |
| PA ← | Inc_high | .060 | .172 | .490 | .078 | .145 | .313 |
| | Age | -.155 | .006 | * | .301 | .004 | *** |
| | Satisfied | .276 | .152 | *** | -.036 | .150 | .655 |
| | Daerim_month | .037 | .002 | .766 | .262 | .000 | ** |
| | Homeowner | -.079 | .244 | .368 | .111 | .183 | .232 |
| | House_month | .137 | .002 | .274 | .122 | .001 | .224 |
| CE ← | ST | .208 | .003 | ** | .224 | .003 | ** |
| | Inc_high | -.003 | .090 | .972 | .256 | .117 | *** |
| | Age | -.269 | .003 | *** | -.014 | .003 | .834 |
| | Satisfied | .020 | .081 | .811 | .129 | .120 | * |
| | Daerim_month | .070 | .001 | .545 | .425 | .000 | *** |
| | Homeowner | -.080 | .128 | .333 | .069 | .147 | .384 |
| | House_month | .077 | .001 | .513 | -.165 | .000 | * |
| ST | .106 | .001 | .227 | .430 | .002 | *** | |
| PA | .329 | .055 | *** | -.073 | .077 | .371 | |

* p < 0.1. ** p < 0.05. *** p < 0.01.

<Figure 4.3> SEM results of the integrated model



Note 1. The regular black lines indicate that the effects are statistically significant; the dotted lines indicate that the effects are statistically insignificant; the blue lines indicate the statistically significant and positive effects on civic engagement; the red letters report statistically significant and negative effects.

4.4 Analysis of factors for political and community activities

The following section includes a comparative analysis applying the identical framework used for the integrated SEM in the previous section (Figure 4.3), yet with two different types of civic engagement as dependent variables (Figure 4.4 & 4.5). While the previous analysis grouped all 6 civic engagement activities into 1 latent variable as a dependent variable, this analysis categorizes political and community activities separately as suggested by Adler and Goggin's (2005) "Continuum of Civic Engagement." Using two groups of civic engagement activities as dependent variables in separate models, respectively, one can compare and contrast the paths to civic engagement depending on the type of civic engagement, in addition revealing the differences between immigrants and natives. The results can provide policy implications in that the weaker activities shown in each of the two different groups can be identified as the areas that need to be given more attention to.

First, civic engagement activities were divided into two groups: political and community activities. "Political activities" include 1) participated/voted in elections or in a demonstration, and 2) signed a petition or proposed an official complaint. "Community activities" contain 1) participated in a festival or campaign, 2) volunteered, 3) participated in local environmental improvement projects in Daerim,

and 4) engaged in apartment/town meetings or similar community development discussion meetings. All measures were based on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (none) to 5 (frequently participated).

Before conducting the analysis, Table 4.7 shows how in general, natives are more politically engaged (mean: 2.31, out of 5) than in community activities (mean: 1.92); whereas, immigrants are less politically engaged (mean: 1.19) compared to community activities (mean: 1.27). This may indicate the differences in accessibility and willingness to participate between natives and immigrants when it concerns political and community activities. As reviewed in the previous chapter, immigrants in Korea, if they have naturalized or maintained a permanent residency status for over three years, they can vote in local elections, yet not many are aware of it. The results here reflect such low political participation compared to community activities. Also, these trends may indicate immigrants' higher priority in completing their daily life-related tasks and lack of time to be involved in civic engagement.

<Table 4.7> Mean differences between natives and immigrants regarding two types of civic engagement

| Items | Immigrants | | Natives | | Difference | | |
|-----------|--|------|---------|------|------------|---------|-----|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | T-value | *** | |
| Political | 1. Participated/voted in elections or in a demonstration | 1.13 | 0.52 | 2.29 | 1.07 | -11.160 | *** |
| | 2. Signed a petition or proposed an official complaint | 1.24 | 0.59 | 2.33 | 1.17 | -9.486 | *** |
| Community | 3. Participated in a festival or campaign | 1.41 | 0.84 | 2.08 | 1.09 | -5.541 | *** |
| | 4. Volunteered | 1.20 | 0.66 | 1.95 | 1.06 | -6.808 | *** |
| | 5. Participated in local environmental improvement projects in Daerim. | 1.17 | 0.52 | 1.92 | 0.93 | -4.797 | *** |
| | 6. Engaged in apartment/town meetings, or similar community development discussion meetings. | 1.28 | 0.70 | 2.03 | 1.12 | -6.495 | *** |

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

As in the previous analysis, before conducting an SEM, the reliability was measured by Chronbach's α . Both political and community activities' Chronbach's α were appropriate (political activities 0.913, community activities 0.866). Each item of community activities' value scored above 0.8, showing good internal consistency (Table 4.8).

<Table 4.8>

Chronbach's α of the two types of civic engagement

| Civic engagement | Constructs and scale items | Per item | Chronbach's α |
|----------------------|--|----------|----------------------|
| Political activities | 1. Participated/voted in elections or in a demonstration | | 0.913 |
| | 2. Signed a petition or proposed an official complaint | | |
| Community activities | 3. Participated in a festival or campaign | 0.83 | 0.866 |
| | 4. Volunteered | 0.80 | |
| | 5. Participated in local environmental improvement projects in Daerim. | 0.82 | |
| | 6. Engaged in apartment/town meetings, or similar community development discussion meetings. | 0.87 | |

4.4.1 SEM for political activities

An SEM was employed for the "political activities." The model fit of the structural model was acceptable (CFI = 0.892, RMSEA = 0.073, Chi-square = 618.807, Df = 165, TLI = 0.822, GFI = 0.861).

Results were not substantially different from that of the previous integrated SEM. Immigrants displayed identical trends as the previous integrated model in that place attachment was the sole factor that positively and directly influenced civic engagement; whereas, age continued to have a significant and negative effect ($\beta = -0.131$, $p < 0.05$). The only noteworthy differences in the direct factors influencing immigrants' political activities compared to the integrated model are that 1) the level of significance decreased for place attachment from $p < 0.01$ to $p < 0.05$, while the direction (+) being

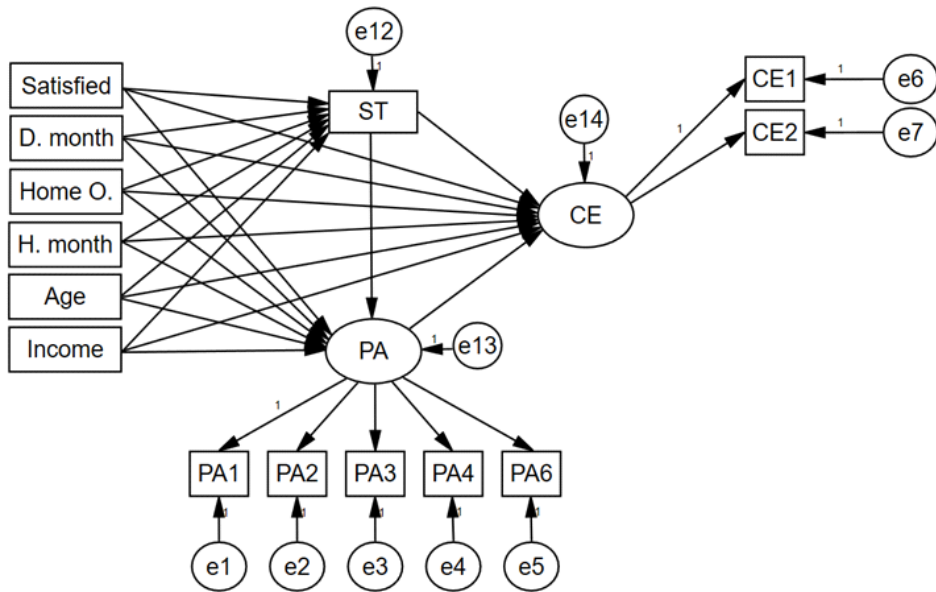
intact; and that 2) higher income negatively affected political activities ($\beta = -.155, p < 0.05$).

Similarly, for natives, individual characteristics, such as months in Daerim ($\beta = 0.317, p < 0.01$), high income level ($\beta = 0.250, p < 0.01$), and social ties ($\beta = 0.395, p < 0.01$), directly influenced their political participation. Unlike the previous model, satisfaction with life in the ethnic place did not influence political participation. Also, age, homeownership, and place attachment continued to have no effect on civic engagement.

Factors that influenced immigrants' and natives' place attachment were identical to the previous integrated model. While satisfaction with life in Daerim ($\beta = 0.284, p < 0.01$) and social ties ($\beta = 0.234, p < 0.05$) positively affected immigrants' place attachment, for natives, month in Daerim ($\beta = 0.261, p < 0.05$), age ($\beta = 0.297, p < 0.01$), and social ties ($\beta = 0.223, p < 0.05$) positively influenced place attachment.

Just as the previous integrated model, social ties was a crucial factor directly influencing the political activities of immigrants and indirectly inducing that of natives. For immigrants, except for homeownership and income – which did not matter, the factors positively affecting social ties (satisfaction and month in Daerim) was the same as for natives. Consistent with the previous integrate model, immigrants' length of stay in house ($\beta = -.337, p < 0.01$) resulted in weaker social ties. For natives, longer stay in Daerim ($\beta = 0.386, p < 0.01$), greater satisfaction with the neighborhood ($\beta = 0.300, p < 0.01$), higher income ($\beta = 0.171, p < 0.05$), and homeownership ($\beta = 0.157, p < 0.1$) positively impacted social ties.

<Figure 4.4> Structural equation model for political activities



<Table 4.9> SEM results for political activities

| Paths | | Immigrants | | | Natives | | |
|-------|--------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| | | Coeff. | S.E. | P-value | Coeff. | S.E. | P-value |
| ST ← | Inc_high | .133 | .000 | .116 | .171 | .000 | ** |
| | Age | -.186 | .197 | ** | -.168 | .131 | *** |
| | Satisfied | .265 | 4.488 | *** | .300 | 4.842 | *** |
| | Daerim_month | .284 | .057 | ** | .386 | .014 | *** |
| | Homeowner | .001 | 7.880 | .990 | .157 | 6.262 | * |
| | House_month | -.337 | .067 | *** | .048 | .018 | .606 |
| PA ← | Inc_high | -.113 | .000 | .205 | .104 | .000 | .179 |
| | Age | -.124 | .006 | .145 | .297 | .004 | *** |
| | Satisfied | .284 | .152 | *** | -.040 | .150 | .612 |
| | Daerim_month | .050 | .002 | .689 | .261 | .000 | ** |
| | Homeowner | -.031 | .247 | .727 | .100 | .184 | .282 |
| | House_month | .151 | .002 | .235 | .134 | .001 | .180 |
| CE ← | ST | .234 | .003 | ** | .223 | .003 | ** |
| | Inc_high | -.155 | .004 | ** | .250 | .000 | *** |
| | Age | -.131 | .000 | ** | .020 | .004 | .773 |
| | Satisfied | -.024 | .091 | .699 | .074 | .141 | .317 |
| | Daerim_month | .126 | .001 | .144 | .317 | .000 | *** |
| | Homeowner | -.024 | .146 | .694 | .048 | .173 | .581 |
| | House_month | .024 | .001 | .781 | -.131 | .001 | .159 |
| | ST | .023 | .002 | .725 | .395 | .002 | *** |
| PA | .169 | .060 | ** | .050 | .090 | .573 | |

* p < 0.1. ** p < 0.05. *** p < 0.01.

4.4.2 SEM for community activities

Next, an SEM was employed for the “community activities.” The model fit was adequate (CFI=0.884, RMSEA=0.067, Chi-square = 808.990, Df = 246, TLI=0.841, GFI=0.847). The results of the community activities model were similar to the integrated model and the political activities model.

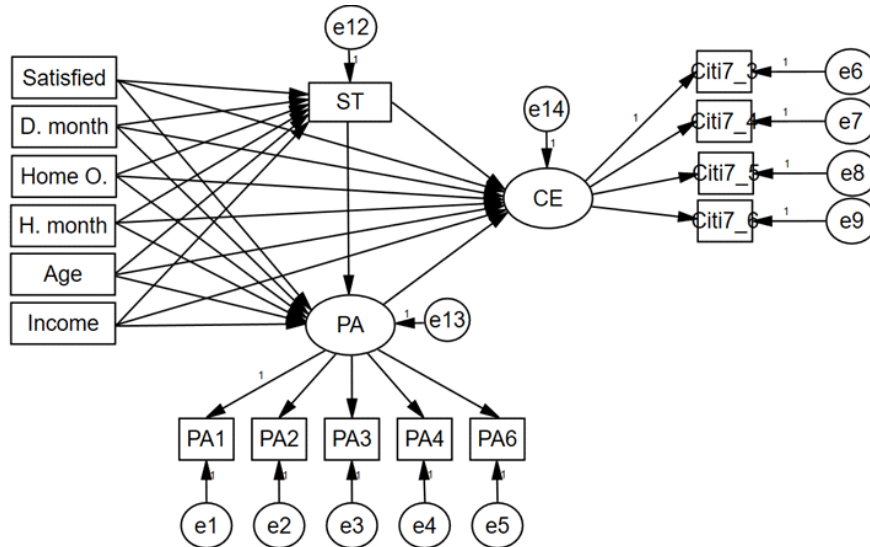
For immigrants, place attachment was the only factor that positively influenced community activities ($\beta = 0.339$, $p < 0.01$); while age negatively affected it ($\beta = -0.271$, $p < 0.01$). On the other hand, what directly affected community activities for natives was month in Daerim ($\beta = 0.498$, $p < 0.01$), social ties ($\beta = 0.432$, $p < 0.01$), higher income ($\beta = 0.246$, $p < 0.01$), and satisfaction ($\beta = 0.164$, $p < 0.05$). Surprisingly, place attachment negatively affected community activities, albeit with low statistical significance ($\beta = 0.155$, $p < 0.1$). Age, also negatively influenced natives’ community activities ($\beta = -0.126$, $p < 0.05$).

