DISRUPTED RELIGIOSITY: UNDERSTANDING MUSLIM MIGRANT WORKERS'

EXPERIENCES IN KOREA

BY

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ABSTRACT

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Sunok Her

Due to the kidnapping incident of Korean short-term missionaries in Afghanistan in 2007, increased discrimination following the September 11 attacks, and the physical appearance of Muslim foreigners, Korea has an overwhelmingly widespread misunderstanding, a distorted image, and a fear of Islam (Islamophobia). Despite an increase in its Muslim population, Korean society appears to have little understanding of or appreciation for this population. After migration to Korea, Muslim migrant workers encounter various challenges in their everyday life experiences during the adaptation process.

While there is a small but growing body of literature on Muslim migrants in Korea, there is limited understanding of the effect of migration on Muslim religiosity and identity as impacted by the adaptation process. The purpose of this study was to understand experiences of Muslim migrant workers' adaptation to a non-Muslim Korean context. It particularly focuses on understanding the effect of migration on the issues of their Islamic belief, practice, and religious identity in and out of the workplace in Korea.

This study, using qualitative methods, included 37 research participants (12 Pakistanis, 15 Bangladeshis, and 10 Indonesians) who came to Korea to earn money under the authorization of the labor migration system and had been working under 3-D (difficult, dirty, and dangerous) conditions for at least three years. Data were analyzed using grounded theory procedures. The central understanding to emerge from the data was that Muslim migrant workers' adaptation to life in Korea presents three notable difficulties: separation from family, cultural isolation, and hardship in the workplace. These difficulties disrupt Islamic religious practice, which contributes to either veiled or reaffirmed religious identity during their stay in Korea.

This study's findings show that during the adaptation process religiosity and religious identity were strengthened for some Muslim migrant workers but weakened for others. Specifically, the Muslim religiosity and identity of Indonesian migrant workers was strengthened due to strong in-group ties and a strong organizational structure, while the Muslim religiosity and identity of Pakistani and Bangladeshi migrant workers were weakened due to a lack of the same.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Muhammad Hussain, a conservative Muslim worker from Pakistan, is a newcomer to South Korea (henceforth Korea). He came to Korea to work under the authorization of the Employment Permit System (EPS) governed by the Korean government's immigration policy. After moving to Korea, he initially looked for a place to stay. However, most Korean landlords resist renting to foreigners, especially those who are Muslim. The September 11 attacks, as well as the kidnapping of 23 members of a Korean short-term mission team by Taliban extremists in Afghanistan in 2007, have given rise to Islamophobia in Korea. Consequently, Korean homeowners perceive Muslims as too dangerous to rent a room or their houses. Hussain not only suffered from such discrimination by most property owners, but he also had religious and cultural conflicts at his worksite.

In general, Korea has viewed itself as a mono-ethnic society and has maintained almost zero immigration throughout its long history (S. Kim, 2010). However, rapid economic growth in Korea has demanded a change from a mono-ethnic to a diverse ethnic labor market (Kang, 2010). The current influx of migrant workers from various countries to Korea has been the result of a government-authorized migratory labor force beginning in the early 1990s. The rapidly increasing number of migrant workers has increased the number of foreign residents in Korea to about 1.42 million, 2.9% of the

total population of Korea (48.86 million) as of February 2013 (Ministry of Justice, 2013). Diverse demographic changes have significantly influenced Korea, making it more multi-ethnic and multi-national. The number of migrant workers is expected to continue increasing in the future in response to actual labor shortages of over one million (A. Kim, 2009).

The most visible newcomers, like Hussain, are Muslim migrants from foreign countries. They are mostly males who come to work a certain period but have strong motivations for prolonged stays in Korea for better economic opportunities. Historically, in the prevailingly mono-cultural Korean society, there has been little contact with Muslims. They are more culturally and physically conspicuous than other foreign residents in Korea.

Many Koreans exhibit widespread prejudice, fostering stereotypes, and outright rejection of Muslims, leading to continued fear and distrust of Islam (Ji, 2011). Furthermore, the lack of understanding of Islamic values, religious practices, and institutions lead them to discriminate on the basis of physical appearance, Islamic dress, and performing Islamic religious practices.

Without an understanding of the distinctive characteristics of Muslim migrants, Korean society may continue to isolate them within their own groups or communities (Alghorani, 2003; Cerbo, 2010; Gunel, 2007; Y. Kim, 2011). In other contexts, marginalized minorities (including Muslim minorities) have disrupted the harmonious functioning of society (e.g., the recent attack on a journalistic enterprise in France).

The time of initial integration of a foreign minority is critical to long-term adaption. Hence, it is important to understand how Muslim migrant workers cope with

adaptation challenges. Previous studies have explored Muslim migrants' adaptation to life in Korea (Ji, 2011; Y. Kim, 2011). However, little qualitative study has been published on Muslim migrant workers' own perceptions of their adaptation experiences.

Problem Statement

Recently a number of Korean domestic quantitative studies have been conducted on how adherence to Islamic faith and religious practice have changed among Muslim migrant workers (MMWs) through their stay in Korea (Huh, 2010; Lee, 2011) and on how they adapt to Korea (Ji, 2011; Y. Kim, 2011). These studies provide a limited understanding of the MMWs' religiosity and identity as impacted by the adaptation process. While there is a small but growing body of literature on Muslim migrants in Korea, few studies have examined the effect of migration on their evolving religiosity and its impact on identity. Considering the growing number of Muslim migrants in Korea and the need to expand an understanding of this population's distinctiveness and of their religiosity and religious identity, it is crucial to explore Muslim migrant workers' perception of their experiences of adapting to life and work in Korea.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this qualitative study is to understand the effects of migration on MMWs' adaptation to Korean society. The study focuses particularly on their religiosity and religious identity. In this study, MMWs are unskilled workers, that is, those who initially entered Korea for work, and who are authorized by the Labor Migration System.

Research Questions

This study's central research question is: How do MMWs' experiences of adaptation to a non-Muslim Korean context affect their lives, religiosity, and identity?

This study's sub-questions are:

1. How do MMWs describe and explain their adaption to their workplace in Korea?

2. How do MMWs describe and explain their adaption to life outside the workplace?

3. How does adaptation to life in Korea affect Islamic belief and practices inside and outside the workplace in Korea?

4. How does adaptation to life in Korea affect MMWs' Muslim identity?

Definitions

Migrant workers. In Korea, foreign employees are called foreign workers, alien workers, guest workers, temporary workers, contract workers, and immigrant workers. Regulations and terminology relating to migrant workers have been adopted by the International Labor Organization. According to Article 2 of the Act on Foreign Workers' Employment, Etc., the term *migrant worker* means "a person who does not have a Korean nationality and works or intends to work in a business or workplace located in Korea for the purpose of earning wages" (Ministry of Government Legislation, 2014a, p. 93). In other words, migrant workers generally are employees who come under the implementation of the Labor Migration System for work regardless of their profession (Huh, 2010; Seol, 1999). The work-permit system comprises two types: skilled workers and unskilled workers. Migrant workers include professional, unskilled workers, and undocumented workers. Professional workers include short-term workers (C-4), professors (E-1), foreign language instructors (E-2), researchers (E3), engineers (E-4),

other professions (E-5), entertainers (E-6) and special occupation (E-7) visa holders
(Ministry of Government Legislation, 2014a). In addition, unskilled workers include
formal documents who entered under the Industrial Training System, the Employment
Permit System or the Visitor's Employment System (D-3, E-8 [until 2010]; E-9 (non-
professional employment), E-10 (vessel crew), H-2 (working visit for ethnic Korean) visa
holders) and undocumented workers (Ministry of Government Legislation, 2014b; S.
Kim, 2010). E-9 and H-2 visa holders are governed by the Act on Foreign Workers'
Employment, Etc. For this study, MMWs include unskilled workers and those
undocumented workers who initially arrived in Korea with the permission of Labor
Migration System under the Immigration Control Act. (See next definition).

Undocumented worker. The term means illegal worker. According to Article 18
of the Act on Foreign Workers' Employment, Etc., no migrant worker is allowed to stay
in Korea for more than five years (three years plus a two-year extension). Those who are
qualified for reemployment must leave the country and reenter to get another visa.
Further, Article 25 of the Act on Foreign Workers' Employment, Etc. limits change of
employment to no more than three times during the period of three years, and no more
than twice during the extended period. Those who violate this limitation of change of
workplace, become illegal workers. Those who stay on as illegal workers are never
issued a visa to return. Nevertheless, regardless of their legal status, some decide to
overstay their work visa, thus becoming undocumented workers.

