

Social Distance between Foreign Workers and Koreans : From Foreign Workers' Viewpoint

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이 연구는 외국인 노동자들의 한국문화에 대한 적응문제를 살펴보기 위하여 그들이 한국인들에 대하여 가지고 있는 사회적 거리감(social distance)을 분석하고 있다. 사회적 거리감은 인종 간 상호 관계 연구에서 중요한 개념으로 다루어져 왔으며, 특히 사회적응 수준을 드러내는 효과적인 척도로 각광받아왔다. 이 연구는 한국 내 외국인 노동자들의 한국인에 대한 사회적 거리감의 결정요인을 규명하려는 목적을 가지고 있다. 서울과 경기 지역에서 수집된 자료에 대한 다중회귀분석(OLS Regression)을 통하여, 이 연구는 서구 사회에서 다수 인종의 사회적 거리감을 효과적으로 설명하는 것으로 판명된 요인들이 한국의 소수 인종인 외국인 노동자들에게도 적용될 수 있는 가를 살펴본다. 구체적으로는 연령, 성, 교육, 종교, 인종과 같은 사회인구학적 변수들과 한국인과의 접촉정도가 사회적 거리감에 유의미한 효과가 있는지 분석된다. 둘째, 이 연구는 외국인 노동자들의 가장 중요한 삶의 공간인 작업장에서의 경험과 관련된 변수들이 사회적 거리감에 대하여 가지는 효과를 탐구한다. 셋째, 구조방정식 모형(Structural Equation Model)의 적용을 통하여, 이 연구는 다중회귀에서 분석된 여러 설명 변수들 간의 복잡한 인과구조를 규명하고, 이들이 사회적 거리감에 미치는 영향을 직접효과, 간접효과, 전체효과로 나누어 살펴본다. 다중회귀분석 결과는 집단 간 사회적 거리감은 사회인구학적 변수들, 한국인들과의 접촉, 작업장 내 경험 등 다양한 요인들의 복합적인 결과물이라는 점을 확인해 준다. 특히 분석결과는 작업장에서의 경험과 느낌이 한국 내 외국인 노동자들의 한국인들에 대한 사회적 거리감 형성에 결정적이라는 사실을 보여주는 반면, 기존 연구에서 효과적인 것으로 판명된 전통적 요인들은 영향력이 미미하다는 점을 말해준다. 한편 구조방정식 모형을 적용한 분석결과는 한국인 친구들과의 접촉과 이해하기 쉽고 구체적인 노동조건이 사회적 거리감에 직접적으로 영향을 주고 있다는 것을 보여준다. 한편 추상적인 노동조건은 사회적 거리감에 간접적으로 영향을 미친다. 상사에 대한 평가와 직무만족은 노동조건에 의해 유의미한 영향을 받지만, 한국인 친구와의 접촉과는 관련이 없다. 간단히 말해, 상사에 대한 평가와 직무만족은 노동조건이 사회적 거리감에 대하여 가지는 효과를 매개한다. 결론적으로, 구조방정식 모형의 분석결과는 작업장 관련 변수들 간에 복잡한 인과구조가 존재한다는 점과 작업장 내 경험이 한국인에 대한 사회적 거리감 형성에 가장 중요하다는 점을 확인해준다.

핵심단어: 사회적 거리감, 사회적응, 외국인노동자, 접촉가설, 노동조건

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Background

Korean economy entered into the mid-stage of development at the end of 1980s. Between 1989 and 1997, it showed the drop of 6.7% of the average growth, which was lower than 12% between 1970 and 1988. Although the slope of growth became less steep, the GNP per capita doubled from 5 thousand dollars to 10 thousand dollars; the average wage for manufacturing workers increased more than twice; the service sector grew faster than others in 1990s. At the same time, Korea started showing labor shortage phenomena, especially in the so called-3D(Dirty, Dangerous, Difficult) occupations. As a result, Korean manufacturing industries began utilizing foreign labor forces from other Asian countries: China, Vietnam, Indonesia, Philippine, Bangladesh, and so forth. By 2008, the foreign workers' number increased to 548,553; these foreign workers account for 2% of paid workers of Korean industry (Lee & Lee, 2007). Unskilled workers are composed of 93% of it.

As Korean companies hired more and more foreign workers, it brought special attention to the issues of cultural difference between Korea and other Asian countries. Since Korea had been formed by the own ethnic group throughout thousand some years, especially experiencing the policy of seclusion under the last imperial of Cho-Sun dynasty, it created unique and exclusive cultural characteristics; nevertheless, because most foreign workers start working in Korea without receiving any sort of orientation programs for the adjustment in Korean culture, they might have hard time in adjusting to the new environment. Furthermore, foreign workers are likely to spend a great deal of time in working under poor conditions and to live in boarding house that their companies offer. Considering that co-workers and supervisors are the ones with whom they have everyday interaction and spend the most time in Korea, they are likely to have distorted impression toward Koreans.