Immigrants’ place attachment increased with neighborhood life satisfaction ($\beta = 0.284$, $p < 0.01$). and social ties ($\beta = 0.235$, $p < 0.05$); natives’ place attachment increased with age ($\beta = 0.298$, $p < 0.01$), longer length of stay in Daerim ($\beta = 0.261$, $p < 0.05$), and stronger social ties ($\beta = 0.221$, $p < 0.05$). These results were the same as the one in the “political activities” model.

Immigrants’ social ties increased with satisfaction ($\beta = 0.265$, $p < 0.01$), months in Daerim ($\beta = 0.284$, $p < 0.05$), while it decreased with statistical significance with longer stay in current house ($\beta = -0.337$, $p < 0.01$) and age ($\beta = -0.186$, $p < 0.05$). As for natives’ social ties, months in Daerim ($\beta = 0.386$, $p < 0.01$), satisfaction ($\beta = 0.300$, $p < 0.01$), higher income ($\beta = 0.171$, $p < 0.05$) significantly contributed to its increase, whereas age negatively influenced it ($\beta = -0.168$, $p < 0.05$).

0.01).

<Figure 4.5> Structural equation model for community activities



<Table 4.10> SEM results for community activities

| Paths | | Immigrants | | | Natives | | |
|-------|--------------|------------|-------|---------|---------|-------|---------|
| | | Coeff. | S.E. | P-value | Coeff. | S.E. | P-value |
| ST ← | Inc_high | .133 | .000 | .116 | .171 | .000 | ** |
| | Age | -.186 | .197 | ** | -.168 | .131 | *** |
| | Satisfied | .265 | 4.488 | *** | .300 | 4.842 | *** |
| | Daerim_month | .284 | .057 | ** | .386 | .014 | *** |
| | Homeowner | .001 | 7.880 | .990 | .157 | 6.262 | * |
| | House_month | -.337 | .067 | *** | .048 | .018 | .606 |
| PA ← | Inc_high | -.113 | .000 | .205 | .101 | .000 | .188 |
| | Age | -.123 | .006 | .146 | .298 | .004 | *** |
| | Satisfied | .284 | .152 | *** | -.042 | .150 | .595 |
| | Daerim_month | .050 | .002 | .690 | .261 | .000 | ** |
| | Homeowner | -.031 | .247 | .726 | .101 | .183 | .276 |
| | House_month | .151 | .002 | .235 | .136 | .001 | .176 |
| CE ← | ST | .235 | .003 | ** | .221 | .003 | ** |
| | Inc_high | .020 | .000 | .813 | .246 | .000 | *** |
| | Age | -.271 | .005 | *** | -.126 | .003 | ** |
| | Satisfied | .021 | .105 | .805 | .164 | .124 | ** |
| | Daerim_month | .046 | .001 | .693 | .498 | .000 | *** |
| | Homeowner | -.092 | .170 | .276 | .007 | .151 | .927 |
| | House_month | .059 | .001 | .622 | -.114 | .000 | .178 |
| ST | .145 | .002 | .106 | .432 | .002 | *** | |
| PA | .339 | .074 | *** | -.155 | .080 | * | |

* p < 0.1. ** p < 0.05. *** p < 0.01.

4.4.3 Comparing political and community activities

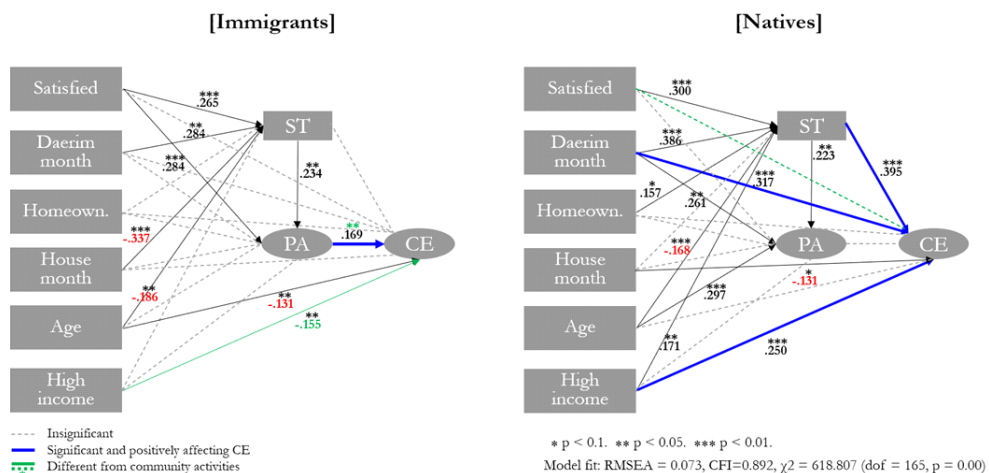
As depicted in Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7, the major finding in the integrated model was consistent: for immigrants, place attachment was the only factor directly and positively affecting both types of civic engagement; for natives, individual factors directly influenced both types of civic engagement. The differences between immigrants' and natives' civic engagement paths existed, just as the previous integrated SEM, validating Hypothesis 8.

Nevertheless, differences between the two types of civic engagement activities were not prominent. However, for natives, satisfaction with the neighborhood was not significant in its direct positive influence on political activities, unlike on community activities. Also, concerning natives, age had no direct influence on political activities, whereas it had a negative impact on community activities. This indicates how natives' political participation is not dependent on how they are satisfied with their lives in the neighborhood, nor their age. This seems to underline the native's higher prioritization of political activities over community activities, which was also implicated by the higher average score of the native group's political activities compared to the community activities (Table 4.9). Natives are influenced to participate in community activities if they are more satisfied with their lives in the neighborhood. Interestingly, natives' place attachment negatively influenced community activities, albeit with a weak statistical significance ($p = 0.057$). The reason is unclear, yet one may infer based on previous literature that since natives in ethnic places tend to interact less with immigrants and also have stronger exclusive attitudes (Min and Kim, 2013), their place attachment – as opposed

to “people and neighbor attachment” – may induce them to become more exclusive in their attitudes towards community engagement which is likely to involve unwanted interactions with immigrant neighbors.

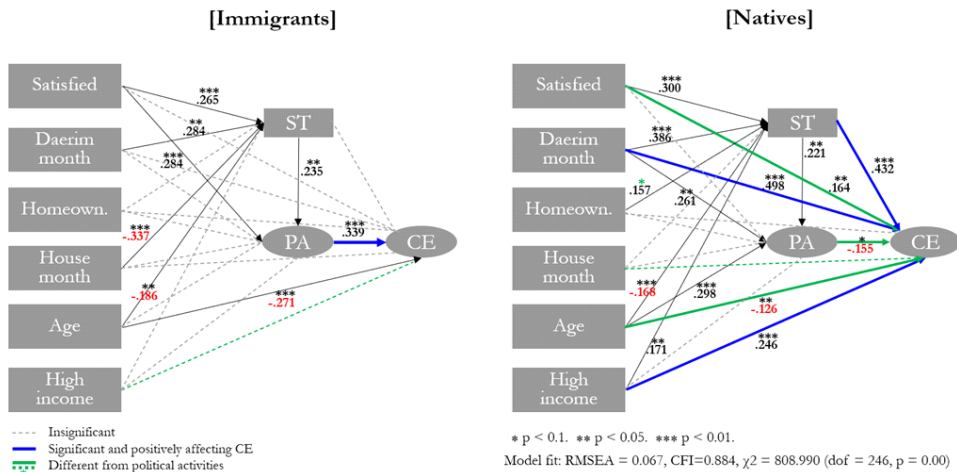
For immigrants, higher income negatively and directly influenced political activities. This was statistically insignificant in the community activities model. This was contrary to the general belief that those who vote are more likely to have higher socio-economic status than those who do not. Yet, other than the income factor, other paths and directions in both community and political activity models were the same for immigrants.

<Figure 4.6> Total SEM results of the “political activities” model



Note 1. The green lines and asterisks (*) indicate differences compared to the community activities model; the regular black lines indicate that the effects are statistically significant; the dotted lines indicate that the effects are statistically insignificant; the blue lines indicate the statistically significant and positive effects on civic engagement; the red letters report statistically significant and negative effects.

<Figure 4.7> Total SEM results of the “community activities” model



Note 1. The green lines and asterisks (*) indicate differences compared to the political activities model; the regular black lines indicate that the effects are statistically significant; the dotted lines indicate that the effects are statistically insignificant; the blue lines indicate the statistically significant and positive effects on civic engagement; the red letters report statistically significant and negative effects.

4.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter provides a clearer picture of how individual traits and place attachment of Korean-Chinese immigrants and natives in the same ethnic place affect (or does not) their civic engagement behavior, covering both political and community engagement.

Immigrants and natives both share a commonality in that whether indirectly or directly, social ties, satisfaction with the neighborhood, months in the neighborhood – which partially implies residential or financial stability – contributed to becoming more civically engaged both in political and community activities. Age serves as a barrier, primarily negatively affecting civic engagement for both groups. These findings coincide with previous studies which analyzed what

affects civic behavior in general.

On the other hand, several dissimilarities separate both groups. First, natives' individual traits directly motivate them to engage, while immigrants' place attachment stands alone over other characteristics altogether, directly influencing immigrants to engage. For natives, being accustomed to the social norms and being comfortable with the current system of engaging in society enable them to become engaged, not their place-bound attachment. This is especially prominent in their political activities, as community activities are more influenced by other factors, such as neighborhood satisfaction and age.

Second, immigrants' civic engagement level is overall lower than natives' – as predicted, while immigrants are more engaged in community activities compared to political activities. This is understandable in that political activities are generally based on an adequate understanding of the political system, which could be a challenging hurdle and a lower priority for immigrants as they have other life-related issues to overcome first, such as adapting.

Third, while natives' civic engagement level is higher than that of immigrants, their political engagement is higher than their community activities, suggesting political activities are a higher priority for them than communal ones. This may show their democratic values, yet it may also mean they are less willing to engage in their neighborhood activities. Related to this, natives' place attachment shows a negative influence on their community activities. Therefore, the results in this study may validate previous literature that natives in ethnic places have low place attachment and neighborhood satisfaction that discourages their community activities (Van Marissing et al., 2006; Park et al., 2012).

Lastly, and most importantly, immigrants' place attachment is the crucial determinant for their local civic engagement; even if an immigrant is well-off, a homeowner, and satisfied with his or her life in the ethnic place, if not attached to the place, it is less likely that such conditions will translate into action. Even if their place attachment is low compared to natives, this chapter confirmed its significance as it connects them to civically engage in their local area. Immigrants' place attachment in their ethnic place could also determine how they "perceive" larger boundaries of their surroundings (Hernández et al., 2007). In this aspect, this study makes further implications for how immigrants may even "engage" in a more significant place scale (such as city and country) once they have established place attachment to their immediate ethnic surroundings.

These findings urges urban practitioners to not only focus on policies that strengthen such individual characteristics that lead to civic action common in both groups, but calls for differentiated attention based on the two groups when planning policies in ethnic places, also considering the type of civic engagement.

For example, natives' satisfaction with the neighborhood, residential length in the neighborhood, social ties directly and positively affected civic engagement, thus, finding more ways to enhance residential stability in the neighborhood, create more social interactions in the neighborhood, while enhancing the neighborhood environmental quality to raise satisfaction is vital. Although previous studies show how natives in ethnic places have low satisfaction with their neighborhood and little interaction with immigrants (Van Marissing, et al., 2006: 284), it is crucial to find ways to bolster both satisfaction and interaction since some studies demonstrate how more daily to work-related inter-group interactions produce higher trust (Shim et

al., 2017), while those who had positive perceptions of immigrant neighbors had higher residential satisfaction (Park et al., 2009).

On the other hand, for immigrants, neighborhood satisfaction and social ties are also vital; however, their place attachment is monumental in their civic engagement, so, devising ways to bolster their attachment to the ethnic place is necessary. Furthermore, more ways of raising awareness and deepening knowledge regarding socially acceptable civic engagement behavior and the political and legal system in Korea may also serve as a way to enhance their civic engagement.

Nevertheless, this chapter has limitations in that the determinants of civic engagement may not fully explain the detailed conditions why an immigrant in an ethnic place may become civically engaged, as the larger social context and personal experiences of actual immigrants could not be fully explored in this quantitative approach. The next chapter aims to fill the gap by analyzing the immigrants' experience in an ethnic place.

5. Immigrants' Place Attachment and Civic Engagement Process²⁵⁾

5.1 Chapter objectives

The previous chapter showed how immigrants' place attachment was critical in their civic engagement. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to provide a deeper insight into the process of how Korean-Chinese immigrants, the group that shows less civic engagement compared to natives, form place attachment and become civically engaged in ethnic places in the host society.

While quantitative analysis is advantageous in drawing conclusive findings based on data and numbers, due to its rigid nature reflected in the design of the structured surveys, it may not cover unpredicted yet integral factors relevant to the research that can be revealed during the process of data collection. Therefore, this qualitative analysis aims to complement the previous chapter by discovering additional factors driving civic engagement in ethnic places that the quantitative analysis could not capture.

While the sample in the previous chapter was designed to reflect the adult population, including both immigrants and natives, of the ethnic place Daerim, this chapter focuses on a group of civically engaged immigrants in the same ethnic place. It is meaningful to look at this group as the previous chapter demonstrated how immigrants are less civically engaged and had less place attachment for Daerim than natives. How did this group of immigrants become even more

25) This chapter has been published and further developed based on the author's (co-authored) recent article in *Space and Environment* (2021).

civically engaged than their peers and native residents, despite the statistical findings that show immigrants are significantly less civically engaged? Is their place attachment for the ethnic place unique? If so, how did it affect their civic engagement? Were there other factors affecting their civic engagement? What is the overall process that ultimately led to civic engagement? By analyzing their commonalities and comparing them to the statistical findings in the previous chapter, this chapter aims to address these questions.

Volunteer work is considered one of the highest levels of being civically engaged (Putnam, 2000) compared to other activities, such as writing a petition, being part of a local bowling team, or attending church. This is because it requires a high level of commitment, engaging one's time, energy, and opportunity cost for the time. Therefore, above all other forms of civic engagement, this research is focused on volunteering activities in Daerim-dong by immigrants.

Under the premise that voluntary activities to improve a neighborhood is constructive for society as a whole, this study aims to identify the individual traits, motivations, contextual conditions, and process of the volunteering experiences of immigrants to produce policy implications for ethnic places in need of neighborhood improvements.