Islam. The word means *submission* [to Allah]. Islam is "the total submission to
the will of Allah" and obedience to his law (Alghorani, 2003, p. 6; Kamis & Muhammad,

2007). Islam is not just a religion, but also a broad, comprehensive way of life, and the purpose of human existence (Denny, 2011; Kamis & Muhammad, 2007).

Muslim. One who submits entirely, mind, body and soul, to the will of Allah (Abu Raiya, Pargament, Mahoney, & Stein, 2008).

Religious practice. Practice refers to the degree that one participates in religious rituals. Practices comprise "a ritual aspects, relating to formal rites, acts and practices, mostly performed in public, and a devotional aspect that refers to personal worship mostly and contemplation mostly performed in private" (Berghammer & Fliegenschnee, 2014, p. 90). Islam's five pillars, or Muslim religious practices, specifically include praying and reading the Qur'an (which happen in private) and other more public practices, such as fasting, attending mosque, and making a pilgrimage to Mecca. Thus, this study identifies prescribed religious practices such as praying, reading the Qur'an, fasting, attending mosque, making a pilgrimage to Mecca and Islamic dietary practices as daily living experience.

Muslim religiosity. Religiosity, or the degree of religious commitment, commonly has belief and practice as its key components (Voas, 2007; Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). The two dimensions seem to be fundamental, "representing the distinction between the internal (belief in creeds, knowledge and acceptance of doctrine, affective connection) and the behavioral (participation in services, private devotion and communal activity)" (Voas, 2007, p. 147). However, in this study religious practice emerged as a more important aspect of religiosity than belief.

Religious identification. The term refers to the religious label that one uses for oneself. From a social identity perspective, increasing religious identification with an in-

group (Indonesian, Bangladeshi or Pakistani) provides a sense of stability and promotes individual well-being (Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010).

Religious identity. It is defined by "the way a person relates to a transcendent being or force and/or to a sociocultural group predominantly characterized by a transcendent object" (Bell, 2009, p. 11).

Social identity. Social psychologists view a social identity as "a cognitive tool individuals use to partition, categorize, and order their social environment and their own place in it" (Owens, 2003, p. 224). Social identity theory acknowledges that "groups occupy different levels of hierarchy of status and power, and that intergroup behavior is driven by people's ability to be critical of, and to see alternatives to, the status quo" (Hornsey, 2008, p. 207). For this study, religiosity as a social identity serves a powerful function in shaping psychological and social process (Ysseldyk et al., 2010).

Adaptation. Adaptation refers to "the process of change over time that takes place within individuals who have completed their primary socialization process in one culture and then come into continuous, prolonged first-hand contact with a new and unfamiliar culture" (Y. Y. Kim, 1988, pp. 37-38). Thus, adaptation is an activity that is "almost always a compromise, a vector in the internal structure of culture and external pressure of environment" (Sahlins, 1964, p. 136). A goal of adaptation is to acquire an overall personal environment to fit between one's internal condition and the condition of the host culture (Nishida, 2005).

Acculturation. Acculturation is a process of adaptation to another culture that involves learning development and cultural change that result from continuous, first-hand contact between two distinct cultural groups (Berry, 1986). Berry (1986, 1997) described

four distinct types of acculturation strategies: (a) assimilation strategy, when individuals tend to reject their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with the other culture, attempting to transition into the host culture; (b) separation strategy, in which the individual places value on holding onto their original culture, avoids interaction with a host culture and has a self-imposed withdrawal from the larger society; (c) marginalization strategy, when there is little possibility or interest in maintaining the heritage culture and little interest in interacting with the host culture; and (d) integration strategy, when individuals hold onto their cultural integrity and maintain their heritage culture, yet simultaneously decide to acquire the cultural norms of the host culture to become an integral part of the larger society. Korean government policies focus on assimilation strategies toward minorities.

Scope

This study predominantly focuses on male migrant workers from Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Indonesia (although one Indonesian female worker participated in the study). They are unskilled workers who initially entered Korea through the authority of the Labor Migration System (e.g., EPS), have stayed for more than three years, are 26-51 years old (cf., the labor migration system only admits those aged 18-40 years). Further, the study is limited to MMWs living in the Gyeonggi Province of Korea where the high Muslim population density made it easy to find study participants.

Limitations

Due to the nature of this qualitative study, its findings are not generalizable to all Muslims in Korea, MMWs coming from other countries, or those working outside the

Korean context. Further, participants' limited facility in the Korean language made collecting data difficult in some cases, particularly when discussing abstract concepts (i.e., identity). While I anticipated difficulties in getting male Muslim workers to speak openly to me (a Korean women), through networking and using "gatekeepers," I found participants learned to trust me and share frankly.

Significance Statement

The significance of this study lies in understanding challenges MMWs encounter during the process of adaptation in Korea. This study focuses on understanding how migration affects their beliefs, practices and identity in and out of the workplace while adapting to their life in Korea. The finding primarily identifies adaptation difficulties MMWs faced living and working in a non-Muslim Korean context. Thus, this study provides an insider's perception from a Muslim viewpoint, in order to gain a better understanding of MMWs' challenges, difficulties, realities, and issues of Islamic faith and practice. It also gives voice to those who have been marginalized and silenced in Korean society. Therefore, their voices provide helpful insights for policy makers and employers of MMWs to help create better environments for responding to MMWs' needs and concerns while adapting to life in Korea.

Moreover, this study contributes to an understanding that counteracts the social forces that call for minority Muslims migrants to assimilate into Korean society. The present migration policy in Korea focuses only on the economic aspects of remedying a labor shortage (S. Kim, 2010). The findings of this study will provide migrant policy makers and planners with insights into how to embrace migrants as members of Korean society and deter social marginalization or alienation as they curtail negative social

attitudes, discrimination, and rejection toward Muslim minorities by the greater Korean society. This study contributes to promoting a migration policy that embraces realistic understanding of the complex issues surrounding cultural and religious diversity, which in turn would facilitate the integration of minority Muslims. Further, the findings will provide an analysis of the cultural, societal, institutional, and legal contexts within which individuals live and work in Korea, in order to cultivate multiculturalism and provide all aspects of support for the needs and challenges of Muslim migrants.

Finally, this study contributes to the scholarly literature on migration studies and Muslim religiosity identity. In particular, it adds to existing studies on Muslims who migrate to non-Muslim contexts.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter has drawn on relevant literature to serve as background for the purpose of this study on understanding experiences of Muslim migrant workers' (MMWs') adaptation to Korean society, through examining labor migration, Muslim migrants in a Korean context, and Muslim belief and culture.

While this study focuses on understanding the effect of migration on issues of religious beliefs, practices, and religious identity of MMWs in various social contexts of Korea, Korean society appears to pay little attention to the characteristics of this population. Little has been written expressing concern about their needs. In addition, many Koreans seem biased against Muslims in the aftermath of September 11. As a result, Muslims experience feelings of prejudice, rejection, and discrimination during their adaptation to Korean society.

Due to the short history of the influx of Muslim migrants into Korea, few studies have been conducted on understanding the effect of migration on MMWs' living experiences, their evolving religiosity, and their religious identity. While there is a sizeable body of domestic literature available on migrant workers in Korea, most of it (e.g., A. Kim, 2009; S. Kim 2010) has focused on the areas of rights, crime, and policy relating to migrants. Korean domestic literature informs a better understanding of Muslims' distinct characteristics and realties for this study. In particular, Korean

domestic studies on Muslim migrants have explored the present situations that Muslims find themselves in and their living patterns, cultural conflicts, and the social networking that exists within their ethnic communities in Korea (Ahn, 2012; Cho, Kim, Ann, Oh, & Kim, 2008; Ji, 2011; Y. Kim, 2011). However, in contrast to this present study, most Korean domestic studies (Huh, 2010; Lee, 2011) on MMWs' Islamic identity and practices have taken a quantitative approach.

Therefore, this chapter consists of three main sections. In the first section, I will sketch the background of migrant workers and labor migration policy in Korea. Understanding this background is necessary and gives insight into Korea's restrictive immigration policy and its impact on Korean society. For the second section, I will provide an overview of the Muslim migrants' context, which contributes to an understanding of MMWs' realities and the difficulties they encounter in the workplace, including consideration of the cultural diversity of MMWs. In the third section, I discuss a variety of representations of Muslim values, beliefs and practices that form a theoretical framework in which to fit a discussion of the effect of migration on disrupted religious practice and identity in subsequent chapters.