Although there has been considerable interest in the difficulties of foreign workers in adjusting to Korean culture, few studies have empirically explored this issue. Thus, we know little about whether foreign workers' interaction with Korean friends outside the workplace helps them adapt to Korean

culture and about whether experience at the workplace leads to their good or bad appraisal of Korean society. Specifically, we know less about why some foreign workers feel distant toward Koreans while others do not.

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the adjustment of foreign workers to Korean culture. For this, we will examine the social distance of foreign workers toward Koreans. Social distance, despite several problems associated with the concept itself, was chosen as an indicative measure of social adjustment, which has been proved as the most fruitful indices of reciprocal ethnic group definitions. Especially, this paper aims at finding out the determinants of foreign workers' social distance toward Koreans. By analyzing the data collected in Seoul and Gyung-Gi area of Korea, this paper firstly attempts to clarify whether the traditional predictors of social distance proved significant in Western contexts can be applied to minorities in Korea as well. Several demographics and contact variable that have been considered to be effective in accounting for social distance in the previous studies are analyzed. Secondly, work-related variables are also explored, assuming that they reflect the reality of foreign workers in Korea. Thirdly, by constructing a structural equation model(SEM), this paper also attempts to address the complicated causal relationship among explanatory variables such as contact with Koreans and work-related factors affecting social distance. We expect that examining where the foreign workers place themselves on the scale of social intimacy would provide us with an insight of the group orientations in a newly emerging multi-ethnic Korean society.

Social Distance of Minority groups

For several decades, social scientists have attempted to measure prejudice. Thanks to these efforts, two major methods have been developed and used widely. The first approach is to deal with the concept of social distance, which measures one's acceptability toward other person or group. The second approach is to study the stereotype, focusing on other groups' own belief

about a particular group's characteristics. This paper takes the first approach to examine prejudice among foreign workers in Korea.¹⁾

The concept of social distance was invented to assess degree of intimacy that one feels toward other group (Kinloch, 1986; Brewer, 1986; Brewer and Brown, 1998). Bogardus(1928), who initiated the study of social distance, defined it as "the degree of sympathetic understanding that exists between two persons or between a person and a group". Previous studies have found that interracial contact and demographics such as education, sex, annual income, age, and residence are significantly associated with social distance attitudes (Bogardus, 1959; Case, Greely, and Fuchs, 1989; Dyer et al., 1989; Grabb, 1980).

Surprising enough is that studies on social distance among blacks or minorities are pretty fewer than those among whites or majorities. This ignorance led to the lack of knowledge of the correlates of minorities' social distance attitudes and the similarities/differences in correlation between majorities and minorities. Wilson (1986) claims that studies addressing the correlates of blacks' social distance are very few and even their results were inconsistent. He argues that social variables predict blacks' social distance much poorer than they do for whites. He also finds out that the correlation of social distance is consistently stronger among whites than blacks. Thus, Wilson concludes that variables introduced to account for social distance are more relevant to Whites' than Blacks'.

Muir and Muir (1988) give us a good example of this pattern, too. They investigate the determinants of social distance comparing Whites and Blacks. The results tell us that one who has higher education and lives in other than southern part of the United States tend to have lower social distance toward Blacks in addition, the older a person is, the greater the social distance he or she has toward Blacks. However, except the place of residence, none of these variables was influential to determining Blacks' social distance to Whites.

As a conclusion, while we understand much about the structure of social

1) Strictly speaking, it is most desirable to examine attitude of Koreans toward foreign workers as well in order to completely understand prejudice of foreign workers toward Koreans in the sense that the latter is likely to be affected by the former(Lee, 2009). In particular, Lee points out that knowledge about relationship between foreign workers and Koreans who closely and directly contact them may provides us with more realistic and valid information.

distance, over time trends, and socio-demographic predictors among majorities, we know relatively little about minorities', therefore, it is time to investigate whether socioeconomic variables known as strong determinants of majorities' social distance also have a significant impact on minorities' social distance (Tuch, 1988). In this paper, we firstly attempt to elucidate the effects of several demographics such as age, sex, ethnicity, marital status, education, monthly income, visa status, and religion on social distance of foreign workers in Korea.

Contact Hypothesis

Another salient factor that determines social distance is the presence of contact with people of different backgrounds, given that interaction with diverse ethnic, racial, and religious groups produce mutual attraction and respect (Tajfel, 1982). The general assumption of contact hypothesis is that one of the principal factors causing the development of unfriendly or antagonistic attitudes toward a minority group is the absence of adequate personal contacts between members of the majority and the minority group (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000). It states that one's prejudice toward a member of the group or the group itself can be reduced by the association between them under favorable circumstances. This reduced prejudice or intolerance should be reflected in subsequent interaction in terms of behaviors (Allport, 1954; Ford, 1986; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000).