5.2 Data and Methodology

5.2.1 Research design

Instead of verifying existing theories and stopping at a “mere description of phenomena” (Vollstedt and Rezat, 2019), Strauss and Corbin's (1990) grounded theory methodology is adopted to develop a

theory that best explains a social process and experience of a particular group of people in a specific setting. Grounded with empirical evidence obtained from fieldwork, this methodology is especially instrumental when there is little information regarding the topic. Therefore, this method is appropriate to identify in detail the similarities in individual traits and experiences related to volunteering in an ethnic place – a little-studied topic with data based on direct fieldwork and first-hand experience.

The researcher transcribes the interviews obtained from fieldwork, analyzes the data word-by-word, sentence-by-sentence, and identifies “concepts” from the words and sentences in the first stage of coding (open coding), ensuring each concept reflects the appropriate dimension and distinctive meaning/characteristic. In the second stage of coding (axial coding), the researcher categorizes similar concepts and creates a higher dimension which captures the essence of the similar concepts, extracting a “subcategory” and a higher “category” that contains similar veins of subcategories. It is particularly essential when analyzing, to oscillate back and forth from the concepts, subcategories, and categories to merge, connect, or re-categorize them to eventually attain accuracy for each element and relationship between the elements. This repeated analysis continues to the point of reaching theoretical saturation, the state in which there are no more new findings. This leads to the last stage of coding – selective coding, in which the researcher produces a storyline and process analysis that explain the core phenomenon and how the relevant conditions lead to such a result. Consequently, the research arrives at theoretical integration, in which all the concepts, subcategories, and categories form a storyline of the research, producing a grounded theory.

This research follows the multiple stages of coding and analyzing to find the common characteristics of the immigrants volunteering in an ethnic place, the direct and indirect reasons and conditions that brought them to volunteer. According to the “coding paradigm” introduced by Strauss and Corbin (1990), based on the relevant concepts and categories extracted, theoretical integration was conducted. First, placing the core phenomenon in the middle, the causal conditions, action/interaction, and consequences are aligned as the main axis, then adding the contextual condition and intervening condition on both sides of the core phenomenon, a paradigm model is produced. This paradigm model befits our purpose since this research aims to explain the process in which civic engagement (volunteering) occurs with place attachment for the ethnic place as a central phenomenon.²⁶⁾ Similarly, numerous research finds this model advantageous to explain the intricate process of certain social phenomenon (Hong and Jeong, 2018; Lee, 2019).

5.2.2 Participants

This study selected Korean-Chinese participants in a well-organized neighborhood volunteer program in partnership with the police force, “foreigners’ voluntary crime prevention patrol (FVCP)” in Daerim-dong. This patrol program officially began in 2010, yet it stems from the “Daerim-dong (Korean) Chinese national voluntary crime prevention patrol” established in September 2008. What started as a modest group of six Korean-Chinese, now (as of 2019) has at least 55 members split into three groups that patrol the entire

26) For example, the concept “My second home, My second China” are derived from the transcribed interviews which include comments, such as, “Daerim feel like home,” “I feel attached,” “Daerim is my neighborhood, and a wonderful place. It is my home (Gohyang 고향),” “It is like our second China,” or “second home.”

neighborhood from Friday to Sunday, with each group in charge of different days. Their central role is to patrol areas as a group at night in their official uniforms with their patrol name “FVCPP” and report any unlawful or troublesome activities to the police immediately. They also provide translation services to the police during an emergency and participate in crime prevention awareness campaigns and various other neighborhood improvement projects, such as cleaning streets. According to the Yeongdeungpo district police office, compared to the year 2015 in which the number of serious crime, including murder, burglary in Daerim amounted to 624, in 2017 its number reduced by 25%, 471 cases, while the total number of crime has also reduced by 60% from 2015 in two years (Chosunilbo, 2017). The FVCPP takes some credit in making the neighborhood safer through their volunteer work, which makes it an appropriate subject for this research as they represent immigrant volunteers in an ethnic place. Therefore, this study recruited 15 participants from FVCPP.

Table 5.1 covers the list of participants displaying individual characteristics. Out of the 15 participants, 40.0% were male; the average age was 51.9 years old, while those in their 50s were 53.3% of the total. 93.3% were married while 53.3% were married to a Korean partner; 66.7% were naturalized Koreans. 26.7% were homeowners, and 73.3% were renters; the average total length of stay in Korea was 16.3 years, while the average duration of volunteering in Daerim was 6.7 years. 60% lived in Daerim, and 26.7% lived near Daerim; those who lived in Daerim averaged 14.5 years in residential length.

While the gender ratio was relatively even, those in their 40s and 50s were dominant in number (80%). The participants shared a trend

in that they were long-term residents in Korea and Daerim (for residents of Daerim). They were long-time volunteers. Though not all of the participants lived in Daerim, many lived near, while two participants traveled from afar (minimum 60 minutes distance) to volunteer. There were more renters and slightly more naturalized Koreans. They varied in their occupations, ranging from factory employees to office workers, translators, insurance planners, restaurant employees, multicultural education instructor, and housewives, of which some retired from their previous jobs. 73.3% had experienced or were involved in other volunteer programs.

<Table 5.1> Basic characteristics of study participants

| ID | Age | Gender | Occupation | Marital & naturalization status | Type of housing | Length of stay in Korea (yr) | Duration (yr) of volunteering in Daerim | Residence location | Residential length in Daerim (yr) |
|----|-----|--------|---|---------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | 57 | Male | Office worker | Married but lives alone | Owner-occupied | 21 | 7 (involved in other volunteer too) | Daerim | 21 |
| 2 | 55 | Male | Professional U-tuber | Married but lives alone | Renter | 15 | 7 | Daerim | 15 |
| 3 | 61 | Male | Electrician | Married, naturalized Korean | Renter | 14 | 7 (involved in other volunteer too) | Daerim | 12 |
| 4 | 49 | Male | Factory employee | Married | Renter | 16 | 7 (involved in other volunteer too) | Daerim | 15 |
| 5 | 52 | Male | Factory employee | Married | Renter | 14 | 7 | Daerim | 13 |
| 6 | 48 | Male | Factory employee | Married to Korean, naturalized Korean | Renter | 20 | 7 | Daerim | 20 |
| 7 | 45 | Female | Insurance planner | Married to Korean, naturalized Korean | Owner-occupied | 15 | 8 (First began patrolling in Yeongdeungpo district) | Daerim | 10 |
| 8 | 35 | Female | multicultural education instructor | Married to Korean, naturalized Korean | Renter | 14 | 1 (other volunteer work 4 years) | Jamsil | |
| 9 | 56 | Female | Office worker | Married | Renter | 9 | 4 | Daerim | 5 |
| 10 | 56 | Female | Restaurant employee, Chinese translator | Single, naturalized Korean | Renter | 17 | 7 (other volunteer work 13 years) | Ansan | |
| 11 | 50 | Female | Housekeeper | Married to Korean, naturalized Korean | Renter | 16 | 7 (other volunteer work 12 years) | Shindaebang (nearby Daerim) | |
| 12 | 49 | Female | Translator/ Housewife | Married to Korean, naturalized Korean | Renter | 15 | 7 (other volunteer work 12 years) | Shindaebang (nearby Daerim) | |
| 13 | 62 | Female | Restaurant employee, Chinese dance instructor | Married to Korean, naturalized Korean | Owner-occupied | 23 | 7 (other volunteer work 11 years) | Daerim | 20 |
| 14 | 53 | Female | Chinese teacher | Married to Korean, naturalized Korean | Renter | 17 | 8 (other volunteer work 10 years) | Shindaebang (nearby Daerim) | |
| 15 | 51 | Female | Housewife | Married to Korean, naturalized Korean | Owner-occupied | 18 | 9 (other volunteer work 8 years) | Gwanak (nearby Daerim) | |

5.2.3 Data collection

After obtaining approval from the Seoul National University's IRB, each and every step in this research was carried out, adhering to what has been approved by the IRB. Based on a reputational case selection method to select interviewees with similar experiences in a specific group, the patrol group leaders were contacted directly by the researcher as their contact information was publicly displayed in news articles regarding new recruitments and questions for their volunteer work. After the group leaders and members agreed to be interviewed, on the date of the interviews, every participant signed a letter of consent which includes all the pre-explained relevant information regarding privacy protection, application, and custody of data collected in interviews, agreement to being voice-recorded, right to withdraw from the study at any time during and after the interview.

In total, from October to November in 2019, 15 patrol members participated in the five one-on-one interviews that lasted from 20 to 40 minutes and two focus group interviews that lasted for 80 minutes. The interviews used a semi-structured format which also included open-ended questions to induce answers rich in content, such as "What does Daerim-dong mean to you?" "How and why did you get to come to Daerim dong (to live or to volunteer)?" "What are the effects and experiences of your volunteer work in Daerim?" "How was it like when you first began to volunteer, and how has it changed over time?" "Why do you volunteer in Daerim?" The interviews continued to obtain more information about their experiences in Korea, Daerim, or life in general changed due to the volunteering work. The interviews were conducted at the FVCCP

checkpoint near Daerim Station. The interviews were voice-recorded with the participants' permission and transcribed by the researcher. Once the point of data saturation was reached, in which no longer new information surfaces regarding the research question, no additional interviews were carried out.

In addition to the official interviews, this researcher made field visits to Daerim-dong for observational analysis at least 25 times, accompanied the volunteer groups' neighborhood patrol activities 14 times (each time lasting for 40 to 80 minutes), and also carried out numerous unofficial interviews and conversations with participants and relevant police officials that informed this study.

5.2.4 Coding and paradigm model

With data collected from interviews, each sentence was analyzed word by word and repeatedly compared to other words and sentences to identify underlying concepts that best captures the meaning of the context, which is the process of open coding. Once the concepts were derived from the data, similar and different concepts are identified. Then, similar concepts are then categorized under a category that contains those concepts. Even among categories, similarities can be found, resulting in a broader category that can integrate several subcategories. By repeating this exercise, one goes back and forth to the original context to revise the concepts to improve the interactions between the concepts and find meaningful statements that could lead to theoretical concepts.

Once the categories and subcategories that comprise similar concepts are generated, axial coding takes place to clarify the relationships between the identified categories. In the process of axial coding, the core categories appear, explaining the relationships among

the categories centering on the core phenomenon. The researcher then aligns the categories in a column with the core phenomenon taking place in the middle. The causal conditions are identified, which causes the core phenomenon. Then the action/reaction strategy is identified that comes after the core phenomenon. On the left and righthand of the core phenomenon, the contextual condition and intervening condition are positioned, explaining the direct effect they have on the core categories. The consequences of the action/reaction are then laid out at the very bottom of the entire process. As a result, an integrated paradigm model is created to describe the relationships among the different categories, illustrating a storyline.

5.3 Analysis of immigrants' civic engagement

5.3.1 Open coding and axial coding

In total, 55 concepts, 38 subcategories, and 12 categories were extracted from the analysis as displayed in Table 5.2. Each category is then linked to a paradigm that helps to depict the relationship between categories, according to axial coding.

<Table 5.2> Open coding: extracting concepts and categories

| Concept | Subcategory | Category | Paradigm (Axial coding) |
|---|--|---|-------------------------|
| • We improve our neighborhood and immigrant image by ourselves | Self-help spirit of immigrants | | |
| • A challenging task that can be only done by me | Sense of responsibility and obligation | | |
| • Chinese culture is based on many collective group activities | Cultural characteristic | Individual characteristics | |
| • Diligence | | | |
| • Has more passion and more volunteer-minded | Individual trait | | Causal condition |
| • Desire to be recognized | | | |
| • Experienced discrimination because of cultural or language difference | | | |
| • (In)direct experience of not receiving rightful payment and being ignored | Individually experienced (in)direct discrimination in daily life | Consciousness of the Korean-Chinese immigrant community in relation to Korean society | |
| • Conscious of the ethnic image shown to | Become conscious of the | | |

| | | | |
|--|--|--|---|
| Korean society | Korean-Chinese immigrants' image | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feeling the necessity of harmonization between ethnic Korean from China and natives Became a homeowner in Daerim Can afford to live comfortably Reverse culture-shock when back in China Have many Korean friends Mutual understanding with Korean neighbors while living and working together Underwent time to adapt to Korea Speaks Korean fluently Recognizing the need for extra care for Daerim as the most representative hotspot for Chinese immigrants Awareness that the neighborhood needs image improvement Neighbors are nice here Neighborhood is safe here | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feel the necessity of harmonization with Koreans Became well-off financially Became more comfortable in Korea than in China Mutual understanding with Koreans through exchanges Passing of time Fluency in Korean Recognition of Daerim as a symbolic place for (Korean) Chinese immigrants Awareness of the need to improve the neighborhood's image Perception of neighbors Perception of neighborhood's safety | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adaptation to Korean society Positive perception of the neighborhood | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A place to enjoy Chinese immigrant culture and food Good location for transportation Where one can find and do everything A place to meet others My second hometown (Go-hyang), Second China A place for Chinese immigrants Do not want to leave here Even if I do not live here, it is a special place to me and I want to take care of the place A place full of memories | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Place attachment's instrumental dimension (place dependence) Place attachment's cognitive dimension (place identity) Place attachment's emotional dimension (place affection) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formation of place attachment | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Central phenomenon |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access volunteer through personal social network (friend, acquaintance) Access volunteer through Chinese immigrant associations or SNS groups (Band) for married immigrants One or two individuals gather, form an association, and associations lead volunteer activities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Personal relations Social relations (organizations) Systematized social networks | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social network formation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Intervening condition |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Criminal incidents or conflicts occur in reality Distorted images of neighborhood in mass media (movie "Young police") Negative public opinion on Chinese immigrants | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Crime and conflicts in reality Negative image portrayed in mass media Negative public opinion on neighborhood and Chinese immigrant community | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Publicly expressed collective discrimination (Negative public opinion on neighborhood and Korean-Chinese immigrants) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contextual condition |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consistent volunteering | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Volunteering for the neighborhood | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reactive civic engagement (Volunteer) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Action/Interaction |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feeling a sense of pride and satisfaction Formation of self-dignity by overcoming the „stigmatized social labels such as “immigrant” “multicultural household” Feels like receiving more than giving Improvement in quality of life Fun social platform to meet friends Place attachment extends to Seoul and South Korea Include new-coming immigrants More Korean friends are made More immigrant friends are made | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reinforcement of self-esteem Improvement in quality of life by the joys of giving Benefits of socialization Spatial expansion of place attachment to larger boundaries Prevention of others becoming excluded Expansion of social network | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Personal effects Social effects | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consequences |

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| • Better relations with Koreans and immigrants | Better relations between Koreans and immigrants | |
| • Neighbors and shop owners are thankful | | |
| • Family members recognize the good deed | Recognition by those surrounding me and Korean society | |
| • Governmental organizations and Korean society recognizes the work | | |
| • Others around us become aware of their actions when they look at us volunteer (learn to take care of the neighborhood) | Raises awareness and has an educational effect | |
| • Our children learns from our volunteering work | | |
| • Continue to volunteer and widen range of volunteering activities to other fields | Expansion of the range of civic engagement | |
| • Lead to other social engagement activities | | |
| • Solidarity of the Korean-Chinese immigrant community | Solidarity of the immigrant community | |
| • Improvement of neighborhood's environment and safety | Improved environment and safety | Environmental effects |
| • Korean visitors increased | Overcame the neighborhood's unkempt image and became an attraction | |
| • Volunteering in the past was not as systematic | Systematization of volunteering | Development of volunteering activity in itself |
| • Reinforcement of place attachment or the neighborhood | Virtuous cycle of place attachment and civic engagement (neighborhood volunteering) | |

1) Causal condition

Causal conditions are the conditions that cause a certain phenomenon. Here, mainly four conditions were identified: individual characteristics, consciousness of the Korean-Chinese immigrant community and its relationship with Korean society, adaptation to Korean society, and perception of the neighborhood. All of these causal conditions are essential conditions that explain how an immigrant may become civically engaged; however, they are not completely sufficient. Even if all of these conditions are met, they do not fully explain why immigrants may engage in local volunteering in ethnic places.