Migrant Workers and the Effect of Labor Migration Policy in Korea

Subsequent to the international exposure of the Asian Games in 1986 and the Seoul Olympics in 1988, Asian foreign workers began to be attracted to working in South Korea. With rapid industrial economic growth, Korean domestic labor markets opened to admit an influx of Asian migrant workers in order to solve the problem of labor shortages. Further, due to an economic downturn, many South and Southeast Asian workers left oil-rich countries in the Middle East from the mid-1970s to late 1980s. Since

the Gulf War in 1991, the direction of international migration changed to newly industrialized Asian countries, such as Japan, Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore, and Korea (A. Kim, 2009). Hence, Korea emerged as a labor importing country as its accelerated economic growth created a demand for migrant workers in the early 1990s (AP-Magnet, 2012).

Trends of Emerging Migrant Workers

Due to the above-mentioned industrial economic growth, actual labor shortages were serious in the early 1990s, especially in so-called 3-D (dangerous, difficult, and dirty) manual jobs (A. Kim, 2009; S. Kim, 2010). Korean domestic labor markets opened to receive an influx of migrant workers employed primarily in agriculture, fishery and service industries, as well as in the 3-D manual jobs such as "construction, dyeing, auto-parts, tanning, textiles, furniture manufacturing and other small-to medium-scale manufacturing industries," which Korean domestic workers were not filling (A. Kim, 2009, p. 7; see also Seol, 1999).

Some experts anticipate that more migrant workers will continue to arrive in Korea. A. Kim (2009) reported that as Korea's economic growth potential expects to average 4.5%, there will be an annual 1.51% growth in demand for labor that will exceed supply in the labor market, bringing about a shortage of 1.23 million workers in 2020. In addition, in 2020 the Bank of Korea estimates that Korea will face a greater shortage of over 4.8 million workers ("S. Korea: BOK," 2006). Thus, the number of migrant workers should increase in the future in order to meet the demand created by a labor shortage of over one million workers (A. Kim, 2009).

The continuing influx of migrant workers into Korea has led to the increase of illegal or undocumented workers as well. Some unskilled migrant workers, who initially arrived with tourist or business visas, overstayed and found work in Korea. During the earlier time of the influx of labor migration, these illegal workers were Chinese descendants of colonial migrants (ethnic Chinese-Korean), but soon after expanded to Filipino, Bangladeshi, Indonesian and Pakistani (S. Kim, 2010). More recently, migrant workers have come from all over the world including Brazil, India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Russia, and Uzbekistan (A. Kim, 2009). Since the Industrial Training System (ITS) was implemented in 1994, the diverse nationalities of undocumented migrant workers have expanded (S. Kim, 2010).

Many experts regarded the increase of migrant workers as a temporary phenomenon, expecting them to go back to their countries after their short-term stay in Korea (Seol, 1999; see Onishi & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2003). However, many migrant workers have remained, even after a decline in the Korean economy and tightened migration policy control (S. Kim, 2010). Since 1994, 81,100 foreign trainees were permitted and 34%, or 25,500, became undocumented workers ("Korea: No New Foreign Trainees," 1997). Accordingly, in February 2013, 524,847 migrant workers resided in Korea, 68,056 of them undocumented, just less than 13% of all migrant workers (Ministry of Justice, 2013). At the same time, the total number of foreign residents in Korea was 1,422,622, and the number of all undocumented foreigners (visa over-stayers) among them is estimated to be 178,835, or 12.57% (See Table 1).

Table 1

The Number of Migrant Workers in Korea

Year	Total number	Documented workers[a]		Undocumented workers[b]	
		Professional workers[c]	Unskilled workers[d]	Total number	%
2008	567,073	35,818	461,112	70,143	12.37
2009	566,645	39,667	466,502	60,476	10.67
2010	563,291	41,574	467,163	54,554	9.68
2011	595,098	44,730	495,529	54,839	9.22
2012	529,690	46,666	416,041	66,983	12.65
Feb. 2013	524,847	47,955	408,836	68,056	12.97

Note. Based on S. Kim (2010, p. 57), Korea Immigration Service Statistics (Ministry of Justices, 2013).

[a]Legal workers. [b]Illegal Workers. [c]Professional Workers include short-term workers, professors, language instructors, researchers, engineers, entertainers and other professions (C-4; E-1~E-7 visa holders). [d]Unskilled workers with formal documents who entered under the Industrial Training System, the Employment Permit System or the Visitor's Employment System (D-3, E-8[until 2010]; E-9, E-10, H-2 visa holders).

International Migration

International migration theory (Castles & Miller, 2009; Portes & Böröcz, 1989) explains why workers migrate to foreign countries including Korea. In terms of the view of neoclassical economics, international migration motivates consequential differentials in wages and employment conditions between labor sending and labor receiving countries (Castles & Miller, 2009). According to this view, unskilled migrant workers

who arrive in Korea come from various developing countries, and their decision on migration is encouraged by different wages and employment conditions (A. Kim, 2009).

According to push-pull factors, people tend to migrate from negative circumstances to positive circumstances (A. Kim, 2009). Push factors, such as economic needs, high unemployment rates, lack of economic opportunities, and low living standards, lead them to leave the country of origin (A. Kim, 2009). Pull factors, such as better job opportunities, living standards, higher wages, and demand for labor, attract people to alternative destinations (Castles & Miller, 2003; A. Kim, 2009). Recently, global migration has typically moved from the developing to the highly developed countries. Developing countries continually confront problems of "poverty, low living standards, lack of economic opportunities, human rights abuses, political repression and/or violent conflicts,"(A. Kim, 2010, p. 86) while developed countries will continue to sustain relatively high living standards and provide better "economic opportunities, political freedom, and social security" (A. Kim, 2010, p. 86). Such push-pull factors explain the flow of migrants in Korea. Due to the presence of migrant workers, Korea is becoming ethnically diverse, moving from a predominately homogenous society to a more multi-national one.

History of the Labor Migration System in Korea

Despite the rapid growth of migrant workers in Korea, there were no government regulations for international labor migration before 1992. After that time, as the number of undocumented migrant workers grew and labor shortages in manufacturing, construction and some service industries also grew, the Korean government began to consider the introduction of an official labor migration system in order to systemically

control and manage migrant workers (A. Kim, 2009; S. Kim, 2010). At the same time, the Korean government has clearly maintained a restrictive immigration policy, particularly toward unskilled migrant workers.

There are different types of labor migration systems. These include the Professional Work Permit System for skilled workers, the Foreign Industrial Training System, the Industrial Training System, the Employment Management System for less-skilled ethnic Korean, and the EPS for unskilled foreign workers (A. Kim, 2010). These work permit systems recognize two types of workers, those who are skilled and those who are unskilled.

Skilled and unskilled laborers are not treated the same under these systems. Unskilled migrant workers are subject to stricter regulations than their skilled counterparts (A. Kim, 2010). For example, the Immigration Bureau fixes visa quotas for unskilled migrant workers in specific service-related industries (A. Kim, 2010). In contrast, there are no limitations on the number of visas issued for skilled migrant workers

The Foreign Industrial Training System (FITS). The FITS was originally created to teach and transfer skills to trainees who were hired at overseas branches of Korean Foreign Direct Investment and sent by parent firms to Korea for training (S. Kim, 2010). Under this system, trainees were placed regardless of their desires, and prohibited from transferring to other workplaces, except in rare circumstances. Thus, the number of trainees able to be assigned to each particular firm was small, and the duration of training very short, limiting the prospect of resolving labor shortages (S. Kim, 2010).

The Industrial Training System (ITS). In order to cope with these inadequacies, the Korea Federation of Small and Medium Business suggested extending the ITS to small and medium-size businesses in 1994. The ITS training program consisted of one-year training and a two-year work permit (A. Kim, 2009). After completing the first year of the training program, trainees were eligible to apply for work permits as regular workers who would be granted full labor rights (A. Kim, 2009). The ITS officially permitted foreign trainees to fulfill the demand of labor shortages. Placed in 3-D manual jobs, the number of unskilled migrant workers continually increased. However, the 3-D work conditions drove them away from the designated workplaces for better wages elsewhere, places where trainees were paid more than the minimum wage, producing more undocumented workers who had violated the agreement of the ITS (A. Kim, 2009). The ITS was withdrawn in 2007.