According to the contact hypothesis, it is to show us how experiences alter attitudes and how the changed attitude affects subsequent behaviors. In short, it is expected that one would report low levels of social distance toward groups with which they had contact (Cover, 1995; Dixon, 2006).

However, unlike the definite assumption of the contact hypothesis, Ford (1986) claims that the contact hypothesis is not warranted all the time. Many believe that a positive interaction between races or ethnicities lead to lower social distance of them; however, Ford insists that this hypothesis does not apply to all

situations we experience in everyday life. He says that the pattern is quite mixed, and it is still questionable what circumstances reduce the prejudice.

In reality, the results of contacts vary with the contexts; the conditions where the inter-group interactions occur make differences, too. It is commonly accepted that the interactions of two subjects under equal status in a favorable environment may reduce prejudices toward out-group members. Physical proximity only may have no value in breaking down antagonism or in prompting the development of friendliness and in understanding if not accompanied or followed by closer personal relations. Accordingly, it seems to be premature to conclude that inter-group contacts necessarily decrease social distance and prejudice.

After testing the effects of demographics in social distance toward Koreans among foreign workers, we also investigate whether the close contact with Koreans significantly lowers the social distance of foreign workers. In sum, we postulate that the presence of constant relationship with Korean friends and participation in regular activities for learning Korean culture will lead to lower the level of social distance toward Koreans or Korean society controlling for demographics and other relevant variables.

Work-Related Factors

Studies of social distance have been carried out in multi-ethnic countries where the ethnic relations are deemed as one of the most important social problems; so, most of the studies easily assume that contacts with other ethnic groups take places in everyday life, including on streets, at markets, at workplace, in school, and the like. Korea, however, is a nation formed by one ethnicity as mentioned earlier. In terms of contact, we cannot apply the same assumption to foreign workers in Korea.

The characteristics of foreign workers are different as well. While most immigrants of the United States, Canada, and Australia are permanent residents, most foreign workers in Korea tend to go back their countries

when they accomplish their economic goals (Hwang et al., 2007; Lee and Lee, 2007). Their goals are to earn much money and then leave this country as soon as possible. Seen from these patterns, it is possible to predict they may think themselves as sojourners.

As a result, they spend most of the time working for money; they do not have many chances to develop close relationship with Koreans outside workplace therefore, foreign workers may evaluate Koreans on the basis of their limited experiences or impressions created at workplace. Especially, of all work-related factors affecting workers' impression toward Koreans, working condition, job satisfaction, and relationship with immediate supervisors are well known as effective predictors (Ea, 2008; Scarpello & Campbell, 1983; Wang, 2005).

The working condition includes both tangible and intangible environment at the workplace. For example, meal plan and boardinghouse are fallen in the category of the tangibles; on the other hand, welfare policy or labor management of company are included in the intangibles. These are the fundamental needs that have to be filled up in order to encourage workers and to create an efficient environment. In sum, positive evaluation of working condition is associated with the low level of social distance. We expect that if a foreign workers evaluates her or his working condition, she or he is more likely to feel close to Koreans or Korean society. If foreign workers satisfy with their supervisors, they will work more cheerfully and positively (Yoshiaki, 1994). The more favorable relationship with supervisors may have foreign workers feel closer to Koreans. Briefly put, the better they evaluate supervisors and greater the social support they receive from them, the lower the level of social distance they show. The effects of job satisfaction on attitude and behavior of foreign workers have been explored in several studies (Cimete, Gencalp, & Keskin, 2003; Ea, 2008; Lee, Hwang, Kim, & Daly, 2004). Job satisfaction is an attitude resulting from the appraisal of one's own job. Positive perception of job satisfaction among workers has been shown to result in increased commitment to organizations, improved job retention rates, high productivity, and better quality of life. Seok et al. (1998) show that job satisfaction is the most influential predictor of social adjustment of foreign workers in Korea. Thus, we postulate that social distance of foreign workers is significantly affected by the level of job satisfaction.

These work-related factors for foreign workers can be operationalized as a measurement of psychological comfort toward different aspects of work. Specifically speaking, they will capture foreign workers' psychological comfort working in Korean employment system, which will lead to determine their social distance toward Koreans.

Data and Measure

1) Sample

The data for this paper were collected during July and August, 1998 from foreign workers in Seoul and Gyung-Gi area of Korea. The survey was conducted to study the foreign workers' labor relationship and social adaptation. Respondents interviewed with designed questionnaires were confined to Korean-Chinese, Chinese, Vietnamese, Filipinos, and Indonesian. These five ethnic groups are among the largest groups of foreign workers in Korea. Most of them were employed in manufacturing companies and were unskilled workers. They worked in the so called field of "3D" jobs in which domestic workers were avoiding. Respondents were selected by multi-stage cluster sampling. Of 742 cases collected by this process, 150 cases were excluded because of missing one or more of five social distance items. The 592 cases were included for this study.