① Individual characteristic

Individually, volunteers shared an individual trait of being more diligent, passionate, and had a strong desire to be recognized and to volunteer for their neighborhood. They shared the spirit of self-help and displayed a strong sense of responsibility and obligation.

Participants 1 and 2 stated:

“The image of our Korean-Chinese immigrants is so negative that we wanted to show the positive side of our culture with our own hands... Making our neighborhood safe with our own hands, showing the Korean society that even if our community weren’t before, that we have improved... Someone needs to do it, then why not us?”
(Participant 1)

“We, immigrants, have lived here long enough, but we haven’t invested much in this neighborhood. So, we wanted to preserve and take care of our culture (and neighborhood) by ourselves.”
(Participant 2)

Participants 1 and 2, by highlighting words such as “we,” “our,” “us,” “with our own hands,” and “by ourselves,” emphasized the importance of self-help spirit. Perceiving that someone needs to improve the neighborhood and their image, they stated how that “someone” is “me.” They showed a strong sense of obligation to carry out what is necessary for their neighborhood, culture, and image.

The desire to be recognized was prominent among many participants. The interviewees stressed the gravity of being recognized by other Korean residents and society by showing that the neighborhood is crimeless and safe. Their act is meant to be seen, so they can be recognized by other Koreans that they are striving to live harmoniously by working diligently in the host society. Being recognized as an equal, unlike an outsider looking in, not to be isolated or discriminated against is a fundamental desire for them. Immigrants come to Korea with hopes of achieving a certain level of socio-economic status, yet are faced with the reality of social

discrimination, making them feel like they do not matter (or “ignored”). As a result, the immigrants’ initial hope and expectations are trampled, which may momentarily or permanently set them back. However, in these cases, they rose above such negative experiences, and continued to endeavor to be recognized by the host society.

Some participants pinpointed the collective Chinese group culture that drives them to act collectively in volunteering work, while some participants underscore the passion and diligence of their fellow volunteers that are important individual drivers for volunteering. Participant 1 thought highly of other volunteers as they come to volunteer for the neighborhood at night even after working all day and feeling tired. She emphasized how even when all the volunteers need to go to work early the next day, as early as 4 am, they persisted to contribute. This characteristic of being committed and diligent is also demonstrated by participant 8 as she lives an hour away from Daerim, yet volunteers every Saturday because she *“wanted to volunteer where there are many fellow Korean-Chinese.”*

② Consciousness of the Korean-Chinese immigrant community and its relation to Korean society

The consciousness of the Korean-Chinese immigrant community’s image in relation to Korean society was a pivotal causal condition. While individually facing discrimination or exclusion directly or indirectly in their daily lives for being an immigrant, they became more conscious of their immigrant community in relation to Korean society. Participant 7 shows an example of the daily discriminations and their effects on her.

“When I came to Korea, my heart fluttered with expectations... I worked hard... because it was supposed to be my hometown. Yet, I

was ignored because I was a Kyopo (overseas Korean with a non-Korean nationality)... and it hurt my feelings.” (Participant 7)

In spite of the identical Korean lineage that natives and the immigrant shares, once the immigrant set foot on his or her ancestor’s “original mother country,” as participant 7 mentioned, the immigrant faces discrimination because that original tie, the Korean lineage, is no longer valid to the eyes of the contemporary natives while the immigrant is excluded and discriminated in society. The expectations of being welcomed by the original hometown of one’s parents or grandparents are shattered, leaving the immigrant with disappointment, “hurt feelings,” or resentment. While volunteering for Korean-Chinese workers to receive their overdue wages, participant 10 witnessed how there were countless times that immigrants were denied to be treated fairly by not being paid their rightful wages. Participants 12 and 14 also testified how they could not receive two months worth of wages, sometimes amounting to 10 million KRW (approximately 9,000 USD). Participant 10 stated the hardships after coming to Korea in the following:

“When I first came to Korea, there was some prejudice (about us). We were discriminated against because of the differences in our accents, culture, and communication. When working at a restaurant... the vocabulary for food was different. For example, “sangchoo (lettuce)” is “bulbi,” “buchu (chives)” is “yeomjee.” So, these differences were so difficult for us as natives would really criticize us for not understanding them.” (Participant 10)

Participants 10 and 1 each told tales of discrimination they faced due to their “foreignness” as immigrants. The different vocabularies and

accents they used – in spite of the same Korean language they speak with natives, and the fact that they have different nationalities expose them to criticism when working and closer supervision even when volunteering as the Gu-office double-checks their work unlike when natives volunteer (Participant 1).

Many began their journey to Korea with the thought that they are all the same ethnicity, yet soon they were differentiated and discriminated that they began to sense an invisible line dividing “us” from “them.” The individual experiences of discrimination and exclusion faced in their daily lives constantly remind them that they are foreign, after all, to their ancestor’s motherland. As a result, immigrants become conscious of “us” – as in the Korean-Chinese immigrant community – and “them” – the native Koreans. Therefore, they become more aware of the Korean-Chinese immigrant community’s image and status in relation to Korean society.

The participants still felt a psychological distance from native Koreans, even when many of them have naturalized. While they, to some extent, felt remote from Korean society, they were conscious of the Korean-Chinese immigrant community because how they are viewed by Korean society may indirectly or directly affect their image, state of mind, or life. Similarly, the volunteer program itself is officially named as the “Foreigner’s” voluntary crime prevention patrol, regardless of the inclusion of naturalized citizens, adding to the psychological distance.

Participant 3 expressed how the volunteers were profoundly concerned about their immigrant community’s image, to the extent that their daily lives are affected as they are “always on their toes worrying.” Throughout the interviews, there was an emphasis on “our people,” “our neighborhood,” and “how others would judge us.”

This demonstrated how sensitive they were about the status and image of the Korean-Chinese immigrant community in Korean society that they feel the need to protect that image because it can ultimately affect their lives.

Nevertheless, the foundational thought was their hope to live harmoniously with natives in Korean society. Therefore, they sought recognition from Korean society (as identified in the first causal condition as one of the individual traits) as it elevates their status as well as their perceived community's status.

③ Adaptation to Korean society

Adaptation to Korean society was identified as a foundational block for volunteers to be involved. Either by becoming financially stable and becoming a homeowner, or having the time to give back to society because their children have grown up, by becoming more comfortable living in Korea than in China, socializing well with Koreans and even making Korean friends, and by spending enough time in Korea that it became easier for them to spend their time to volunteer. Additionally, all of the interviewees spoke fluently in Korean, helping their transition in Korea.

As the interviewees tell, immigrants need time to adapt to the new life in Korea, while financial stability is prioritized over other tasks. Earning money and settling down came first, which could take years, then the volunteering came after. It is crucial for immigrants to adapt to the host society, above all other priorities. Since moving to another country is a life-changing event, before helping others or caring about the neighborhood, acclimatizing oneself to the new environment is foundational. Once an immigrant is adapted to society, meaning one becomes physically and mentally comfortable enough in completing

one's daily tasks and is not gravely constrained by time and resources, one can help others and care about other issues unrelated to one's immediate livelihood. Some may adapt faster than others, while some may take longer to find the time and be in a comfortable state of mind to help others as they themselves are struggling to make ends meet.

The participants' socio-demographic characteristics affirmed that most of the volunteers were well adapted to the Korean society. Considering the average total residential length of stay in Korea was 16.3 years and 14.5 years for the residents of Daerim who constitute 60% of the participants, a certain level of residential stability – a potential index of adaptation – could be implied. 66.7% were naturalized Koreans, also reflecting that more than half of the volunteers have well adapted enough to change their nationality. Their average age is 51.9 years old, with the majority in their 50s, hinting that they may have more time than those just starting their career in their lives, and if they had any children, that they probably are of age, leaving the parents with more time to spare for extracurricular activities. Although there were more renters (26.7%) than homeowners, the percentage was roughly 2.6 times higher than the average of immigrant homeowners in Daerim as in the quantitative study in this research (10%), implying higher residential and financial stability. The following excerpts show how some volunteers elevated their socio-economic status over time with greater residential stability.

“I first lived in Gurodong, then Shingil, and settled in Daerim 10 years ago and became a homeowner. I started from living in a half-basement level housing, to Wolse (housing under monthly payment), then Jeonse (housing requiring a lump-sum deposit usually

ensuring a longer leasing period).” (Participant 7)

“I have lived in Daerim for nearly 12 years. First living in a half-basement level housing, I moved four to five times. Now, I live in a satisfactory accommodation – a two-story house with two bedrooms... My house now is only 15 years old that it is not a place soon to be redeveloped that I think I can live here for as long as I want to, until the owner wants me to move out.” (Participant 3)

Participants 7 and 3 were a homeowner and a renter, respectively, however both explained how they gradually gained residential stability compared to their substandard living accommodation (half-basement housing) in their very beginning in Korea.

Participant 14 mentioned how she raised all her children and became comfortable living in Korea that she began to volunteer with her friend’s suggestion. As one reaches a certain age, there is relatively more spare time, as one is more likely to enter a relatively comfortable stage in life that allows one with the time to volunteer for others and the neighborhood. This natural cycle of life is seen in the immigrants’ as well depicted in the above interview excerpt. The fact that they stayed for a considerably long period in Korea shows how they, in a way, survived the struggles of readjustment and adaptation, became middle-aged, and more stable in life in the host society.

The participants exhibited other traits of adaptation to the host society by explaining how it is more convenient for them to be in Korea rather than in China. Participant 3 even stated he experienced reverse-culture shock once he stayed in China recently. He and other participants agreed they felt more comfortable in Korea. Also, they emphasized that they are on cordial terms with their native neighbors

(participant 7), and that they have many native friends they interact with (participant 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7). The fact that they regularly interact with natives, even considering them as friends shows how they have blended well into Korean society.

④ Positive perception of the neighborhood

As the last causal condition, a positive perception of their ethnic place was identified as essential. The participants recognized Daerim as a symbolic place for Korean-Chinese immigrants epitomizing their cultural heritage. As much as the place is a reflection of their heritage, they feel a stronger need to improve the area's image. Participant 10 commented: *"There is no other reason why I come here to volunteer. Even if I or some of us don't live here, this is where our Korean-Chinese immigrant community is concentrated. We wanted to come and help this place of ours."* Participant 9 stated: *"Daerim is where many Chinese people live here, so to contribute my time here for them, and to show a good image of Korean-Chinese to society, I volunteer."* Participant 3 further added that *"Daerim is the only place nearly identical to our hometown food-wise and culture-wise."*

"We've lived in Daerim, and we know it is not insidious as depicted in the movies. The people here are nice. Just like in any other neighborhood, where people live, there can be fights once in a while. We haven't seen that. Daerim is a less developed place. Yet, unlike the image it may project, it has been a great place for our daily lives. Since foreigners do not know well, they litter cigarette butts. So, we pick them up when we volunteer here, and patrol the place in case there are bad people in dark areas here. So we patrol the place, and also come out here as a sort of an exercise after our meals. It

serves many purposes... So after watching movies, such as Cheong-nyeon-gyeong-chal (Midnight Runners),²⁷⁾ people assume that bad people live in Daerim, but they're wrong. If you have time I hope you and others come to eat here. It's less developed, but I think it is a beautiful place." (Participant 7)

Throughout the interviews, many participants repeatedly mentioned the movie *Cheong-nyeon-gyeong-chal* as the source of incorrect portrayal of the neighborhood, residents and the ethnic community. In spite of all the negative public opinions, the participants firmly perceived the neighborhood and the people positively. Even after assessing the neighborhood as “less developed,” participant 7 showed pride about the place and considered the negativity from the outside misinformed.

This positive perception of the neighborhood is also in line with the friendly perception of neighbors and the neighborhood in that they believe their neighbors are “friendly (participant 7, 10)” and their neighborhood “safe (participant 7, 12)” – unlike the prevalent public views. The commonality was present among the participants in that they had positive perceptions of the neighborhood and its residents. Some even sacrificing their satisfaction level with the quality, still perceiving the neighborhood in a positive light regardless.

27) The movie *Cheong-nyeon-gyeong-chal* – meaning ‘young police’ in Korean (2017), controversially depicted Daerim as an area infested with Korean-Chinese gang activities involving illegal organ-harvesting, sex-trafficking, and violence. Reacting to this movie, Korean-Chinese organizations and residents collectively demonstrated against the offensive portrayal of the place and its people.