The Employment Management System (EMS). Beginning in December 2002, the Employment Management System (EMS) started permitting the descendants of ethnic Koreans who are foreign nationals the opportunity to apply and be accepted easily as workers in certain service industries. In order to be qualified, these applicants have to be at least 30 years old, speak Korean fluently, and have a relative living in Korea (A. Kim, 2009). The EMS has several occupational categories that are service industries, such as restaurants, cleaning services, and businesses that provide assistance in household affairs (A. Kim, 2009).

The Employment Permit System (EPS). These unskilled migrant workers receive low wages and experience stressful labor. They also suffer from limited basic

human rights. In order to protect their basic labor rights, legislation was established by the Employment of Foreign Workers Law in 2003. Since 2004, the EPS has operated to accept foreign workers under government-to-government bilateral agreements; this system has ultimately replaced the Industrial Trainee System (ITS) (AP-Magnet, 2012). The EPS has engaged small and medium-size businesses to minimize labor shortages, and to protect migrant workers' basic rights under labor relations laws (Human Resources Development Service of Korea, 2009). The EPS aims to provide equal treatment for migrant workers.

Today the EPS is the only channel for unskilled MMWs to enter Korea as EMS is only for ethnic Korean descendants and it allows them to work in a variety of service industries. They need a certain level of proficiency in Korean to pass a Korean language test (EPS-TOPIK). The work permit holders are allowed by EPS to stay for up to three years and later to extend no more than two years through Article 18 of the Act on Foreign Workers' Employment, Etc.

By January 2010, the Korean government had signed bilateral agreements with 15 labor-sending countries: Thailand, Vietnam, Mongolia, Sri Lanka, Philippines, Indonesia, Uzbekistan, Pakistan, Cambodia, China, Bangladesh, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, Timor-Leste, and Myanmar (AP-Magnet, 2012). From 2004 to June 2009, under the EPS, 204,118 migrant workers were permitted into Korea (AP-Magnet, 2012). Of these workers, 26% were from Vietnam, 16% from the Philippines, 16% from Thailand, 9% from Mongolia, 12% from Indonesia, and 8% from Sri Lanka (AP-Magnet, 2012). Other countries each represented 2% or less. About 90% of migrant workers were employed in the manufacturing industry, the second largest number in agriculture, accounting for 4%, and

the third most common industry in manufacturing, accounting for 3% (AP-Magnet, 2012).

In sum, until now, labor importation of foreigners has stemmed from a Korean aversion to low-paying manual jobs and the reality of a labor shortage (A. Kim, 2009). The constant flow of a large number of migrant workers into Korea, along with undocumented workers, has had a significant impact on Korean society, leading to a more multi-ethnic nation.

Motivations for Prolonged Stay and Settlement in Korea

Due to labor importation, migrant workers who mainly came to Korea from Asian countries (i.e., Southeast Asia, South Asia and Central Asia) have stayed in Korea without legal permission, or have overstayed in violation of legal status, being so-called undocumented workers. Some of them have married Korean nationals to legalize their status in order to settle in Korea. These men and women have a strong desire to remain in Korea for prolonged periods regardless of their legal status.

S. Kim (2010) argued that there are four reasons why migrant workers do not attempt to return to their home countries but prefer to become permanent residents of Korea. These reasons include: (a) strong economic needs, (b) the desire to achieve their goals, (c) higher living standards, and (d) political freedom and stability. These things have motivated migrant workers to prolong their stay in Korea and to settle permanently regardless of their legal status. I will discuss these points more in-depth below.

First, migrant workers are often motivated to satisfy economic needs, and this provides the impetus for them to come to Korea. These workers want to support their extended families in their home countries. Economic hardships keep illegal workers from

giving up their opportunities to work (S. Kim, 2010). Once they get work in Korea, they do not attempt to go back to their home countries. They want to remain for a prolonged stay in Korea.

In order to obtain work permits under the EPS, which keeps track of workers seeking to enter Korea, migrant workers often must pay outrageous broker fees before they leave their home countries (McGrath, 2010). Amnesty International reported that these broker fees vary. On average they can be anywhere from $2,000 up to $9,500 (McGrath, 2010). In other words, migrant workers are in debt before they arrive in Korea and must pay the migration cost within at least two years (McGrath, 2010; Song, 2004). To do this, they attempt to extend their time in Korea until they earn enough money to pay off the cost of migration. Once they have paid this debt, they can send remittance back home to support family living expenses, education fees for their younger siblings or children, and healthcare for parents in their home countries (S. Kim, 2010).

Second, before deciding to come to Korea, migrant workers often have distinct goals in mind that they want to accomplish (e.g., sending their siblings or children to college, building a new house for their family, or opening their own businesses). In order to achieve their goals, they come to work in Korea and stay as long as possible. The length of their stay might be determined by economic conditions in their home countries. For example, some migrant workers might wish to go home after achieving their goals, but if economic conditions in their home countries become bad after they have come to Korea, they might prefer to stay.

Third, sometimes migrant workers experience a lifestyle in Korea that is better than the standard of living they are used to in their home countries, and this can lead them

to stay longer in Korea. Long-term migrant workers find it hard to abandon their lives in Korea and go home (S. Kim, 2010). They believe there are no jobs available for them in their home country because they are too old to get new jobs. Thus, long-term migrant workers are often more comfortable living in Korea than they would be living in their home countries. And once they settle down in Korea, they form migrant families and having biracial children in Korea.

Fourth, a sense of security or freedom is another reason why many migrant workers seek to stay in Korea. This is especially true for many Muslim women (S. Kim, 2010). Some of these women are undocumented workers facing a strict crackdown policy by the Korean government. Even though they live with the threat of being discovered, ironically these women recognize that living in Korea is still safer and freer for them than living in their home countries (S. Kim, 2010). Some Muslim women also recognize that women living in democratic societies are freer than women living in their Islamic home countries. Particularly, Muslim female workers from Indonesia appear more highly adjusted to their lives in Korea than others (Ahn, 2012). In sum, these reasons motivate them to prolong their stay in Korea.

Challenging Labor Migration Policies

Only a few experts expected that labor migration would lead to MMWs permanently settling in Korea, resulting in significant social and cultural change and a more multicultural society (S. Kim, 2010). Current government policy views unskilled migrant workers as temporary sojourners rather than as members of Korean society (S. Kim, 2010). The Korean government's migration policy has switched to a position that focuses on controlling the number of unskilled migrant workers and the duration of their

stays (S. Kim, 2010). However, the basic principles of migration policy (e.g., the prohibition of family reunification, no settlement, and persistent crackdowns on long-term undocumented workers) have never changed (S. Kim, 2010).

The restrictive migration policy continues, particularly towards unskilled migrant workers. Yet this policy seems to have failed because the reality is that these workers continue to settle in Korea (S. Kim, 2010). To cope with strict migration policy, long-term migrant workers have developed their communities (e.g., Filipino, Mongolian, Indonesian, etc.). This allows them to more easily engage in organized activities or political activism, claiming rights as well as insisting on the reformation of migration policy as members of Korean society (S. Kim, 2010). They have created their own way to fight for their survival with the support of migrant advocacy organizations as well as civil society groups.

Migrant workers' advocacy efforts have caused the government to reluctantly grant social rights for migrant workers. In addition, multiculturalism and social integration, highlighted in 2006, has led to a significant turning point with respect to the issues of migrants and other ethnic minorities (S. Kim, 2010). The national government has attempted to provide various social service programs and promote the social integration of migrants, or ethnic minority residents, while at the same time upholding the law that excludes undocumented workers.

However, S. Kim (2010) indicated that local governments have negated the national government's social integration policy. They have done this by collaborating with local migrant advocacy organizations. Together they have created various multicultural programs that support the rights of migrants. In this way, the local

governments seem to have embraced undocumented workers as local citizens, integrating them into the community so that they can be entitled to the rights of local citizens (S. Kim, 2010).

Unlike the national government, policy makers in the local government recognize that migrant workers are an asset. They understand that these workers are from diverse ethnic groups and therefore are able to contribute to Korean society's cultural and economic revitalization (S. Kim, 2010). Because local governments tend to be more sympathetic to long-term migrant workers, these workers attempt to integrate into the local communities where they have settled, regardless of their legal status. Thus, a large gap exists between the national government and local governments.

Hence, it is imperative to consider that policy makers and planners in Korean government consider unskilled migrant workers, especially undocumented long-term workers, as members of society. They must create policy and respond to the needs and concerns of these workers.