2) Independent Variables

Demographic variables proved as significant factors in forming social distance in previous studies were examined: ethnicity, sex, religion, age, marital status, education year, monthly income, and visa status. Ethnicity, sex, religion, marital status, and visa status are included as dummy variables. The reference category of ethnicity is 'Korean-Chinese'; the reference category of sex is 'male'; the reference category of religion is 'having

religion'; the reference category of marital status is 'married'; the reference category of visa status is 'illegal'. Age is in number of years; education is the total year of schooling; monthly income is the total earning and its unit is Korean won. Contact variable measures the contact frequency with Koreans friends outside workplace. Contact frequency ranges from 0 to 8. The score of 0 indicates that a foreign worker has no Korean friend while 8 means that he or she has one or more Korean friends and meet them everyday. Thus, this variable represents not only whether foreign workers have Korean friends, but also how frequent they meet together.²⁾

Working condition 1, tangible working condition, assesses satisfaction with working environment. It is measured by five point scale asking "How much are you satisfied or dissatisfied with six workplace environment items." The Cronbach's Alpha for six items is .829. Working condition 2, intangible working condition, assesses satisfaction with welfare policy provided by companies of foreign workers. It is measured by six point scale asking "How much are you satisfied or dissatisfied with seven welfare policy items." The Cronbach's Alpha for six items is .862. Appraisal of Korean supervisors is measured by five point scale asking five questions regarding the relationship between foreign workers and Korean boss. The Cronbach's Alpha for five items is .850. Job satisfaction is measured by five point scale asking three appraisal of job questions. The Cronbach's Alpha for three items is .615.

3) Dependent Variables

Bogardus' social distance was used in measuring the social distance of foreign workers toward Koreans. The 6 items included in the scale are below: as a visitor of my country, as a citizen of my country, as a co-worker at workplace, as a close neighbor, as a close friend, and as a spouse. Out of 742 cases, only 592 cases were used in analysis, excluding the cases with missing items.

2) We exclude the number of Korean friends from the analysis that follow because of the multicollinearity between number of Korean friends and the contact frequency when the two were simultaneously included in the model. Instead, we constructed the variable which contains the information on the number of Korean friends and contact frequency in order to minimize information loss occurred when including one of the two.

<Table 1> The Percentage of foreign workers' acceptability toward Koreans

	% (n)					
	Visitor	Citizen	Co worker	Neighbor	Friend	Spouse of child
Acceptable	9.5 (536)	47.5 (281)	83.8 (496)	63 (373)	78.9 (467)	35.1 (208)
Not Acceptable	9.5 (96)	52.5 (311)	16.2 (96)	37 (219)	21.1 (125)	64.9 (384)
Total	1.0 (592)	1.0 (592)	1.0 (592)	1.0 (592)	1.0 (592)	1.0 (592)

<Table 1> shows that the social distance of foreign workers toward Koreans. High percentage of respondents answered they would accept a Korean as their visitor, co-workers, neighbor, friend, and spouse of children; nevertheless, they tended to have less acceptability to Koreans as a citizen.³⁾ In order to minimize the error of the scale, we did not include the item of citizen into the analysis.

In the analysis, we transformed the social distance variable which was done in the Bogardus scale to Guttman scale. Following the Goodenough-Ewards technique, which is known for more subjective than the Cornell technique⁴⁾, we reconstructed this social distance variable; and calculated the Coefficient of Reproducibility (CR) and the Minimal Marginal Reproducibility (MMR)⁵⁾ to test the usability of it. The CR score was .9476; the MMR score was .762. It means the cumulative scale we developed is usable.

3) For example, many foreign workers answered that they might not accept Koreans as fellow citizens while they might accept them as their close friends, which indicates logical inconsistency among answers to Borgardus social distance questions.

4) To transform Bogardus scale to Guttman scale, Cornell technique which was proposed by Guttman guides to change the order of items according to marginal probability to minimize the error of transformation; At the same time, Goodenough-Edwards technique is supposed for a researcher to predict ideal responses and to form a new scale point table. Goodenough-Edwards technique is proved more subjective in terms of consistency in allowing new points to cases. See McIver and Carnines(1982) for more details.

5) The CR(Coefficient of Reproducibility) is the percentage of how matchable they are between an observed response and an ideal responses; the cut point is 90% or 95%. The MMR(Minimal Margianl Reproducibility) is to check the error when new scale point categories are various; the cut point is .8. See Riley and Toby(1952) and McIver and Carnines(1982) for more details.

Results

1) A Descriptive Statistics

A demographic description of the data used here is followed. The data consist of 107 Korean-Chinese (18.1%), 93 Han-Chinese (15.7%), 93 Vietnamese (15.7%), 106 Filipinos (17.9%), and 193 Indonesian (32.6%). Male respondents are 458 (79.1%); and females are 121 (21.9%). The mean age is 28.2 years old; a 67.2% of respondents are their 20s. A 54.6% of them is not married. The average year of education is 10.7 years; an 83.4% of them have high school education or less. The monthly income range from none to 998,000 won with a mean of 567,050 (SD=146,120). A 66.6% of them also reported of having religion, and among participants, Muslims made up 32.7% while about 22.8% of the participants were Christians and Catholics. A 9.8% of respondents is classified as 'working illegally.'