2) Central phenomenon: formation of place attachment

The central phenomenon identified is the formation of place attachment. As mentioned in the literature review (chapter 2), place attachment is the emotional and affective bond between humans and meaningful settings (Altman and Low, 1992). It can contain multiple constructs, such as place identity – one’s cognitive attachment to a place as one identifies with and connects oneself to a place (Proshansky, 1978), place affection – one’s positive emotional attachment to a place with a sense of affection (Kals and Maes, 2002), and place dependence – one’s instrumental attachment to a place for its functions (Stokols and Shumaker, 1981). The participants displayed these three constructs of place attachment in their interviews regarding Daerim.

① Place identity

As shown in the following excerpts, participants identified with the place as “my turf,” “my hometown,” “second hometown,” or “second China.” Since they regard the place as close to their culture and identity, they felt the need to take care of the place.

“It feels like my hometown. I feel attached to it. So, we protect the place where we live and are on great terms with our neighbors (Koreans included).” (Participant 7)

“Daerim is my turf and it is a wonderful place. It is my hometown. Since, I’m a naturalized Korean, if I live here, this is my hometown (Go-hyang).” (Participant 3)

Participant 7 and many other participants (3, 10–16) mentioned how Daerim was like their hometown or China, while explaining what

Daerim means to them. They were deeply attached to the place for what the ethnic area symbolizes and reminds them of. Participant 3 even testifies even further that since he is naturalized, where he currently lives “is” his hometown. He does not dwell in the past, and now lives in the present with the ethnic place assisting his transition.

In the same sense, participants shared the thought that Daerim is a place for the Korean-Chinese immigrant community, which is also run by the community. The “for-us-by-us” mentality was eminent in many of the participants. Daerim is a place tailored to needs of the Korean-Chinese community and is simultaneously served by the Korean-Chinese community. The participants identify themselves with the place culturally. As can be deduced by participant 13’s interview excerpt, the fact that Daerim is a place with a high concentration of the (Korean) Chinese population motivates them to improve and protect the place. A negative public opinion on the neighborhood is tantamount to criticizing them as they begin to regard the ethnic place as part of their identity. As their sense of immigrant community deepens, as a reaction, their place attachment – especially in terms of place identity, also becomes profound.

② Place affection

As for the positive emotional dimension of place attachment (place affection), participants displayed a strong bond they had with the place with repeated statements about not wanting to leave this place or the desire to continue volunteering in Daerim regardless of where they live. With accumulated experiences and positive memories, the place became a meaningful place that participants became attached to. The next excerpt represents this deep-seated sentiment of attachment.

“I first came here a long time ago and lived in a basement... I am a renter... There are many fellow Korean-Chinese who became wealthy while doing business with the immigrant community... I saw in an interview that one immigrant used to rent in a building, but after he succeeded, he became the building owner. Daerim is a place where one can become successful... In a sense, we all helped them (small ethnic business owners) become rich (by being customers). While we patrol this neighborhood, we look at what used to be small stores that prospered into large ones. We can sense the change here, and all of those become our memories. I lived here long and have many memories, and became attached to this place. So, I patrol the place and protect it. They don't pay us much, but we do it with passion. I married here, raised my child here... So I don't want to leave Daerim because of those memories and familiarity with the location, people, and neighborhood.” (Participant 3)

Participant 3 showed a deep affection for the place as he spent over a decade in Daerim. He had good memories of the place as he married and raised his child in the place, and he has seen the changes in the neighborhood. To the question of whether he would want to leave Daerim if he had the opportunity, along with others (participants 1, 4, 5, and 6), he strongly rejected such a notion because of the sentimental value of the neighborhood.

Even those who lived elsewhere, when asked if they wanted to continue their activities in Daerim, they insisted they would because Daerim means much more to them than simply being a place, and told this researcher that is what they have been doing (participants 10–12, 14, and 15).

③ Place dependence

The fact that the area provides Chinese cultural products, food, entertainment, atmosphere, and friends from the community satisfies the needs of those feeling nostalgic for their mother country. Chinese (Korean-Chinese) immigrants enjoy visiting Daerim for multiple purposes ranging from purchasing Chinese products, eating out, seeking entertainment in Chinese, speaking in their language freely “without being self-conscious of their accent and be themselves” (Shin, 2021: 24). They can also seek essential information regarding their visas or job opportunities, while a concentrated immigrant network provides sentimental comfort and practical benefits for their lives. Daerim in itself serves as an immigrant ecosystem which one can live, work, and play in, while also functioning as an in-between place for immigrants to smooth their transition to Korea.

As the interviewees explained, Daerim is a place that provides a multitude of goods, food, and services, a wide immigrant social network, and its convenient location and affordable housing are also what make people attached for functional reasons. It is a place that “provides everything necessary” (Participant 1) for their lives in the host society. Yet, these reasons go beyond being satisfied with the neighborhood, as the goods and services do not stop at providing convenience but possess sentimental value as it fulfills their nostalgia for their mother country. As a result, immigrants become psychologically dependent on the place.

3) Contextual condition: Publicly expressed collective discrimination

A contextual condition is a macroscopic context that affects the central phenomenon and what controls the action/interaction. Here, the

publicly expressed collective discrimination against the Korean-Chinese immigrants in the form of prevalent negative public opinion on Daerim and Korean-Chinese immigrants in Korean society was determined as a contextual condition. This contextual condition provoked residents and those who regularly visit Daerim to consolidate their place attachment to Daerim as it symbolizes their ethnicity and identity that triggered them to become more protective and involved.

Even if the immigrants are simply generalized into one category of “Chinese immigrants,” in actuality, there are multiple sub-categories of the immigrants depending on which region they came from, causing conflicts between them. Regardless of why the conflict occurs, once a violent outbreak ruptures, it affects the neighborhood and the people’s image as a whole.

Participants pointed out that real incidents of crime and conflicts²⁸⁾ that occurred in Daerim worsened the public’s collective fear that tarnished the Chinese community and Daerim altogether. Once there is an outbreak of a violent crime, it is replayed and exaggerated in the mass media, including movies.

Participant 10 lamented that this neighborhood she is attached to has an unfavorable “organ-selling and crime-ridden” reputation, especially because of the way it has been wrongfully depicted in the media. As other participants agreed, the movie Cheong-nyun-gyeong-chal (Midnight Runners) was devastating for the neighborhood and the immigrant community’s image that it

28) According to an official report by the Korean Institute of Criminology (Kim et al., 2019), From July 2018 till June 2019, a total of 1,225 crimes were committed in Daerim (including 802 assaults, 388 robberies), out of which 197 were committed by immigrants. The ratio of natives’ crime were much higher, except for murder.

affected their daily lives negatively. Participants expressed that the volunteers tend to be more active in volunteering when the public image worsens. As a reaction to the negative public image exaggerated in the media, immigrants who have formed place attachment to the neighborhood deepened their bond with the place and the immigrant community, and became more involved in correcting their ethnic image through volunteering. The negative images in the media functioned as a trigger, raising a sense of urgency to show their model civic engagement to natives.

4) Intervening condition

An intervening condition is a more detailed and comprehensive situational factor that affects and controls the central phenomenon and action/interaction. Social network formation was identified as the intervening condition that directly led to volunteering activities. Personal social networks, such as friends and acquaintances, organizational social relations, such as Korean-Chinese immigrant associations or SNS groups for married immigrants were the major channels that brought people into the group. While, two to three individuals began to meet, more people joined, forming an association that contributed to systematizing activities, such as volunteering in this case.

As the participants said in the interviews, their individual and organizational social ties led them to volunteer. There are many associations in Daerim for them to conduct collective activities – volunteering being one of them. Even the very beginning of this crime preventive volunteering program was when several friends met together to play soccer (Park, 2009). Such small meetings among friends and acquaintances became systematized as more people

become members; meetings become regularized and larger. Volunteer programs, as they become regularized, get to form partnerships with official organizations, such as the police, for this program. Even if place attachment is formed, and there is an increased sense of urgency because of the negative public opinion, if one did not meet a friend or find an organization to be regularly involved, the chances of volunteering may have been slim.

5) Action/Interaction: civic engagement (volunteering) for the neighborhood

As an intentional reaction to the central phenomenon, the action/interaction identified here is “to consistently volunteer for the neighborhood.” Once place attachment was formed, with all the pre-conditions analyzed here, participants become involved in local volunteering work for neighborhood improvement. The next passage by participant 9 well explains this cause and effect.

“I started to volunteer to contribute my talents to the neighborhood for myself and for my neighborhood... While living in Daerim, my attachment (affection) for this neighborhood also grew large that it feels like my hometown. I want to live here as long as I can, and also volunteer as long as I can.” (Participant 9)

As participant 9 verified, the participants were proud of their contribution to the neighborhood and showed their intention to be committed to the neighborhood for the long haul, not limited to crime preventive patrol work, but for other various volunteering work necessary for the neighborhood. The FVCCP provides other volunteering services for the neighborhood as well, such as helping

seniors by providing food and picking up litter.

*“Even if I move, I am going to continue volunteering for Daerim.”
(Participant 12)*

“There are other crime-preventive volunteering programs in Shindaebang, but I always come here!” (Participant 13)

Due to the intrinsic qualities of Daerim and the place attachment to the place, volunteers chose to continue their service specifically for Daerim. Participants (10, 12, 13) stated how they wanted to continue their volunteering work specifically in Daerim as long as they can. They further emphasized this point by mentioning how there are other identical programs elsewhere (Shindaebang, Garibong, Ansan, and more), yet they choose Daerim for its special qualities and the network. The participants' civic engagement is intentionally carried out in this ethnic place.

6) Consequences

As for the consequences of the action/interaction, which is volunteering, various effects including personal, social, and environmental effects of volunteering, and the development of volunteering activity itself were identified.

① Personal effect

The personal effects of volunteering ranged from heightened self-esteem, such as feeling a sense of pride and satisfaction, overcoming the socially stigmatized labels (“just an immigrant” or “multicultural household”), feeling the joys of giving with an

improved quality of life, having an active social life through volunteering, and the spatial expansion of place attachment to larger boundaries, such as to Seoul, and to South Korea. The participants here supported these effects in the following:

“People here see us volunteer and think that although we are immigrants, we wear these patrol uniforms and come out to take care of this communal space that we share. Then I also feel proud.”
(Participant 12)

“I think the thought shifts from ‘No... we’re just from a multicultural household from China, so we cannot’ to ‘No. We are living life wonderfully and proudly in this place where all of us (immigrants and natives) live together’... So now my attachment and affection has expanded to Seoul and South Korea. It is my wish that not only the Korean-Chinese community, but all other cultures can live harmoniously together in South Korea with respect and understanding for one another. It is much better than before, but we can do more.”
(Participant 8)

As the participants above commented, the personal effects of volunteering in the host society were multifold. They felt proud, especially because they were told they were “foreigners” and not citizens by society. By making themselves helpful to the community and neighborhood, they were being recognized by the host society as equals. The fact that they get to wear the uniforms given by the police when patrolling is a form of public recognition. This recognition fueled their can-do spirit, increasing their self-esteem. Due to these effects, participants felt their quality of life improve (participants 5 and 9), while feeling as if they were being given more than they were providing (participant 8). Other effects included the

expansion of social networks as the volunteering in itself served as an enjoyable platform for socializing.

② Social effect

The social effects of volunteering were diverse. By including new-coming immigrants, it helped to prevent immigrants from feeling isolated and excluded from the host society. Participants mentioned how including more members to join volunteering to help their adaptation to society was one of the goals and end result of volunteering.

More inter-cultural exchanges among Koreans and immigrants were carried out, resulting in more friends from both sides, improving relations. As ethnic places include both natives and immigrants, the act of improving the neighborhood benefits both parties, while the natives also get to appreciate the activity of the immigrant volunteers. As a result, more friendly interactions can be exchanged. Participant 1 mentioned how native friends would even help immigrants out when in need of help, involving official intervention (Gu-office).

Family members, neighbors, shop owners, governmental organizations, and Korean society recognized the work of the volunteers – a feat that the volunteers sought as identified individual traits. The work also generated educational effects on the volunteers' children and to the people in the neighborhood in that it raises awareness about taking care of one's neighborhood. In one of the field studies in which I accompanied the FVCCP patrolling the neighborhood (October 9, 2019), a female volunteer brought her 10-year-old son to join the volunteering activity. She was proud of the activity and wanted her son also to share the experience. Some

participants stated how by showing the neighborhood merchants that they clean the streets and take care of the place, the merchants also follow accordingly.

This volunteering work contributed to the solidarity of the immigrant community and led to other related civic engagement activities in the neighborhood and in Korean society, ranging from Chinese culture and dance volunteering (participant 13), hair-cut volunteering (participant 9), helping senior citizens in the neighborhood, Korean-Chinese immigrant association multicultural program directing and auditing (participant 1), to serving as a special assistant to the Seoul City's mayoral camp's naturalized Korean association (participant 3).

③ Environmental effect

The environmental effects of volunteering is the physical improvements of the neighborhood in terms of cleanliness and safety since the volunteers specialize in those two areas. Also, by the enhanced standards of living in the neighborhood, Daerim has been overcoming the negative image of being dangerous and unkempt, and now gaining attention from native visitors from other neighborhoods to experience the food and culture.

There has been considerable environmental improvement compared to 10 years ago. The number of crime reported by the police has decreased 15% from 2015 (6,867 incidents) to 2019 (5,840), while the characteristics of illegal activities shifted from violent natures to mostly trivial daily living complaints (Kim, 2019). Although Daerim still suffers from occasional crime that makes the news,²⁹⁾ especially

29) With the COVID-19 pandemic, anti-Chinese sentiment in South Korea has been surfacing again, while Daerim has been receiving the spotlight

since the global pandemic, COVID-19, in 2020, causing Seoul and Daerim's economic downturn, compared to two decades ago, Daerim has been continuing to flourish with better street management and various real estate developments in progress (Lee, 2019).