Conclusion on Migrant Workers and the Effect of Labor Migration Policy

This section explains how the increasing number of migrant workers has had a significant influence in the emerging multi-ethnic society within Korea. Despite the increasing presence of migrant workers, neither the public nor policy makers had envisioned how much cultural diversity would increase, resulting in a multicultural society emerging in Korea (J. Choi, 2010; S. Kim, 2010).

The Korean government has responded to the presence of diverse ethnic migrants and the increasing numbers of long-term migrant workers. In an effort to integrate ethnic minorities into Korean society, the government has designed a comprehensive plan,

establishing the Immigration Policy Committee (S. Kim, 2010). However, this plan does not make provision for integrating undocumented workers into Korean society. It is recognized that the plan must provide some basic social services and integration for these people. These provisions must be made especially for undocumented workers, that is, those who have sacrificed a lot by living a long time in Korea while working in low-paying positions.

In Korea, the implementation of inclusive multiculturalism remains a prevailing ideology of assimilation to emphasize national identity (Kang, 2010). Thus, migrant workers are still pressured to culturally assimilate in order to avoid being discriminated against within the larger Korean society (Ji, 2011). In order to embrace migrant workers in the Korean community, the existing studies suggest that policy makers should reconsider the present problems created by multicultural policies. The goal of these policies should be to integrate the diverse ethnicities into Korean society, making them full members of it while promoting "respect for individual difference in cultural diversity" (Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, 1989, p. 15).

Korean society must seek to understand the distinct beliefs and practices of migrant workers, especially Muslims. If Koreans do not understand their distinctiveness, they will continue to isolate themselves and stay only within their own groups. In an effort to promote this understanding, this study will provide information about migrant workers and the concerns they have about religion and culture. This information can help policy makers and planners as they think about migrant workers in particular. The following section explains the background and realities of Muslim migrants in Korea.

Overview of Contexts and Backgrounds of Muslim Migrants in Korea

The labor migration system has encouraged more foreigners to come and work in Korea. Among these migrant workers, the most visible newcomers are Muslims. They are arriving from various countries to work temporarily. Yet they often have a strong motivation to stay permanently in Korea. The influx of different types of Muslim migrants, the realities they live with, and some of the general issues they face need to be discussed.

Types of Muslim Migrants

Since the early 2000s, there have been various types of Muslim migrants coming to Korea. Some are workers. Others are foreign women who come to marry Korean men. Still others are international students and businesspeople who come for enterprise investments (Cho et al., 2008). These migrants come for a variety of reasons, and their numbers have continued to increase. As a result, various social networks have formed that can support the Muslim community. These networks provide many resources that create environments for the transmission and reinforcement of their Islamic beliefs, practices, customs, values, religious convictions, ethnicity, and employment etc. in Korea (Cho et al., 2008; A. Kim, 2009). Due to the constant influx of Muslim migrants with legal status, it is expected that their numbers will continue to increase in Korea, a process encouraged by their social networks.

Previous studies in Korea explain why MMWs are motivated to come to Korea (Cho et al., 2008; Huh, 2010; S. Kim, 2010). The networks that connect Muslims with friends or relatives already living in Korea, provide information about living conditions, advanced technologies and studies, higher wages, and more employment opportunities

that those contacts experience. These informed individuals have influenced their friends and relatives abroad, encouraging them to come and live in Korea (Cho et al., 2008; Huh, 2010; S. Kim, 2010). It is these connections especially that increase the number of MMWs.

The number of foreign brides has also significantly risen in Korea. Foreign women come and marry Korean men, and this alleviates bride shortages that exist in the rural areas. Traditionally, intermarriage between foreign brides and Korean men has been limited to farmers and blue-collar workers. However, it is believed that this trend will soon change and grow to include educated, white-collar workers marrying foreign women. This will happen because there is an overall imbalance in the ratio of men to women in Korea; and this has produced bride shortages everywhere (A. Kim, 2009). This change in the traditional Korean practice of intermarriage is expected to result in members of various social classes determined to intermarry. Thus, Korean men of a lower socio-economic class and those with low incomes are less likely to find Korean wives (A. Kim, 2009).

Female Muslim migrants are rapidly increasing in Korea. Some come as foreign brides. Others come as international students. This trend is significant because typically Muslim migrants in Korea have been male. Cho et al. (2008) note that an estimated 30% of those migrants coming from Central Asia (Uzbekistan, Kirgizstan) are women. This accounts for 14% of all the Muslim migrants in Korea. Further, female Muslim migrants account for 11.9% of the Muslim migrants from South Asia, and 6.4% of those from Middle Asia, which has a low ratio that is influenced by that region's conservative

Islamic beliefs and practices. This constant stream of female migrants into Korea is increasing the number of women in the workplace.

Long-term Muslim residents have built their own community in Korea along with a long-term vision. Among them are businessmen, who maintain the long-term view of settling in Korea, while they foster plans to invest in their businesses. In particular, they seek the initial establishment of small businesses launched upon a solid foundation, based on a concept of the Pakistani community (Huh, 2010).

Itaewon, the commercial area near Youngsan, a U.S. military base in Seoul, is a popular place. The oldest and biggest mosque named Seoul Central Mosque is located in Itaewon. The Islamic Center has been there since May 1976 (S. Kim, 2010). Muslim migrants not only congregate in the mosque to attend Friday or weekend *jumah* prayers, they also gather to celebrate special religious festivals in and around the mosque. Along with the growing numbers of Muslim attendants to the mosque, the formation of small businesses (i.e., Muslim restaurants and grocery stores) and the establishment of the weekend street vendor have increasingly drawn attention to the mosque (S. Kim, 2010). Currently, the expansion of such businesses has transformed the whole neighborhood around Itaewon into a Muslim community.

Among non-Arab nationalities, Turkish Muslims have been migrating to Korea. This activity began after the 2002 FIFA World Cup was held in Korea. Many Turkish migrants, especially international students and businesspeople, are highly involved in Korean society. Particularly, members of the first generation, such as international students who came to Korea in the early 1990s, have completed advanced graduate or doctoral studies at universities. This has allowed them to settle in Korea among the

white-collar class. They have formed various social orders that provide many resources through social networks that have promoted the growing number of Muslim international students and migrant workers coming to Korea.

In sum, the continuing influx of Muslim migrants such as migrant workers, female brides, international students, and businessmen (Cho et al., 2008) have contributed to a multi-ethnic, and multi-cultural Korean society.

Muslim Migrants Population in Korea

Islam includes more than 1.6 billion Muslims around the world, and it is the fastest growing faith in Korea (Desilver, 2013; Hong, 2006). The Muslim population in Korea was estimated at 75, 000 in 2010 (Pew Research Center [PRC], 2011b), more than double what it was in 2005 (Park, 2013). As the Muslim population continues to increase in Korea along with Korean-born Muslims, Islam can expect to be one of the major religions in Korea in the near future (Hong, 2006).

However, there is no good estimate of the Muslim population in Korea. The precise number is unknown because the Census Bureau in Korea officially does not collect nationwide data on the Muslim religion. Also, many MMWs have remained undocumented workers in Korea since the early 1990s. Thus, it is difficult to estimate how many Muslim migrants presently reside in Korea.

The current best estimate of the Muslim population in Korea is around 140,000; they are among the 1.42 million foreign residents in Korea (Ministry of Justice, 2013). Muslim migrants arrive in Korea mostly from Asian countries (i.e., Southeast Asia, South Asia and Central Asia), having been motivated by the EPS and the hope of better economic opportunities. Of the estimated 140,000 Muslims in Korea, as many as 101,000

may be migrants in Korea. In addition, those who have converted to Islam, or who were born and raised in Korea becoming naturalized Korean citizens, are estimated to be around 35,000 ("Islam in Korea," n.d.). Most of these men and women are well educated and have studied abroad in their home countries (Kwon, 2014).

Ahn (2012) wrote an analysis of the estimated Muslim migrant population utilizing statistics from the Korea Immigration Service. These statistics counted the persons who came from 65 countries into Korea. They revealed that the number of Muslim migrants increased between October 2009 and March 2011 from 79,388 to 92,059 (Ahn, 2012), making up more than 11.6% of foreign residents. A majority of Muslim foreign residents came from regional Asian countries in Southeast Asia (29,673 or 35.5%), Central Asia (28,196 or 30.6%), South Asia (23,878 or 25.9%) and the Middle East Asia (3,841 or 4.17%) (Ahn, 2012). Among Asian regions, South Asia, Central Asia, and Southeast Asia dominated with about 92% of Muslim migrants. As of March 2011, the total number of Muslim migrant residents in Korea was 93,744 (including 1,685 naturalized Korean Muslim citizens), accounting for 7.16% of foreign residents (Ahn, 2012).