<Table 2> Descriptive Statistics of the Samples (n=592)

Variables	Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Nationality	Korean Chinese	107	18.1
	Han Chinese	93	15.7
	Vietnamese	93	15.7
	Filipinos	106	17.9
	Indonesian	193	32.6
Sex	Male	458	79.1
	Female	121	20.9
Age	19-29	348	67.2
	30-39	163	31.5
	40-50	7	1.4
Marital Status	Married	266	45.4
	Unmarried	320	54.6
Education	Less than High School	443	83.4
	College or more	88	16.6
Income(won)	Mean	567,050	
Religion	Christianity	27	4.7
	Catholics	103	18.1
	Buddhism	46	8.1
	Muslim	186	32.7
	Hinduism	2	.4
	Confucianism	3	.5
	Others	12	2.1
	None	190	33.4
Visa Status	Legal	526	90.2
	Illegal	57	9.8

2) Multiple Regression Analysis of Social Distance

To investigate determinants of foreign workers' social distance, five OLS regression models are constructed. The first model only considers the effects of demographics on social distance, which have been proved most significant in previous literatures. The second model attempts to evaluate the validity of contact hypothesis by examining the effects of contact with Korean friends on foreign workers' social distance. Next model introduces work-related variables. The fourth model tests the contact hypothesis and work-related hypothesis simultaneously. For the last, we examine the interaction between the ethnicity and the contact with Korean friends. The result of the regression analysis is presented in <Table 3>.

As shown in Model I, the effects of ethnicity and age on social distance are statistically significant, whereas those of sex, religion, marital status, education, monthly income, and visa status are not. In terms of ethnicity, Model I indicates that Vietnamese and Filipinos feel more distant toward Koreans compared to Korean-Chinese. Besides these, the younger foreign workers tend to have higher social distance. The explanatory power of Model I is 5.1% of the variance of social distance.

In Model I, we find the similar pattern of ethnicity effect with previous studies of foreign workers' social distance toward Korean (Chung, 1996; Chung and Seok, 1999). The finding that the lower social distance perceived by Korean-Chinese compared to other ethnic groups is worth noting. For Korean-Chinese workers, they may maintain low level of social distance because they are familiar with Korean culture. Since Korean-Chinese share cultural heritage and language with Koreans, it is natural for them to feel less distant toward Koreans. In the same vein, we can conjecture that Vietnamese and Filipinos may hold higher level of social distance because they have difficulties in adjusting to Korean culture. The concept of culture contains values, traditions, and ethics that members share with one another in a society (Berry, 2001). If a person could not share the same value with the other, he or she is very likely to feel offensive to the other and to present the distance he or she feels (Berry and Kalin, 1995; Schalk-Soekar and Hoogsteder, 2004;

Ward and Masgoret, 2008). Meanwhile, they might consider their situations unfair. Despite their educational level, on average, is higher than that of Korean co-workers at the same workplace, their wage is much lower. As theories of frustration-aggression and relative deprivation demonstrate, perceived unfairness and frustration may cause Filipinos and Vietnamese to keep high level of social distance or hostile attitudes toward Koreans (Brewer and Brown, 1996; Pettigrew and Martin, 1987). Except for ethnicity and age, other traditional predictors of social distance proved to be insignificant.⁶⁾

Next, Model II tests the contact hypothesis. The contact variable is added to Model I. The results reveal that contact frequency with Korean friends is tested as a statistically significant predictor. This finding shows that with all control variables held constant, foreign workers who frequently meet Koreans have lower social distance toward Koreans. The effects of ethnicity and age remain significant. The model fit has been slightly enhanced with 7.8% of variance of social distance.

Although contact hypothesis proved to be valid in Model II, however, it should be cautious to conclude that contact in any cases decreases social distance of foreign workers in Korea. Remember that contact variable employed here only estimates partial aspect of social interaction with which foreign workers can experience in Korea. Previous studies on social distance of foreign workers show that the more Korean meetings the foreign workers participate in, the less they feel intimate toward Koreans (Chung, 1996, Chung and Seok, 1999). In other words, the foreign workers can feel distance

6) Regarding the effect of income, we additionally considered the income that they had before the entrance to Korea to be a significant factor. We postulated that the less income they received before, the more distant they feel toward Koreans. We believe that this variable indirectly indicates an economic gap they feel between the mother country and Korea. According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982), the social identity of individuals will influence their attitudes and behaviors and further their interactions with other people. The foreign workers who feel economic gap with Korean co-workers could identify themselves as minorities and less privileged group; so that the concept of relative poverty come to be developed throughout interaction. As a result, the worker feels distant and offensive to Koreans who have had better environments. Once foreign workers feel the life they had before less privileged in terms of the economic condition, they might treat Koreans as being in higher position and tend to feel more distant to Koreans. We actually tested the effect of income in mother country in our initial model and found that it significantly decrease the level of social distance among foreign workers. However, we had to exclude this variable because there are too many missing cases for this variable.