④ Development of volunteering in itself

Lastly, the positive effects of volunteering leads to the development of volunteering activity in itself. With more volunteers joining the group, and establishing a partnership with the police, the volunteer work has become more structured. Collaborating with the government and (Korean) Chinese immigrant association, they built a checkpoint near Daerim station as an official gathering place. Every Friday through Sunday at 8pm, they put their official uniforms on and patrol around the neighborhood while dropping by the police office to sign a time-sheet for the volunteering work. In their official uniform provided by the police, they walk in two rows with a glow stick and patrol the neighborhood for an hour or two. If there are any situations raising concerns about safety, they contact the police station immediately, while trying to placate the relevant parties. Participants mentioned how their volunteering work, and their many other activities by relevant immigrant associations became much more systematized than in the past (participant 2).

With the continued volunteering work, they feel proud and more attached to the neighborhood as time passes. Participant 8 mentions this in the following excerpt:

of negative attention. Adding fuel to the fire, in January 2021, a violent fight between a couple that resulted in one death of a female in the commercial streets of Daerim worsened such public opinion, shocking immigrant residents as well.

“Thanks to the volunteering work, I like this neighborhood and want to take care of this place even more. In this meeting place for the people from our hometown community, we all get to make it safer, meet friends, eat food we used to eat: that is why we become even more attached. Also, this is why I come here and volunteer every weekend, spending an hour commuting.” (Participant 8)

Participant 8 showed how a virtuous cycle is created between place attachment and civic engagement: once place attachment is formed, one is more committed to volunteer for the neighborhood, which then reinforces one's place attachment.

5.3.2 Process analysis and paradigm model

Based on the selective coding process, the process of the formation of place attachment of immigrants in ethnic places resulting in civic engagement can be illustrated in the paradigm model (Figure 5.1). The process analysis provides a storyline of the formerly analyzed coding results and a paradigm model to explain the central phenomenon and how the relevant conditions lead to such a result. The core category identified here is “immigrants’ place attachment to ethnic places lead to civic engagement (local volunteering).”

Immigrants who volunteer in ethnic places shared similarities in that they were influenced by their own individual traits of sense of obligation and self-help spirit, consciousness of the Korean-Chinese immigrant community's in relation to Korean society which was shaped by the experiences of discrimination they faced in their daily lives, their relatively high level of adaptation to Korean society, and positive perception of the ethnic place as a culturally symbolic and friendly place to live in and visit. These four causal conditions

induced the central phenomenon in which place attachment is formed, in terms of identifying oneself and one's heritage with the place, feeling affections for the place, and being dependent on the place. Consequently, as a reaction, immigrants volunteered to improve the neighborhood as they felt attached and grew a sense of ownership of the neighborhood regardless of where they lived.

However, in a macroscopic context, considering that Korea has a long history of being a homogeneous country, its changing population with the rise of immigrants can be seen as a "threat" factor as it changes the status quo. Therefore, reflecting such collective mindsets, publicly expressed collective discrimination occurs in the form of negative public opinion on the largest immigrant group (Korean-Chinese community) whenever a crime occurs or an incorrect or exaggerated negative portrayal of the area or the immigrant community receives spotlight in the media. This condition serves as a catalyst, or trigger, that urges like-minded individuals to take action in order to redirect the negative public opinion in Korean society. Yet what directly induced these immigrant participants to volunteer in the ethnic place was the social network, such as personal relations, or organization-centered relations. As one or two friends and acquaintances gathered, they formed associations, and began group activities which were gradually systematized over time – volunteer activities being one of such activities.

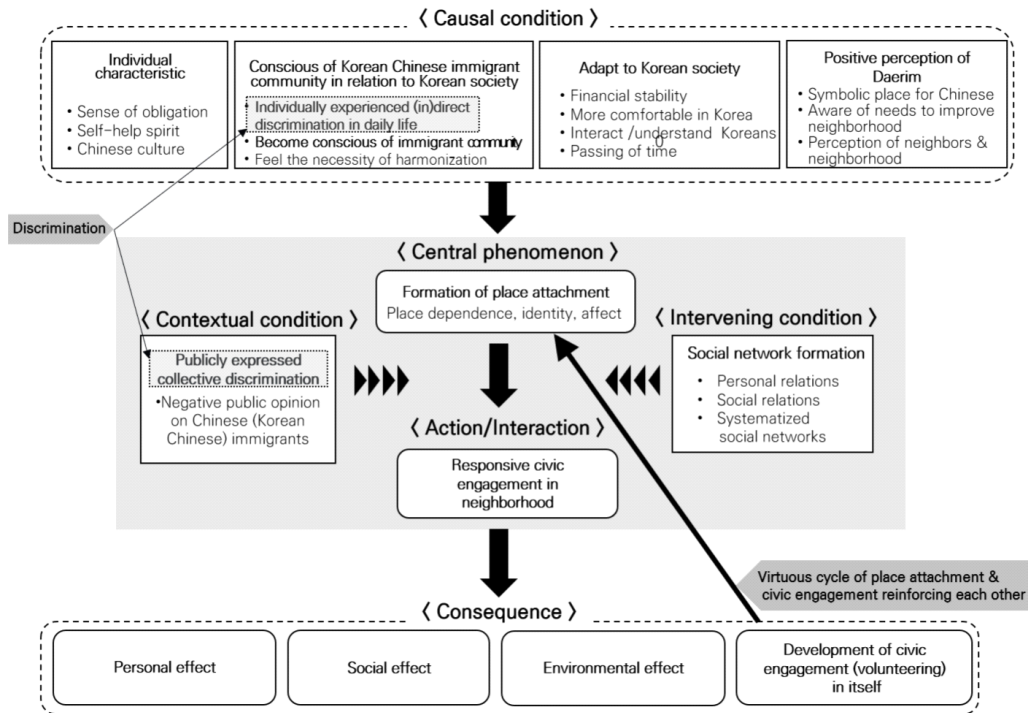
Once they volunteered, there were life-changing personal effects in which one gained more self-esteem, overcoming the social stigmas attached to them as "outsiders." The feeling of gratification by giving back to society was identified. Eventually, their boundaries of place attachment expanded to the host city and country. The social effects were also present as the volunteer work raised awareness in the

community and the neighborhood to take better care of the neighborhood, including natives as well. They were interacting and making friends with natives, being recognized by the community and even Korean society. By rallying together with their Korean-Chinese immigrant community for a good cause, solidarity was formed in the community. Environmental effects included the actual improvement of the cleanliness and safety of the neighborhood, and the end result of having more native visitors come as Daerim has been gaining attention as the city's unexpected attraction.

Lastly, the virtuous cycle of place attachment leading to neighborhood volunteering was established as those who volunteered reinforced their affection for the place, motivating them to continue to volunteer and contribute to the host society.

<Figure 5.1>

Paradigm model of the process of civic engagement of immigrants in an ethnic place



5.4 Discussion on Place Attachment and Civic Engagement

As this symbolic ethnic place provides convenience, a sense of place reminding their mother country, food, culture, friends, and comfort, immigrants become attached to the place, even if they do not live there. They feel the need to protect and take care of it as the place has a special meaning to them. Even if an immigrant has all the qualities of an altruistic personality, is well-adapted to the host society, perceives an ethnic place as a symbolic place, and is conscious of where the immigrants stand in Korean society, if he or

she does not feel emotionally bonded to the place, or has no close social ties to act together, they would be less likely to civically engage than those with such qualities.

By analyzing Korean-Chinese immigrants' civic engagement (volunteering) in Daerim, both universally applicable and case-specific characteristics concerning their civic engagement behavior were identified. Particularly, their civic engagement has a unique characteristic of being reactive to their experiences of discrimination and exclusion in Korean society. The next section elaborates on the details of such distinctive characteristics and conceptualizes immigrants' civic engagement in ethnic places.

5.4.1 Universality of Korean-Chinese immigrants' civic engagement in an ethnic place

Several factors and effects of immigrants' civic engagement support general theories on civic engagement: retaining some individual characteristics, having a positive perception of neighborhood and its people, place attachment, and more social ties indicate one is more likely to be civically engaged. These factors were found to be generally applicable, or universal, regardless of whether one is an immigrant or not.

Immigrant volunteers generally showed similar traits of having a sense of obligation to serve for the community and society, a strong self-help spirit, and a more altruistic personality than those who are not involved in the local community (Anderson and Moore, 1978; Clary et al., 1996; Shye, 2010).

Immigrants' positive perception of the ethnic place and neighbors and longer length of residency or visitation were vital to their formation of place attachment. Once place attachment was formed,

they showed more care for their neighborhood and were civically engaged to improve it through volunteer work. This verifies existing literature regarding place attachment affecting civic engagement (Vaske and Kobrin, 2009; Anton and Lawrence, 2014; Zhu, 2015; Song and Soopramanien, 2019).

Also, social ties were verified as universally applicable as a factor for civic engagement (Burchfield, 2009; Palmer et al., 2011; Wu et al., 2019). Participating in local gatherings and events becomes more accessible when there are more social ties helping one to join and engage.

Lastly, their civic engagement reinforced their place attachment, creating a virtuous cycle. This corroborates previous studies that showed place-specific civic engagement, such as volunteering, reinforced the participants' place attachment while producing various benefits (Clary et al., 1996; Toomey et al., 2020).

5.4.2 Specificity of Korean-Chinese immigrants' civic engagement in an ethnic place

Although the above illustrated how immigrants' civic engagement factors in the host society are no different from the universal theories on civic engagement, there are specifically distinctive immigrant-oriented civic engagement factors worth noting.

First, while having a relatively higher socio-economic status was also important, in the case of immigrants, having a higher socio-economic status, did not narrowly indicate financial security or homeownership. Instead, it meant whether they were well adapted to the host society. This is what differentiates immigrants from applying general theories of civic engagement. Their relative stability in life,

whether it is financial or residential stability, regular interactions with natives, the fact that their children are mostly all grown up, enough time has passed since they have settled in Korea or in the neighborhood, and Korean language ability, all contributed to their adaptation to Korean society, enabling them to seek out local community activities other than simply coping with daily struggles in life.

Second, immigrants' consciousness of where their immigrant community stands in relation to Korean society influenced by their experiences of discrimination is what makes immigrants' mechanism of place attachment and citizen behavior unique. Even after immigrating, or even naturalizing into a Korean citizen, they continue to be treated as "aliens" in Korea, and in response, they sense an invisible line dividing them from natives. As a result, they form a sense of Korean-Chinese immigrant identity, which the ethnic place constantly reminds them of. They are aware of their image of the community and ethnic place and sensitive to public opinions regarding those two elements. The underlying hope is that they wish to live harmoniously with natives. As a reaction to the social separation between "them" and natives, their consciousness of their community image manifested in the ethnic place grows to the point that they identify with the place that symbolizes their mother culture, which builds into their place attachment. Consequently, their uniquely formed place attachment to the ethnic place motivates them to volunteer for the place.

Third, the place attachment of immigrants in an ethnic place is distinctive in that it has a reactive characteristic. Although overall, their place attachment showed general components of place dependence, place affection, and place identity – in line with existing

literature, their place identity component of place attachment was primarily molded by their sense of camaraderie among the immigrant community, which was a reaction to their daily (in)direct experiences of discrimination.

5.4.3 A virtuous cycle of Korean–Chinese immigrants’ reactive place attachment and civic engagement

As immigrants are individually confronted with discrimination in their daily lives, they are reminded that they are “aliens” in this country, even if they have naturalized; a psychological distance between “them (natives)” as opposed to “us (the Korean–Chinese community)” forms, molding a sense of an immigrant community. They become attached to the ethnic place as it provides convenience for their lives and also signifies their immigrant community. As a consequence, they volunteer for their beloved ethnic place. However, over time, their civic engagement takes on another meaning to them as it empowers them in society and deepens their place attachment while providing a multitude of benefits. Civic engagement for the ethnic place becomes a significantly meaningful activity for them in and of itself.

Especially considering how Korean–Chinese and Chinese, among other immigrant groups in Korea have been ranked as the group with the farthest psychological distance by natives (Statistics Korea, 2019), their daily struggles when interacting with natives can be predictable. Previous research supports how discrimination against immigrants, particularly Korean–Chinese, is prevalent in Korean society. In a survey by Korea Research International, more than the majority of 60% of native Koreans in their 20s and 30s viewed Korean–Chinese negatively, as “people to watch out,” “poor people,” or “people lacking public morality (Joongang Daily, 2015).³⁰⁾ Such negative prejudice

affects the natives' action towards Korean-Chinese. For example, even when living in the same ethnic place, natives tend to avoid contact or show no interest in their immigrant neighbors (Lee and Lee, 2018). As a result, Korean-Chinese, even when they have naturalized, feel ignored and discriminated against in their daily lives.

Consequently, they become sensitive about how they are viewed in Korean society as a separate ethnic immigrant group as it affects their daily lives. They have a yearning to be recognized as an equal member of society, while they have a fundamental desire for a harmonious relationship with natives. Their steadfast hope for recognition and emphasis on the importance of harmonious coexistence are central points in that the volunteers in this study channeled their challenging experience into something positive due to these personal traits.

While their immigrant identity deepens, the ethnic place reflects a part of their ethnic identity and their community that they become attached to it. While they reside in the place with people from their immigrant community, visit the place to eat Chinese food, to meet friends, to be entertained, to buy their cultural products, to fill themselves with nostalgia for their hometown, and to “just be themselves” without being conscious of natives (Shin, 2021), their place attachment becomes stronger. Their sense of belonging to their immigrant community becomes equivalent to their place attachment to their ethnic place. An attack on the ethnic place is tantamount to an attack on “them” as a community. The ethnic place become a special place to them worth taking care of. So, they strive to correct the negative images portrayed in the mass media by improving the

30) 248 samples in their 20s and 30s nationwide were randomly selected through SNS.

neighborhood by themselves, as a model citizen would do.

The context behind what first drove them to volunteer with a sense of urgency is a “reaction” to the heightened negative public opinion on their community and ethnic place – a publicly expressed collective discrimination against the immigrant community. Whenever a heinous crime breaks out in the neighborhood, it reflects poorly on their neighborhood and their immigrant community as a whole. Such incidents receive the spotlight in media and affirm natives’ fear and prejudice about the place and the people. Exaggerated or distorted images in the media of the neighborhood or their immigrant community trigger their protective reaction to society’s collective and outspoken discrimination. Volunteers become even more active in improving the neighborhood when their public image worsens.