By February 2013, the growing presence of foreign residents in Korea was estimated to be over 1.42 million, which is 2.9% of the total Korean population (Ministry of Justice, 2013). The total number of Muslim migrants coming from 25 countries was estimated to be about 103,269 (excluding naturalized Korean citizens). Of those 67,951were MMWs, accounting for 65.8% of domestic Muslim migrant residents in Korea. Muslim migrant residents increased from 92,059 in March 2011 to 103,269 in February 2013 (excluding naturalized Korean citizens and indigenous Korean Muslims)

(see Table A1 in Appendix A). In addition, the majority of MMWs were shown to be coming from Indonesia (24,789), Uzbekistan (23,865), Bangladesh (8,076), and Pakistan (3,825). These MMWs were predominantly male.

Realities of Muslim Migrant Workers in Korea

As shown in the demographic analysis, a large number of the migrant workers coming to Korea are Muslim. Thus, this study focuses on MMWs rather than Muslim migrants in general. MMWs have distinct religious beliefs and practices that govern their daily lives; these religious practices are completely different than those belonging to most Koreans as well as to other migrant workers. Thus, these MMWs are generally looked down on as being the least desirable among all the foreigners in Korea. There are widespread negative perceptions and prejudices against Islam in the aftermath of September 11 as well as the incident of Korean kidnapping in Afghanistan in 2007. MMWs in Korea typically encounter various challenges or conflicts of cultural distance between the home and the host Korean country. These challenges are seen in the experiences MMWs face and the realities they live with in Korea.

Encountered challenges. MMWs must perform certain religious duties (i.e., daily prayers, fasting, and Friday prayers or *jumah*). These are obligations, and they are challenging to perform in the workplace since the rules in Korea say the migrants should be working (Chang, 2010). While some MMWs perform religious obligations in their workplaces, others refrain from doing so (Lee, 2011). Many Korean employers do not view religious obligation as an essential part of a Muslim's daily life. Instead, they consider such religious practices as a hindrance to the efficiency of daily work. MMWs

consider employers who have this perspective to be discriminating against them. This is just one of the challenges MMWs encounter each day in their work places.

Emergence of mosques and religious institutions. In order to cope with challenges and conflicts between cultures, MMWs have established religious communities that build networks to facilitate social interaction to their needs. Once two or three MMWs gather together into common ethnic or language groups, they establish small temporary prayer centers called *musallah* as Muslim places of worship. They collaborate to rent a small room for performing religious practices. Lee (2011) notes that in Korea far more than 65 *musallah* have been accepted by the Korean Muslim Foundation (KMF).

Due to the increased number of Muslim migrants in Korea in the 1980s, religious institutions have been established to facilitate their settlement. After establishing the first mosque (*masjid*) at Itaewon (Seoul) in 1976, KMF established four mosques in the cities of Busan, Kwangjoo, Jeonjoo and Anyang in the 1980s (Grayson, 2002). Now eight mosques (Seoul, Bupyung, Pajoo, Anyang, Ansan, Kwangjoo, Jeounjoo, and Taegue) and thirteen Islamic Centers under the KMF are located in different cities in provinces of Korea (Lee, 2011; Park, 2013). Each mosque holds *jumah* prayers each week on Fridays at noon. The mosque and Islamic centers seem to serve the same function; the two places play interchangeable roles in Korea (Lee, 2011). These mosques and centers help new MMWs to settle into Korean society (Park, 2013). MMWs often gather around the mosque in a neighborhood to meet their friends, get information and news on obtaining jobs and housing, attend religious services, get ethnic, or *halal,* food and products, as

well as to celebrate special religious festivals like *Eid al-Fitr*, which is celebrated when breaking the fast, and *Eid- al-Adha,* the feast of the sacrifice (S. Kim, 2010).

After Muslim migrant communities establish themselves around the mosque, they build social networks that help to facilitate their interaction and settlement. For instance, the Indonesian Community of Corea (ICC) is an alliance of organizations that play a central role in the support of Indonesian migrant workers located around Ansan, Incheon, and in metropolitan areas. The ICC helps these Indonesian workers to get settled into Korea. In addition, the *Persaudaraan Umat Muslim Indonesia Al Fatah* (PUMITA) has established a self-help, grassroots organization in Busan. This organization plays an important role in the support of Indonesian Muslim communities around the area of Gyeongsang Province as well as Busan (Ahn, 2008). Furthermore, through using websites, they establish social network systems as an *e-umma* community (Park, 2013). MMWs have shared their encountered difficulties living in Korea in websites so that they can help each other to post diverse information for solving the difficulties.

Increase of undocumented workers. Migrant workers, particularly MMWs, account for a high ratio of undocumented workers (Cho at al., 2008). This is another challenge MMWs face since as undocumented workers their rights are not protected. It is true that under the implementation of the EPS, MMWs come to Korea with legal status. However, if they violate the limitations placed upon them by the foreign workplace policy, they quickly become illegal workers. And this often happens before MMWs are able to achieve their expected goals. The result is that they extend their stay in Korea regardless of legal status.

The EPS regulations on the Act on Foreign Workers' Employment, Etc. are strictly controlled and regulated by the Korean government through its immigration agencies. The government has cracked down on undocumented workers, and this has affected a large number of MMWs, causing economic conditions to decline. The tightened deportation policy, as well as the reduced quota of the EPS, has had a significant impact in the number of undocumented MMWs. In the future, tightened governmental policy controls will continue to cause the number of undocumented MMWs to fluctuate. This fluctuation will be the result of socioeconomic factors rather than the result of other external factors such as religious conflicts or social exclusions.

General Issues Facing Migrant Workers

While MMWs have adapted to life in Korea, they feel they are discriminated against and socially excluded by the larger Korean society. In addition, Korean citizens have shown little concern or support for cultural diversity (Ji, 2011; Kang, 2010). Most Muslims have experienced feeling rejected by the Korean majority. And this rejection negatively influences both their social attitudes toward and their interactions with the members of the larger Korean society.

While adapting to life in Korea, MMWs deal with many challenges. Korean society generally has a negative attitude toward them. They are often not protected against abuses to their human and labor rights. They are discriminated against because the law keeps them from being able to practice the religious traditions meant to govern their daily lives. In particular, the biracial or bi-ethnic children of migrant families experience potential discrimination as well as exclusion from the ethno-centric environment, without the right to equal education in school (Kang, 2010).

The negative attitudes of Korean society. Despite the increasing presence of minorities for a decade, the prevailing ideology held by the majority is that foreign migrants coming to Korea should be assimilated into the relatively homogenous Korean society (Moon. 2010). In Korea there has been a "monolithic culture … considered … the sole determinant of Korean identity" (J. Choi, 2010, p. 176). The emphasis on cultural unity typical among Korean citizens creates a sense of national identity and we-ness or oneness (J. Choi, 2010). This strong national identity contributes to the negative attitudes that Koreans have toward both Muslim migrants and non-Muslim migrants. The level of acceptance and openness that Koreans might show toward newcomers, especially MMWs, is dependent on the migrant's "degree of host country identification and the possibility of social integration" (Onishi & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2003, p. 226). Thus, divergent behaviors of the host society play a crucial role in migrants' adaptation attitudes (Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006).

Growing numbers of Muslim migrants are weathering discrimination in Korea. These people have experienced alienation due to the ethno-centric environment (Kang, 2010). In Korea, there exists ethnic-based stereotypes and hostility in the form of discrimination and prejudice based on physical appearance, such as facial characteristics and skin color, i.e. racism (A. Kim, 2009). Ethnic-based discrimination and stereotypes proliferate through perceived cultural attributes, such as language, customs, and religious practices (A. Kim, 2009).

Public prejudice against Muslims, often referred to as Islamophobia, has become more widespread in Korea since 2007 when Korean short-term missionaries in Afghanistan were kidnapped by Taliban extremists. That event built on fears following

the attacks of September 11. Islamophobia can be seen and heard in various Korean publications, broadcasts, political speeches, newspapers, and other media stories insomuch as these media promote widespread prejudice and strengthen stereotypes that Koreans have of domestic Muslim migrants. Surrounded by these circumstances, Muslim migrants suffer from threats, harassment, discrimination, and violence, which cause them to be alienated and further marginalized from mainstream Korean society (D. Kim, 2008; S. Kim, 2010). In addition, blame and anger are often directed toward Muslims. They feel discriminated against by the larger society, which creates the sense of being separated and segregated within their own communities (Ji, 2011). These realities force MMWs to try to live in a way that shows they have been assimilated into the larger Korean society, and in this way avoid being discriminated against (Moon, 2010).