<Table 3> Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Social Distance

IVs	Model I	Model II	Model III	Model IV	Model V
Han Chinese	-.207(.243)	-.216(.240)	-.265(.243)	-.263(.24)	-.268(.263)
Indonesian	.361(.308)	.424(.304)	.368(.314)	.440(.311)	.397(.326)
Vietnamese	.653(.275)*	.709(.272)**	.593(.272)*	.653(.269)*	.561(.296) [†]
Filipinos	.592(.321) [†]	.697(.318)*	.567(.319)*	.670(.316)*	.995(.348)**
Sex(Male)	-.095(.169)	-.078(.166)	-.132(.167)	-.119(.165)	-.135(.165)
Age	-.041(.017)*	-.042(.017)*	-.035(.017)*	-.037(.017)*	-.035(.017)*
Marital Status(Married)	.050(.175)	.084(.172)	.007(.172)	.044(.170)	.042(.170)
Education	.001(.025)	.003(.025)	-.011(.025)	-.009(.025)	-.004(.025)
Monthly Income	-.001(.005)	.000(.005)	.001(.005)	.001(.005)	.001(.005)
Religion	-.074(.243)	-.063(.240)	-.009(.238)	-.003(.235)	-.008(.234)
Visa Status(illegal)	.096(.247)	.052(.243)	.182(.242)	.139(.239)	.065(.240)
Contact Frequency with Koreans		-.095(.024)**		-.085(.024)**	-.087(.070)**
Working Condition(tangible)			-.324(.129)*	-.295(.127)*	-.286(.128)*
Working Condition(intangible)			.105(.110)	.093(.109)	.111(.110)
Appraisal of Supervisors			-.257(.085)**	-.234(.084)**	-.240(.084)**
Job Satisfaction			-.016(.104)	-.039(.103)	-.044(.103)
Han Chinese*Contact					.022(.103)
Vietnamese*Contact					.064(.090)
Indonesian*Contact					.034(.078)
Filipinos**Contact					-.141(.089)
Constant	2.311(.621)	2.388(.613)	3.858(.700)	3.877(.692)	3.745(.699)
R2	.051	.078	.100	.122	.136
F Value	2.588	3.723	3.909	4.550	4.104
N	542	542	542	542	542

**P<.01, *P<.05, + P<.1

from Koreans as they have more interaction with Koreans. According to Hall’s personality theory, the foreign workers could have vague intimacy toward the majority, Koreans. Once the foreign workers become exposed to the real Korean society outside the workplace, they come to experience and face with the exclusiveness that Koreans have toward them; the negative interaction could cause the distance for the foreign workers toward Koreans. Therefore, we have to consider the context in which contact occurs in interpreting the influence of contact on social distance.

In Model III, work-related variables are added to Model I: tangible working condition, intangible working condition, appraisal of supervisors, and job satisfaction. It adds a meaning to our study regarding that work-related factors had not been applied in previous studies of social distance yet. Holding the demographics constant, tangible working condition and appraisal

of supervisors have significant impact on social distance, while intangible working condition and job satisfaction do not. The results show that the more satisfaction they feel with their boss, the less distant they show to Koreans. The explanatory power of Model III increases to 10.0%.

We believe that the significant effects of tangible working condition and appraisal of supervisors on social distance reflect the crucial aspect of social adjustment by foreign workers in Korea. These results reveal that foreign workers are likely to succeed in adjusting to Korean society if they satisfy with their immediate work environment and make good relationship with their boss at the workplace. In other words, compared to other factors, what they do and how they interact with people at the workplace is likely to determine their feeling of closeness to Korean society.

Unlike our expectation, the results say that neither intangible working condition nor job satisfaction is statistically significant. Specially, it is interesting to see that intangible working condition which is intertwined with everyday life of foreign workers does not affect social distance at all. This result runs against previous studies (Wang, 2005). Then, why intangible working condition is not proved as a significant factor in this analysis has to be answered. First of all, intangible conditions we asked in questionnaires are about medical policy of company, policy of handling difficulties at work, entertainment system, and so on. The foreign workers in the data are likely to be in good health, and have not been in situation using health care system in Korea; therefore, the workers tend to consider medical policy less seriously. Also, comparing to the working condition in mother land, the third world, workplace in Korea would provide better environment to them. Since they are used to be treated with poor welfare condition from their companies, the workers might not be expecting much of supports in terms of welfare from Korean companies.

In Model IV, contact variables and work-related variables are put together with the control variables. Neither the effect of contact with Korean friends nor the effects of working condition, job satisfaction, and appraisal of supervisors have been changed. The effects of ethnicity and age are still significant. The R2 enhanced to .122.