Therefore, their place attachment and civic engagement have a reactive nature stemming from different forms and intensity of discrimination in society; this is especially prevalent in the initial phase of civic engagement. This is a positive reaction to discrimination as repeated experiences of discrimination or exclusion can result in despair and hopelessness that can lead to more negative outcomes, such as anti-social behavior in the form of separation from society, criminal behavior³¹⁾ (Kim, 2015), and violent outbursts (Yang, 2015).

Nevertheless, even if they first began their volunteering as a reaction to their exposure to discrimination based on their underlying desire to be recognized and firm belief that both groups should harmoniously coexist, over time, as they consistently volunteered for

31) Kim (2015) explained how repeated experiences of discrimination against immigrants in their daily lives influenced their potential and actual frequency of committing violence and crime.

the neighborhood, they found other substantial benefits of civic engagement which motivated them to continue their activity.

On a personal level, they overcame the social stigma of “just being a foreigner,” which limited their role as passive outsiders, gained confidence and gratitude as they could give back to society, and be recognized as equal members, albeit different. They realized they were different as they confronted discrimination, yet they found it acceptable. They accepted how they were perceived as “different,” and embraced the difference, instead of being “assimilated.” This is different from the “reactive ethnicity” (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001: 148) in that although they became conscious of their distinct cultural heritage due to their exposure to some level of discrimination, they did not reject the host society’s culture. They maintained their “foreign” heritage in the ethnic place, and still served and were recognized as valued members of the host society by contributing. In a sense, their acculturation strategy is close to the integration model that Berry (1997) proposed as the most successful type in which the immigrant wishes to preserve his or her heritage while willing to engage in the host society.

They experienced abundant social benefits incentivizing their civic engagement, as their weekly volunteering activity became a positive social gathering that enabled them to socialize among themselves, make more native friends, go around the neighborhood they were fond of, create a sense of solidarity among the immigrant community, and provide other opportunities to engage in society (in other volunteering activities, political campaigns, or job opportunities). Their activity also raised awareness to take care of the neighborhood to residents and visitors – natives and immigrants altogether. Eventually, they gained respect and recognition from their family

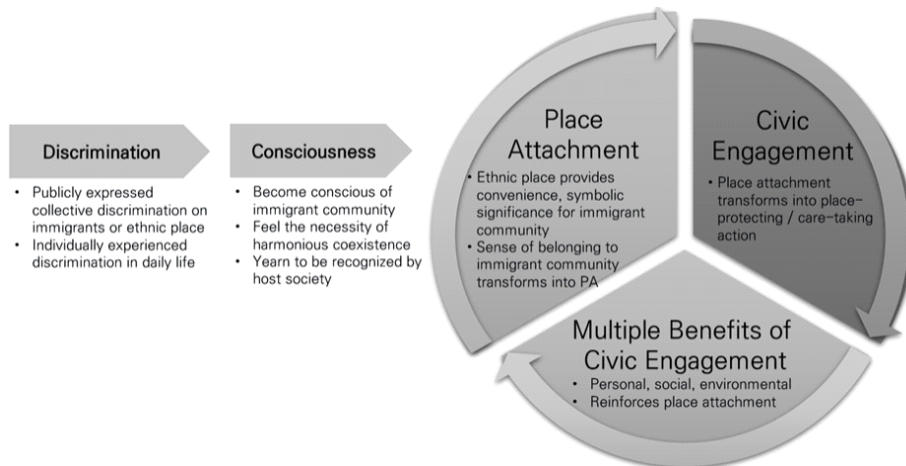
members, native neighbors, and the government that they became local partners with the police to prevent crime in the neighborhood.

The neighborhood became cleaner and safer than before while more natives visited the place as the ethnic place became a cultural attraction, although Daerim has suffered from setbacks due to anti-Chinese sentiments affected by the COVID-19 pandemic or occasional crime that reached the media and broadcasted.

In turn, with their consistent volunteering, the volunteering activity became more official and organized; thus, they were further recognized by society. They became more fond of the ethnic place for what the place stood for and for the conveniences it provided. With their consistent volunteering for the place they cared for, their place attachment deepened and even expanded its boundaries to the city and the country, further motivating them to contribute to the neighborhood and the larger society: establishing a virtuous cycle. Civic engagement in their favored ethnic place became an enjoyable and meaningful activity in and of itself (see Figure 5.2).

<Figure 5.2>

The virtuous cycle of reactive place attachment and civic engagement of immigrants in an ethnic place



5.5 Concluding remarks

This study shed light on factors of civic engagement in the form of volunteering, while clarifying the process of how “reactive civic engagement” takes place in ethnic places through “reactive place attachment” based on the strong sense of the Korean-Chinese immigrant community. It further shows a glimpse of what kind of immigrants under certain conditions make positive changes in the ethnic place that requires some improvement. Immigrants in the ethnic place showed both distinctive and universal traits concerning civic engagement factors and place attachment. The following illustrates the highlights in this chapter.

First, immigrants’ civic engagement showed both common and unique characteristics. As illustrated in previous studies, place attachment, in general, moved people to take care of their place that

they treasured (Vaske and Kobrin, 2009; Anton and Lawrence, 2014; Zhu, 2015; Song and Soopramanien, 2019). Individual traits of being more altruistic and volunteer-minded, having a positive perception of neighborhood were present, while social ties served as a strong mediator that linked their place attachment to civic engagement. What differentiated the Korean-Chinese immigrants' civic engagement from the general dynamics of civic engagement was that there was the pre-condition of being well-adapted to the host society. This did not narrowly mean they had a high socio-economic status, but it meant they were accustomed to the host society's culture and language and relatively comfortable with where they were in their lives. They also had a steady sense of immigrant community, which affected their way of viewing the ethnic place as part of their identity.

Second, although discrimination in society functioned as an initial trigger to be more aware of their "foreignness" and the invisible line separating them from natives, thus provoking a sense of "togetherness" in the Korean-Chinese immigrant community, these individuals showed two unique traits of 1) being mindful that they needed to coexist peacefully and 2) having a deeply embedded desire to be recognized by the host society. Also, these individuals had a sense of altruism and obligation for society, were well adapted to society, and had a positive perspective about their neighborhood and neighbors as their pre-conditions. With these fundamental traits, unlike other negative cases around the world in which those facing discrimination responded with violent outbursts or self-isolation, they rose above the challenges and proved to society that they could contribute in a positive way while maintaining their ethnic identity. Their acculturation strategy is akin to the social integration model (Berry, 1997) in that they embrace the cultural difference and

celebrate their heritage, while they pursue cordial interactions with the host society. This is what sets them apart from the “reactive ethnicity” in which immigrants form hostile attitudes towards the mainstream culture based on their ethnic identity that solidifies due to discrimination (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Meanwhile, the ethnic place provided a sense of belonging as a second home, reminding them of their country of origin and provided convenience, which deepened their place attachment, so they volunteered for the place. As a consequence, their civic engagement produced multiple benefits, which motivated them to continue their volunteering.

Third, civic engagement became a forceful engine on its own, becoming the main motive, going beyond existing as a reactionary consequence. The local volunteering activity produced lasting multiple positive effects for immigrants creating a positive chain reaction in their lives, their ethnic place, and eventually, the host society. The individual benefits ranged from individual fulfillment, self-esteem that helped them to overcome the passive “I’m-just-a-foreigner” mindset, social network consolidation among other immigrants and even natives in the neighborhood. Volunteering also strengthened the immigrant community’s solidarity, while it helped them obtain recognition from natives and the Korean government. This social recognition, in turn, reinforced their pride, motivated them to participate further in society, going beyond the field of volunteering – which could explain why many volunteers had several other experiences of volunteering in different fields. Also, the volunteering activity raised awareness among other immigrants in the community and also the volunteers’ family members which translated into an educational effect, that they can contribute to society and should feel proud, and that they may also want to take care of the ethnic place.

Furthermore, the volunteering act, since it strengthened their sense of immigrant community and fond memories of the neighborhood and fulfilled their lives, reinforced the volunteers' place attachment to the ethnic place and even beyond – to the city and the country. This carries positive implications as to immigrants with expanded boundaries of place attachment through civic engagement may even show place-caring activities and responsible citizen behavior even beyond the ethnic place, once their place attachment has established.

In sum, this qualitative research, by holistically showing the process and factors behind place attachment and civic engagement in an ethnic place, demonstrated how the Korean-Chinese immigrants – who are at times sidelined as “outsiders” in Korea's society with a long history of being homogeneous – can become proactive actors taking action to take care of their ethnic place.

However, the participants of this research were conducting collective action in the form of volunteering that is intended to be seen. Therefore, it may not explain other immigrants' civic engagement behaviors who prefer individual activities that are less visible.

6. Conclusion

“After wandering through New England in the 1830s and witnessing the town meetings of the early American republic, Tocqueville concluded that the ability to exercise local power was the cement that bonded Americans to their democracy and fed their incipient patriotism. The New Englander is attached to his township not so much because he was born in it, but because it is a free and strong community, of which he is a member, and which deserves the care spent in managing it.”
(recited in Tobar, 2005: 283)

As Tocqueville testifies about the importance of a sense of belonging and place attachment to civic engagement that has less to do with where one is born originally, both of the quantitative and qualitative studies on the involvement of local civic engagement demonstrated how immigrants could actively participate in the community for improvement as members of society regardless of their nativity. It is meaningful that it shows how even as Korean-Chinese immigrants from an entirely different country, they can do more than “adapt” and actually become part of the local community, acting as responsible citizens.

The quantitative research showed how the Korean-Chinese immigrants and natives both shared similar traits in that social ties, neighborhood satisfaction, and residential length contributed to a higher likelihood of being more civically engaged both in political and community activities. Immigrants’ overall place attachment and civic engagement level were low; however, once immigrants had a strong

place attachment level, they were more likely to be civically engaged, unlike natives – whose individual traits directly motivate them to engage: proving that immigrants’ civic engagement was specifically place-bound. The qualitative research found that adaptation to society, individual sense of obligation, positive perception of the ethnic neighborhood were important preconditions for immigrants to develop place attachment, while their sense of immigrant community in relation to Korean society was particularly vital. Immigrants are confronted with discrimination in their daily lives, reminded that they are “aliens” in this country, even if they have naturalized. As a reaction, this molds their sense of immigrant identity and they become attached to the ethnic place as it provides familiarity and comfort in their lives and also signifies their immigrant community. As a consequence, they take care of their beloved ethnic place. However, over time, their civic engagement fulfills them and empowers them in their lives and in society, further deepening their place attachment. As a result, civic engagement for the ethnic place becomes a significant life activity for them in and of itself.

This study highlights the significance of voluntary participation in areas of need. Instead of a top-down approach, equally essential is the neighborhood’s capacity to support from the bottom-up in order to see urban projects or policies to be successful and sustainable in the long run. This study also underlines the importance of social ties, residential and some level of financial stability, satisfaction with where they live, and also place attachment – especially for immigrants as it directly leads to civic engagement.

However, this study mainly looked at volunteering, a community activity, as a case study representing civic engagement. Usually, the term “civic engagement” has a strong meaning for political

participation, while community activities can be considered as a more “passive” method to change the status quo and raise awareness. Although both political and community engagement were lower than natives’ engagement, immigrants’ political engagement was even lower between the two. This demonstrated that immigrants have higher priorities of adapting in life before engaging in the host society. Furthermore, immigrants may find community engagement more accessible than political participation as political activities require one to be knowledgeable about the institutions and systems and how to become engaged. Also, this could be because unifying various Korean-Chinese associations with different purposes and strategies for a single political purpose is more logistically challenging than providing local service solutions in the form of volunteering.

Nevertheless, based on these discoveries, the following policy recommendations can be made. First, more policy efforts should be made to encourage Korean-Chinese immigrants’ civic engagement, considering their positive effects. As the qualitative study showed, immigrants’ civic engagement did not stop at crime prevention in the streets but had multiple positive outcomes causing a chain reaction affecting different dimensions from individuals’ enhanced quality of life and fulfillment to a strengthened community, recognition from Korean society and better relations with natives, which circled back to intensifying one’s place attachment, and expanding the boundaries of place attachment further to the city and country. Furthermore, the volunteering act, since it strengthened their sense of immigrant community and fond memories of the neighborhood and fulfilled their lives, reinforced the volunteers’ place attachment to the ethnic place and even beyond – to the city and the country. This can imply that once their place attachment expands beyond the ethnic place – to

the city and the country – they may even show positive civic behavior beyond the ethnic place through repeated experiences of civic engagement. As reviewed previously, the central and municipal governments have been pursuing comprehensive policies with action plans on immigrants with more focus on immigrants' citizen responsibilities. The Seoul Metropolitan Government has been managing diverse projects that range from community to political activities as well, even involving immigrants to be part of decision-making processes in ethnic places and also operating a citywide Foreign Residents Representative Council. However, as these immigrant councils and bodies are also questioned for their true representation and substantive achievements, more efforts should be made.

Second, as shown in both qualitative and quantitative research in this study, the Korean-Chinese immigrants' place attachment for their representative ethnic place was a core factor for them to become civically engaged. Although each individual came with a particular concept of Korea or Seoul, once they settled in the ethnic place, they could form an understanding and interpretation of the city and country through their immediate ethnic surroundings. If that interpretation was positive, that positivity can expand to the city and country, producing constructive results. Thus, more endeavors should be made to enhance their level of place attachment in the ethnic place. Daerim, compared to the nearby ethnic place, Garibong-dong, has a more stable and favorable residential environment with various daily-living facilities that immigrants are more willing to stay for the long haul, sufficiently allowing residents to build place attachment to the area. Considering this, improving the ethnic place – in terms of safety, hygiene, and convenience – so residents and visitors can feel

more comfortable, satisfied, and have more positive perceptions of the neighborhood is essential. For their place attachment, it is equally pivotal that the ethnic place continues to have the amenities that symbolize their culture. For example, managing the shapes of the storefronts and uses along the commercial corridor starting from the main station (Daerim station), shops and restaurants related to Chinese culture by including those main corridors into the nearby Daerim 2 District Unit Planning area could be considered. Furthermore, providing more institutional or financial support to immigrant associations that systematically manage civic engagement programs and activities with immigrants, or having immigrant help-centers run by the government to include more programs on civic engagement, such as the foreign citizen academy which the city of Seoul has been pursuing to educate immigrant residents with knowledge on immigrants' human rights, and Korea's legal and governmental systems.