Furthermore, Muslim migrants in Korea are treated with indifference. They are rejected by Korean citizens as well as Korean schools, businesses, social service agencies, and the courts (Ji, 2011). Thus, Muslim migrants fail to enter into Korean society's culture (Y. Kim, 2011). Because they do not have positive relationships with the larger Korean society, they live marginalized from it, separated into ethnic ghettos.

In order to avoid these negative realities, Korean policy makers and planners need to have appropriate thoughtfulness to embrace the concerns of Muslim migrants as they merge into Korean society for adaptation (Ji, 2011).

Human rights. Undocumented migrant workers are increasing in Korea. Therefore, protecting their labor rights is a priority issue. As noted earlier, at the introduction of the Industrial Training System in 1994, trainees were not legitimate

workers, and undocumented workers were not legitimate residents (S. Kim, 2010). Many of these undocumented workers have stayed as long-term workers in Korea, and they have been both highly exploited and denied basic human protections (S. Kim, 2010).

Most of these undocumented workers take 3-D manual jobs and work in very difficult environments, suffering many hardships. Not only are they discriminated against, but their basic human rights are not protected. Physical assaults are common. Sometimes their wages are not paid on time. They endure "below minimum wages, compulsory overtime and holiday work, and frequent industrial accidents" and so on (Kang, 2010, p. 290).

Issues like these need to be resolved, and undocumented workers have begun fighting to make it happen. They are claiming their rights to protection with the support of civil society groups and advocacy organizations that help migrant workers (S. Kim, 2010). In addition to these groups, international labor standards also put pressure on the Korean government, demanding they improve the work conditions of undocumented workers (S. Kim, 2010). By these efforts, undocumented workers intend to reform the labor migration system so that they can gradually be assured of their rights and continue to stay in Korea.

Undocumented migrant workers would like to be granted rights within the official labor migration system. They desire to see the implementation of the EPS with various benefits, such as accident compensation insurance, national health care, and minimum wage related to labor rights (S. Kim, 2010). The EPS made it possible for them to be admitted as legitimate workers under the National Labor Relations Act (Ministry of

Employment & Labor, 2010). Nevertheless, they still face issues of human rights related to labor rights in the workplace as well as in their daily lives.

Human rights for migrant families and their children. Although migration policy has changed to grant rights to migrant workers, discrimination still exists. Families and the children of migrants living in Korean society are still treated in a dehumanizing manner.

Many long-term MMWs come to Korea as singles in their early twenties because the Korean labor market usually needs young workers to labor in 3-D manual jobs (S. Kim, 2010). In addition, some married migrant workers come. But they are not permitted to bring their spouses or family members to Korea because, according to the Korean government's immigration policy, there is no dependent visa for the spouse of an unskilled migrant worker (S. Kim, 2010). One of the main principles in the Korean government's strict migration policy is that there is no family reunification for unskilled migrant workers.

However, once long-term workers settle down permanently in Korea, they begin to form families by getting married or bringing in a spouse or another family member. These migrant families confront many unresolved issues and problems. Their basic human rights are not protected. Yet these basic rights are important, especially for those families with children. The family of Muslim migrants is one of three types: marriage with a Korean national, marriage among migrant workers, and family reunification (S. Kim, 2010; Song, 2004).

First, some single long-term MMWs marry Korean citizens. These MMWs can attain legal status and settle in Korea. Typically, male Muslim migrants marry Korean women. Their biracial or bi-ethnic children, so-called *Kosians*, have challenged not only the notion of ethnically homogenous Korean society, but also the legitimacy of excluding migrant families by denying their social rights (Cho et al., 2008; S. Kim, 2010). While this is true, these children often suffer discrimination and prejudice from public schools and Korean citizens.

A second type of migrant family is established by marriage between migrant workers. Many of these workers prefer to stay a long time and settle in Korea. For some this desire is so strong that they have attempted to come back to Korea even after being deported to their home countries (S. Kim, 2010). The challenge for these families, if they are long-term, undocumented workers is this: they do not have legally protected rights. And their children are not able to gain legal status. It does not matter if a child is born in Korea. If the child's parents are undocumented workers, the child does not automatically acquire Korean nationality. Instead, the law requires that such children be registered at birth as alien residents. This is because the Nationality Act of South Korea holds to the principle of territorial privilege for jurisdiction ("Nationality Act," 2010).

Most undocumented migrant parents do not register their children because they are afraid of being arrested and deported for their illegal status (S. Kim, 2010). Thus, unregistered children live without birth certificates until they leave Korea. Some children who are separated from their parents are sent to their home countries for proper care (S. Kim, 2010). Still other unregistered children do not receive proper care and education in Korea. Due to economic reasons, preschool children have been neglected without proper

childcare, not only because both parents are working outside the home, but because they cannot receive a preschool education because of their illegal status. Thus, these children are excluded from proper rights such as national medical care services and public education.

According to a study by S. Kim (2010), since the implementation of the strong crackdown policy on undocumented workers in 2004, the parents of undocumented children have been arrested and deported; this has also happened to Korean-born children of migrants and of Muslim migrants who had never left Korea. At the time the policy was implemented, deportation of children or their parents, as well as the separation of migrant families, became something many undocumented migrant families were very concerned about (S. Kim, 2010). Consequently, many migrant advocacy organizations, as well as civil society groups, pay greater attention to the rights of the children of migrant families (S. Kim, 2010).

A final type of family that exists among migrant workers in Korea is the reunified family. This type of family arises when married migrant workers come to Korea to stay for a long time. After they settle, their spouse and other family members follow. These workers not only encourage the members of extended families to migrate, but they also encourage them to bring their children to Korea (S. Kim, 2010). In order to provide better opportunities for education and medical care services for their family members they often utilize brokers that charge to process passport and visa applications.

The Korean government's migration policy prohibits such reunification when the workers in question are unskilled migrant workers and undocumented workers. It seeks to restrict such reunifications by imposing high penalties for illegal stays, along with

prohibiting reentry for at least a couple years (S. Kim, 2010). Ironically, this policy control does not seem to be preventing migrants from bringing family members, but rather it encourages the family members to come to Korea (S. Kim, 2010) by repeatedly granting grace periods or temporary amnesties to undocumented workers.

Despite the fact that children from non-Korean ethnic groups have increased in the public school system, ethnic minorities are still discriminated against. They are made fun of because they are from different races and their physical appearances are different. This practice is widespread in schools and in the community. This makes it difficult for non-Korean students to adapt to the new school environment, which plays a central role in forming the attitudes migrant students have toward Korean culture.

The right to education. Historically public schools in Korea did not open their doors to non-Koreans. However, this began to change in 2003 when the UN Committee for Children's Rights (UNCRC) recommended that the Korean government should revise their law and provide all students educational opportunities, including migrant children (Kang, 2010). However, the Korean government did not immediately revise their education laws. Instead, school principals recommended that migrant children study at schools according to special provisions for educational opportunity (Kang, 2010). Since the education law was revised in 2006, every public school provides all migrant children with the chance to study regardless of their residence status or place of birth (Kang, 2010). Although this is the case, some recent studies examined the education and issues of rights of migrant families in Korea (J. Choi, 2010; Kang, 2010; Moon, 2010) and found that there are still children of migrants who do not have an equal opportunity to

attend public school (Solidarity for Educational Rights of the Multicultural Children, 2006).

These studies found that few migrant children are being enrolled in public schools. The parents of these children are afraid to send their kids to school because of their undocumented status. They do not want to go to school to pick their children up and run the risk of being seized by police in front of their children and arrested (Kang, 2010). Since the massive crackdown on undocumented workers began in 2004 as per the EPS, undocumented parents have lived in fear.

In 2006 the government made an effort to protect the resident status of migrant children and their parents, making them more secure. A special permit was provided for migrant children, as well as their parents. This permit allowed them to legally stay in Korea. The children could attend school. This permission allowed these migrant families to stay legally in Korea, but the stay was intended to be temporary while they make preparations to go back to their home countries. Thus, despite attempts to improve educational opportunities and rights for migrant children, their unsecured residential status continues to threaten their rights to education (Moon, 2010).