The final Model V includes the interaction between ethnicity and the contact with Korean friends. These interaction terms are introduced in the sense that the quality of contact with Korean friends can vary according to context in which interaction occurs (Brewer, 1986). The degree of favorableness of contact situation, for instance, can differ among different ethnicities of foreign workers. If we find the differential effects of contact depending on ethnicity, we can confirm the importance of context of contact. The results, however, show that none of interaction variables has significant impact on social distance toward Koreans among foreign workers. Therefore, it is possible to say that contact with Korean friends contribute to decrease in social distance of foreign workers regardless of their ethnicity. Other significant factors remain the same: Vietnamese, Filipinos, age, tangible working condition, and appraisal of supervisors.

3) Structural Equation Model of Social Distance

It is still unclear how important factors such contact with Korean friends, tangible and intangible working conditions, job satisfaction, and appraisal of supervisors relate to each other in affecting social distance of foreign workers. For example, the above OLS regression models can reveal neither whether contact with Korean friends affects work-related factors nor whether working condition determines job satisfaction. In order to address the complicated causal relationship among those variables, we construct a structural equation model (SEM) of social distance. This model assumes that social distance of foreign workers toward Koreans is affected by contact with Korean friends, working condition, appraisal of supervisors, and job satisfaction. At the same time, appraisal of supervisors and job satisfaction are assumed to be affected by contact with Korean friends and working conditions (Bratt, 2002; Ea, 2008; Seok, 1998). Thus, this SEM model is expected to provide a better analytical tool for assessing social distance of foreign workers in Korea.

The resulting model in <Table 4> shows that contact with Koreans significantly affects social distance of foreign workers while it turns out to have no impact on mediating variables such as appraisal of supervisors and

<Table 4> Causes of Social Distance of Foreign Workers toward Koreans

Variables	Social Distance					
	Contact	Working Condition (tangible)	Working Condition (intangible)	Appraisal of Supervisors	Job Satisfaction	Social Distance
Latent Variables						
Contact	-	-	-	.073	-.031	-.140***
Working Condition(tangible)	-	-	-	.225***	.566***	-.230**
Working Condition(intangible)	-	-	-	.441***	.010	.053
Appraisal of Supervisors	-	-	-	-	.284***	-.179**
Job Satisfaction	-	-	-	-	-	.104
Control Variables						
Han Chinese	-.033	.217***	-.073	-.196***	.006	-.094
Vietnamese	.026	.096	-.068	.070	.034	.150**
Indonesian	.019	.539***	-.152	-.166	.287***	.033
Filipinos	.109	.141	-.083	.111	.081	.123
Sex(Male)	.040	-.071	-.123**	-.033	.062	-.022
Age	-.014	.001	.056	-.039	.050	-.123*
Marital Status(Married)	.063	.064	-.050	.062	-.007	.021
Education	.011	.078	-.116*	-.062	-.055	-.042
Monthly Income	.000	.060	.042	.047	.093*	.005
Religion	.092	-.001	.030	.006	.073	.029
Visa Status(illegal)	-.052	-.002	.098*	.043	.031	.051
N	592					
df	407					
χ^2	1222.09 (p<.001)					
Model Fit	GFI=.892 AGFI=.841 NFI=.918 CFI=.942 IFI=.942 RMSEA=.058					

† Figures are obtained from the completely standardized solutions in LISREL8

*:P<.05. **:P<.01. ***:P<.001

job satisfaction. The more foreign workers meet Korean friends, the less social distance they feel toward Koreans. Thus, it is possible to conjecture that contact frequency directly determines social distance.

On the other hand, tangible working condition significantly affects two mediating variables. The better is the evaluation of immediate workplace surroundings, the greater is satisfaction with supervisors and the greater is job satisfaction. It also has significant impact on social distance. Based on these results, we can postulate that good evaluation of tangible working condition both directly and indirectly decreases social distance of foreign workers. In contrast, intangible working condition only affects appraisal of supervisors while it has no impact on job satisfaction and social distance.

Results in <Table 4> show that appraisal of supervisors significantly affects job satisfaction and social distance. The more is perception of favorable relationship with Korean boss, the more is job satisfaction and the lower is the level of social distance toward Koreans. In brief, assessment of Korean supervisors may directly and indirectly determine social distance. Job satisfaction, similar to the results from OLS regression above, has no influence on social distance of foreign workers in Korea. The results also confirm that working condition, especially tangible one, takes a role as an exogenous variables of appraisal of supervisors and job satisfaction. It also allows us to expect that those two work-related variables mediate the effects of socio-demographics and exogenous variables. The last remaining task is to examine whether exogenous variables such as contact frequency and working condition affect social distance through appraisal of supervisors and job satisfaction.