Third, since Korean-Chinese immigrants' social ties strengthen place attachment, as demonstrated in the quantitative study, and also serves as a decisive intervening condition that enables place attachment to be translated into action (as shown in the qualitative study), more support is necessary to strengthen this factor. Immigrants' network in ethnic places becomes essential assets that connect them to the host society through job opportunities and other social participation opportunities, assisting their adaptation (Kim, 2010). Therefore, it is relevant to utilize existing immigrant-related government organizations, non-governmental immigrant associations, and programs as much as possible to have immigrant residents easily participate in society and expand their social ties. It is equally vital to ensure these networks and programs maintain a reciprocal and

amicable relationship with natives, so the social ties do not pause at simply serving as an exclusive network but inspire a harmonious coexistence.

Fourth, noting that the Korean-Chinese immigrants' adaptation – such as residential stability in one neighborhood that allows one to build more social ties, as identified in the quantitative study – is a significant precondition, their adaptation should be supported. Government immigrant policies have enhanced in quality and quantity compared to a decade ago, as there are supporting programs beyond mere translation, Korean language education, and welfare support, such as tailored rental housing support for single parent immigrant families and citywide immigrant support and exchange centers and other programs. Yet, the H-2 visa system, which discontinues the immigrants' (dongpo) stay every three years (or up to four years and ten months when extended once), limits their full engagement in society – which needs some adjustments.

Fifth, the Korean-Chinese immigrant volunteers' acculturation strategy is close to the integration model (Berry, 1997) or the practical bicultural model (Schwartz et al., 2010; Doucerain, 2019) in that they accept and celebrate their cultural difference among the natives and their community while they continue to interact and be on cordial terms with natives. Their consciousness of being different developed due to the host society's discrimination; however, unlike Portes and Rumbaut's theory (2001) on "reactive ethnicity," they did not reject the host society's culture. Although discrimination was an initial factor that molded immigrants' sense of "immigrant community and identity," first triggering their reactive place attachment and civic engagement, their reactive place attachment and civic engagement were grounded on their mindfulness that peaceful coexistence is

necessary and their deeply embedded desire to be recognized by the host society. As a consequence, their reaction to daily and ruptured discrimination was to overcome society's prejudice by becoming guardians of their ethnic community's image and ethnic place; whereas, numerous cases around the world convey cautionary tales of how deeply engraved discrimination in society against ethnic groups can implode, causing serious social disintegration. Therefore, more emphasis on "peaceful coexistence" should be made for both immigrants and natives, and more official programs should be devised to publicly recognize immigrants who contribute to society. More mutual learning opportunities on the virtues and benefits of a diverse society for natives and general social norms expected in Korea's society for immigrants are necessary for harmonious coexistence.

However, it should be noted that although this case of volunteers cast a positive light on the current state of immigrants, it is a snapshot of the current state of the samples and that people's identities and perspectives can change over time. There are opposition and negative public opinions often expressed as hate speech regarding immigrant-supporting policies as it uses limited government resources. The general public's negative exclusivity and persistently blatant anti-immigrant sentiments could negatively affect even the most hard-working and place-attached immigrants who are civically engaged. Thus, as proposed in Berry's acculturation theory (1997), the larger society as a whole should continue to endeavor to create an inclusive society and refrain from being prejudiced against immigrants, exchange with them, and aid their adaptation and engagement in Korean society.

Lastly, it is also essential not to alienate but involve natives when executing immigrant-support policies. Studies found that natives in

ethnic places have lower satisfaction and place attachment considering their housing and neighborhood, discouraging their community participation (Van Marissing et al., 2006). Even in this study, native residents showed lower community participation compared to political activities. However, there is a glimmer of hope in that frequent daily work-related interactions between the groups resulted in higher trust (Shim et al., 2017), while natives who perceive immigrant neighbors to be good caretakers of the environment are open to socializing more with immigrants and had higher residential satisfaction (Park et al., 2009). With more visible immigrants' civic engagement behavior, natives will also be more likely to perceive them in a positive light. Reflecting this, creating more neighborhood programs that involve both natives' and immigrants' participation to improve the same neighborhood and society they live in can be conducive and necessary for enhanced mutual interactions and cooperation.

Although this research specifically looked into the case of Korean-Chinese immigrants, this analysis has broader implications for other immigrants in general. As more of a certain immigrant group settles into a city and country, their number and proportion increase, causing social change and a sense of anxiety in the host society due to mutual misunderstandings and a certain image the immigrant group may project. Although once considered a minority group in their initial stage of settlement in the host society, they may no longer be viewed as a "minority" by society due to their increased population and visibility. This type of demographic change also occurs in other societies, such as the growing Latin American population in the United States. Thus, this research can shed light on how place attachment in ethnic places can be a critical factor for immigrants to become civically engaged and contribute to the host society without

necessarily being assimilated.

Nevertheless, there are limitations in this study. Due to the limitation in data collection, the subjects of the quantitative analysis are generalized into one immigrant category: in the quantitative analysis, the immigrant group included both Korean-Chinese and some Han Chinese, while the qualitative analysis included naturalized Korean-Chinese. Also, since the study is focused on immigrants, in spite of the fact that native residents were survey participants for comparison, the study did not cover their side of the story. In order to improve a neighborhood with different ethnicities, both sides are part of the puzzle. Future studies may benefit from categorizing different ethnic places with distinctive characteristics while classifying immigrants from different backgrounds and researching both natives' and immigrants' civic engagement.

Although civic engagement is an encouraged social norm carried out by each individual, it becomes a force of its own with added value when more individuals collectively join. This study shed light on the factors that induce civic engagement in ethnic places while highlighting the importance of place attachment and civic engagement of immigrants, urging both governmental and non-governmental actors to cooperate for a more inclusive society in which immigrants can serve as active citizens and contribute to society.

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국문초록

주요어 : 외국인 밀집지, 대응적 시민참여, 이주민, 외국인, 장소애착심,
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한국도 이제 점차 다문화사회로 진입하고 있다. 체류 외국인도 우리나라 총인구의 약 4.9%(법무부, 2019)에 이르고 있으며, 특히 그 중 한국계 중국인(조선족)의 비중이 가장 크다(서울 내 외국인 인구의 48.8%, 2019). 이들은 수도권 및 서울 내 외국인 밀집지를 조성하는 등 국내 곳곳에 변화를 일으키고 있다. 그러나 잘 관리되지 않는 밀집지는 점점 더 주변에 비해 이질적으로 변모하며 잠재적인 위험요소로 낙인찍힐 수 있다. 지난 10년간 이주민과 밀집지에 대한 정부의 정책도 상당히 발전하였으나, 지역 내에서 주민 본인들의 지역개선에 대한 관심과 자발적 참여가 함께 어우러져야 지역 내 선순환이 이루어진다. 그러므로 지역의 지속적인 발전을 위해 외국인 밀집지 내 주민들이 자발적으로 지역을 가꾸는 시민참여에 나서게 되는 과정을 이해하는 것이 중요하다.

이에 본 연구는 한국계 중국인 밀집지 내에서 이주민의 시민참여가 이뤄지는 과정을 규명하되, 특히 장소애착심을 매개로 작용하는 다양한 요인들을 분석하고, 이 지역 내 시민참여가 갖는 효과를 확인하고자 한다. 이를 위해 먼저, 서울시 영등포구 대림동에 거주하는 이주민·내국인 총 260명(각각 130명)을 대상으로 설문조사를 실시하여, 지역 내 주민의 시민참여가 장소애착심 정도, 개인 특성 등 요인들에 의해 어떤 경로를 통해 영향을 받게 되는지를 구조방정식모형을 적용하여 규명하였다. 또한, 이주민들의 시민참여의 경험과정을 심층적으로 분석하기 위하여, 대림동의 범죄예방을 위한 외국인자율방범대에서 활동하며 지역개선을 위한 시민참여를 하는 이주민 봉사자 15명을 대상으로 실제 참여경험에 대한 사례 연구를 실시하였다.

먼저 구조방정식모형 분석결과는 이주민, 내국인 모두 동네 만족도가 높고, 사회관계망이 두텁고, 동네 거주기간이 길수록 시민참여에 더 적극

적이라는 결과를 보여준다. 이주민에 비하여 내국인의 시민참여의 강도가 더 높고 장소애착심이 크지만, 내국인의 경우 장소의 영향을 받지 않고, 개인특성(동네 거주기간, 동네만족도, 중위소득 이상 여부, 사회관계망의 두터움)이 시민참여에 직접적인 영향을 미친다. 반면에 이주민에게 유일하게 직접적으로 시민참여를 유도한 중요 요인은 장소애착심인데, 이에 영향을 미치는 매개요인으로는 동네만족도, 거주기간과 사회관계망이 유의미한 효과를 갖는 것으로 나타났다. 이주민은 장소애착심이 형성되기 어렵지만, 장소애착심이 생기면 시민참여의 실천으로 연결되는 경향을 보인다. 이러한 결과는 시민참여를 정치활동과 지역사회활동으로 나누어 수행한 분석에서도 유사하게 확인된다. 다만 내국인은 정치활동에 더 적극적인 반면 이주민은 그 반대 성향을 보여 이는 두 그룹의 우선순위 및 사회·제도적 이유로 인한 현상으로 해석된다.

다음으로 질적 연구를 통한 분석에서는 장소애착심과 시민참여의 인과적 조건을 구체적으로 확인하였으며, 외국인 밀집지에 대한 이주민의 장소애착심과 시민참여가 이주사회에서 겪어온 차별에 대한 대응적(reactive) 성격이 강하다는 점을 발견하여 이를 ‘대응적(reactive) 시민참여(reactive civic engagement)’로 개념화하였다. 우선 남다른 사명감, 봉사심 및 단체활동을 하는 중국문화적 특성 등 개인적 속성이 영향을 준다. 다음으로 일상생활에서 직·간접적으로 겪은 차별로 인하여 형성된 이주민 정체성 및 이주민 (중국동포)공동체 의식과 한국사회 내 이주민 공동체의 지위 및 둘 간 화합의 중요성에 대한 인지와 한국사회에서의 인정욕구가 중대하게 작용한다. 세 번째 조건으로 경제적·시간적 여유, 한국인과 상호교류·이해, 한국 내 장기 거주, 한국사회에 대한 적응 등의 특성이 있다. 마지막 조건으로는 동네를 중국동포 상징지로 인식하면서 이웃이나 동네 안전에 대한 긍정적인 인지를 하는 것이 유의하게 작용한다.

중심현상으로 앞의 4가지 인과적 조건이 성립되면 모국문화와 이주민 공동체를 상징하는 공간인 외국인 밀집지와 그들의 동포정체성이 동일시되는 등 장소애착심이 형성된다. 이에 대한 작용/상호작용으로서 이주민들은 지역을 가꾸고 개선하는 시민참여(봉사)를 하게 된다. 그리고 이에 영향을 주는 거시적 맥락적 조건으로는 한국사회 내 이주민(중국동포)과

외국인밀집지에 대한 집단적 차별의 일환인 부정적 여론을 들 수 있다. 처음에는 이러한 여론에 대한 대응으로 이주민 공동체의 명예회복을 위해 이주민들이 자발적으로 봉사를 하게 된다. 이런 점에서 사례지역인 대림동에서 중국동포들에 의해 전개되는 시민참여는 ‘대응적(reactive) 시민참여’로 개념화된다. 이러한 봉사활동은 개인적, 사회적, 환경적 효과 및 봉사활동의 자체적 발전 등 다양한 긍정적인 효과를 발생시키며, 점차 봉사를 통해 장소애착심이 더 강화되는 선순환 효과를 가져오게 된다. 처음에는 차별로 시작하게 되었으나 점차 봉사를 통해 얻는 긍정적인 효과들이 강한 동기로 작용하게 됨으로써 봉사에 더욱 적극적으로 임하게 되는 모습을 보인다. 한편, 이주민들의 개인적 관계나 단체 등을 통해 형성된 사회관계망도 봉사활동 참여에 직접적인 영향을 준다.

이상의 분석 결과를 바탕으로 다음과 같은 정책적 제언을 할 수 있다. 첫째, 이주민의 시민참여는 개인·사회·환경적 효과 및 장소애착심의 강화 등 다양하고 긍정적인 효과를 발생시키므로 더욱 적극적으로 장려할 필요가 있다. 둘째, 이주민의 장소애착심은 시민참여로 이행되므로 이를 제고하는 물리적, 비물리적 방법 등이 요구된다. 셋째, 이주민 사회관계망은 시민참여에 영향을 주는 중요한 요인이므로 외국인 밀집지 내 이주민 네트워크 등을 적극적으로 활용하고 지원해야 한다. 넷째, 이주민에게 주거안정성 등을 포함한 현지적응은 시민참여의 기본적인 인과적 조건으로 작용하므로 이를 적극적으로 지원할 필요가 있다. 다섯째, 이주민 봉사자들은 화합의 중요성을 인지하고 강한 인정욕구를 기반으로 그들의 이주민 정체성인 “다름”을 인정하는 동시에 한국사회에서의 조화로운 공존을 바라는 “사회통합형”(베리, 1997) 전략, 또는 실용적인 “이중문화 모델”(Schwartz et al., 2010; Doucerain, 2019) 전략을 추구한다. 이렇듯 다르더라도 서로 이해하고 살아갈 수 있는 사회를 만들 수 있도록 차별을 완화시키기 위한 인식의 전환과 서로를 이해하는 데 도움이 되는 상호교육의 기회 확대가 시급하고 사회에 기여하는 이주민을 공식적으로 인정하는 기회 또한 다양하게 마련해야 한다. 마지막으로 내국인의 참여를 기반으로 하는 이주민 지원 정책이 필수적이다. 함께 사는 지역을 공동의 노력으로 개선시키는 프로그램 등 서로 소통과 협력을 강화할 수 있는 다양한 방안을 제고할 필요가 있다.