Figures in <Table 5> are the result for the causes of social distance by direct, indirect, and total effects. The results reveal that the direct effect of contact frequency on social distance is significant, while the indirect one is not. Considering that the total effect is also significant, the direct effect of contact frequency is highly robust. Contrary to our expectation that there exist both direct and indirect effects of tangible working condition on social distance, only direct one is significant. The indirect effect of intangible working condition on social distance is found. Intangible working condition affects social distance through appraisal of supervisors and job satisfaction. In

<Table 5> Causes of Social Distance by Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects

Variables	Social Distance		
	Direct Effect	Indirect Effect	Total Effect
Exogenous Variables			
Contact Frequency	-.140***	-.014	-.154***
Working Condition(tangible)	-.230**	.026	-.205***
Working Condition(intangible)	.053	-.065**	-.011
Mediating Variables			
Appraisal of Supervisors	-.179**	.030	-.149**
Job Satisfaction	.104	-	.104
Control Variables			
Han Chinese	-.094	.044	-.050
Vietnamese	.150**	.014	.164**
Indonesian	.033	.044	.076
Filipinos	.123	.001	.124
Sex(Male)	-.022	.003	-.019
Age	-.123*	-.016	-.139**
Marital Status(Married)	.021	.008	.028
Education	-.042	.039+	-.002
Monthly Income	.005	-.017	-.011
Religion	.029	-.031	-.003
Visa Status(illegal)	.051	-.017	.033

† Figures are obtained from the completely standardized solutions in LISREL8

+:P<.05, **:P<.01, ***:P<.001

sum, contact frequency and tangible working condition directly affect social distance of foreign workers in Korea, while intangible working condition indirectly does so.

Discussion

In this paper, we have explored the determinants of social distance that foreign workers feel toward Koreans. The results show that inter-group social distance is a combined outcome of various factors such as socio-demographics,

contact with Korean friends, and work-related factors. The importance of work-related factors is confirmed. In contrast, only few traditional predictors of social distance for majority group members are proved to be important determinants for minority group members, say, foreign workers in Korea. Major findings from OLS regressions are as follows: Firstly, social distance of foreign workers is influenced by age. Older workers feel closer to Korean society than younger ones. Secondly, there are ethnic differences in degree and pattern of social distance. Vietnamese and Filipinos feel more distant to Koreans than do Korean-Chinese. Thirdly, degree of social distance is negatively associated with contact variable. In other words, as foreign workers frequently meet Korean friends, they tend to keep less social distance. Fourthly, among four work-related variables, tangible working condition and appraisal of supervisor have significant effects on social distance. Contrary to our prediction, intangible working condition and job satisfaction are not associated with the social distance. In sum, the results from OLS regressions confirm that traditional predictors of social distance do not work well for foreign workers in Korea while contact with Korean friends consistently does so. The results also disclose that social adjustment of foreign workers in Korea is contingent on experiences at the workplace. Subjective assessment of working condition and relationship with people at the workplace are particularly important.

In order to clarify the relationship among explanatory variables such as contact frequency and work-related factors employed in the OLS analysis, this paper adopts a structural equation model. The resulting model indicates that contact with Korean friends is statistically related to neither appraisal of supervisors nor job satisfaction while it strongly determines social distance. Thus, only direct effect of contact frequency on social distance is confirmed by the results of SEM.

Both appraisal of supervisors and job satisfaction are positively and significantly affected by tangible working condition. Tangible working condition negatively and significantly affects social distance too. Intangible working condition only affects appraisal of supervisors. Good appraisal of supervisors significantly increases job satisfaction and decreases social distance.

Job satisfaction has no impact on social distance. In addition, tangible working condition directly affects social distance while intangible one indirectly does so. The results from SEM not only reveal the complicated relationship among four work-related variables and social distance, but also endorse the importance of experiences at the workplace.

Two limitations of this paper are noteworthy. Firstly, the dataset analyzed in this paper seems to be outdated. When the dataset was collected, as mentioned earlier, most foreign workers immigrated to Korea under the industrial trainee system. In 2003, the industrial trainee system has been changed to the work-permit system for foreign workers. To be sure, social adjustment of foreign workers has been influenced by this change in the sense that the work-permit system was established to improve the quality of foreign workers' life in Korea. Thus, the nature and structure of social distance before and after the change in legal authorization system might differ. However, we had to stick to the 1998 dataset because we had failed to find the dataset which contains the standard social distance items collected after 2003. Secondly, this paper attributes social distance of minority group members to properties of their everyday life and work. The problem is that social distance is an outcome of mutual relationship between minorities and majorities. Social distance of foreign workers must be affected by the characteristics and qualities of interaction with their Korean friends, co-workers, and supervisors. In this vein, this paper only taps partial aspect of social distance of foreign workers in Korea. Future research should sort out these problems with more comprehensive data. Despite these limitations, this paper sheds light on the nature and structure of social distance that foreign workers hold toward Korean society. We further believe that this paper enriches our knowledge about social adjustment of foreign workers in Korea.

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