Inequalities for diversity. Korean education has put too little focus on the diversity within the nation itself. Rather, it focuses on an approach that seeks to successfully assimilate migrant children into the Korean educational system. Current multicultural education has been one-way cultural education, especially aimed at assimilation, since the Korean Ministry of Education Human Resource Development introduced the Act for Children in a Multicultural Family in 2006. The main purpose of

this multicultural education has been to help migrant children assimilate; it also encourages accommodation to a larger Korean society. Thus, the implementation of the major plan appears to be teaching Korean culture, promoting the Korean language, and providing afterschool programs (Kang, 2010).

In other words, the educational aims of the Korean school system have neglected the diverse ethnic, cultural, religious and language backgrounds of migrant students, emphasizing instead one Korean national identity while pressing migrant children to learn about Korean-ness in school (Kang, 2010). This approach causes migrant students to feel separated and segregated in the school system. Further, educators lack an awareness of the cultural and religious sensitivities these migrant students possess. Thus, migrant students deal with prejudice because they are from non-Korean ethnic groups. This prejudice is shown both inside and outside school by peers, teachers, and parents of Korean children.

As a result, many problems have occurred. One problem is low academic achievement. Another is that migrant students tend to be alienated from other students in the school and thus have no social life (Kang, 2010). To respond to these problems, educators must acknowledge Muslims' distinctive characteristics and religious values; they must teach in a way that responds to different cultures. In this way educators can help Muslim students feel safe and comfortable in a school setting (Gunel, 2007).

Summary of general issues facing migrant workers. The above is a brief description of the previous studies on generally unsolved issues that migrant workers encounter both in and out of the workplace. These unsolved issues are interrelated with

external factors (law, institution, and education) rooted in the prevailing mono-ethnic Korean society.

There is little support for practicing the cultural and religious diversity that has been outlined in the Act on Foreign Workers' Employment, Etc. by the Korean government's migration policies. These policies ignore broader socio-cultural and structural challenges that migrant workers face in Korean society and in the labor market (Syed & Pio, 2010). Therefore, there is a need for inclusive diversity practices when dealing with the complexities surrounding migration, ethnicity, religion, and gender (Syed & Pio, 2010).

Along with the negative attitude present in Korean society, there are also issues relating to migrant workers and the human rights violation they face both inside and outside the workplace. Unlike other migrant workers, MMWs especially deal with these unresolved problems. They also cope with discrimination in the workplace because they have to observe distinctly religious beliefs and practices on a daily basis.

Conclusion on the Background and Context of Muslim Migrants in Korea

This section provided an overview of the background and the context of Muslim migrants. It explained the influx of MMWs in Korea and their rising population in detail. It also presented the realities and living patterns of Muslim migrants as well as general issues that migrant workers in Korea deal with. A number of previous studies (Ahn, 2012; Cho et al., 2008; Ji, 2011; D. Kim, 2008) have been reviewed considering current cultural conflicts involving Muslims living in Korea. They provide rich insights to create understanding of the realties and difficulties that Muslim migrants face in Korea. However, these studies fail to take into consideration Muslim values, beliefs, and

practices to understand the experience of MMWs adaptation in Korea In order to discover evolving religiosity and its impact on identity in Muslims' daily lives both inside and outside the workplace, it is crucial to understand how Muslim culture, belief and practice play a role in Muslims' daily life. In the next section, I will focus on exploring Muslim belief, practice, and culture.

Muslim Belief and Culture

As the Muslim population in Korea continues to grow through the influx of migrant workers, it becomes increasingly important to understand a variety of Muslims, coming from different contexts and to define what it means to be a Muslim in Korea. A majority of Koreans understand virtually nothing about Islamic practices (e.g., religious obligations, diets, and traditions) and values, or the ways in which Muslims express their faith. In addition, public opinion and government policy generally ignore the diversity of Muslim ethnicity in Korea. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the various interpretations of Islam and Islamic values, as well as the ways in which Muslims express their faith and their role as Muslims. Understanding these things is necessary to respond to Muslims in ways that are culturally and politically appropriate.

The Unity of Muslim Faith

Among foreign residents, most newcomers in Korea are Muslim migrants. They come from various countries, and they bring different national, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds with them. These migrants have their own "languages, educational backgrounds, cultural customs and traditions, and ways of expressing their faith" within the Muslim population (Cerbo, 2010, p. 2). They come from all over the world to Korea,

bringing a variety of education, cultural customs and traditions, ethnic backgrounds, and diverse ways of expressing their faith (Aziz, 2010; Gunel, 2007).

As noted earlier, in Korea the ethnic composition of the Muslim migrant community is 25.8% South Asian (from Pakistan or Bangladesh), 35.5% Southeast Asian (from Malaysia, Indonesia, or Philippines), 30.6% Central Asian (from Uzbekistan or Kirgizstan), and 4% Arab (Ahn, 2012). Ninety percent of Muslim migrants in Korea regularly attend mosque for Friday prayers (Cho at al., 2008). This means that ethical and cultural diversity exist in these communities, along with all the realities that go along with this diversity. For example, although Muslims share the same religious ideology, diversity within Muslim communities creates differences in interpretation. Each Islamic community has its own way of expressing its beliefs (Cerbo, 2010; Gunel, 2007; J. Smith, 1999).

Among Muslim populations, there are two major belief systems: Sunni and Shia. Between 75 and 90% of all Muslims worldwide are Sunnis. The other 10 to 20% are Shias ("Islam," n.d.). Although they commonly share the basic Islamic beliefs, they hold different political views (Esposito & Mogahed, 2007). While Shias are in the process of determining their own Islamic belief, negotiating like other Muslims, they often heavily engage in particular their cultural expressions in the new society (J. Smith, 1999). A study by Afridi (2001) noted that the political differences are based on a multitude of perspectives and a variety of interpretations within these traditions.

In the process of adaptation in a migratory context, adherents consider where their highest priorities exist—with "Islam as a whole, with Shi'ism in general, or with their own particular sectarian afflation" (J. Smith, 1999, p. 61). Muslim migrants, whether

Sunnis or Shias, consider religion as a part of their lives and the true purpose of human existence (Kamis & Muhammad, 2007; J. Smith, 1999).

Even though Muslim cultures, traditions, and the ways in which they express their Islamic faith differ within various social and cultural contexts, their core beliefs are the same (Kamis & Muhammad, 2007). In this sense, Esposito and Mogahed (2007) argue, that diversity "is part of God's [Allah's] intended creation and a sign of wisdom" (p. 9). Regardless of race or ethnicity, Muslim migrants, away from their countries of origin and especially in the West, focus on the unity of all believers who share their faith (Cerbo, 2010). Thus, the unity of faith that all Muslim believers possess might appear to be the same in Korea as in the West.

Key Islamic beliefs and practices. Most Muslims are essentially governed by Islamic beliefs and practices (Esposito & Mogahed, 2007; J. Smith, 1999). The Qur'an repeatedly emphasizes these obligations to worship Allah and to carry out his commands (Shamsavary, Saqueb, & Halstead, 1993). According to the Qur'an and traditions (Hadith), there are five articles of the Islamic faith (belief) and five core practices (rituals) that all together "constitute the Muslim affirmation of divine being and human responsibility" (J. Smith, 1999, p. 5-6).

The Islamic creed is based on five specific articles of faith that are all non-negotiable for Muslims (J. Smith, 1999). Every Muslim must believe in the oneness of Allah (Tawhid), and in angels, the prophets, the scriptures, and in the day of resurrection and judgment. Every Muslim overwhelmingly accepts certain core religious beliefs such

as the one expressed by Muslims who say there is one Allah, and Muhammad is His prophet.

In addition, to be a good Muslim, individuals are obligated to live according to five core practices, also referred to as the Five Pillars of Islam. These include the profession of faith (*shahadah*), praying five times a day (*salat*), almsgiving to assist the poor or needy (*zakat*), fasting during the month of Ramadan (*sawm*), and undertaking pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*). Through these five practices, individual Muslims profess and confirm their adherence to the Islamic faith within the Muslim context known as acts of worship (Azumah, 2008; Denny, 2011; PRC, 2012). In contrast, to deny acts of worship as religious practices that are mandated by Allah invalidates a person's testimony, and this person is no longer a Muslim (Alghorani, 2003).

As these practices are integrated with all aspects of a Muslim's life, adherents make sense of their lives through religion (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). Thus, they perform religious practices on an everyday basis. These observances of Islamic faith and practice are very noticeable, especially in a secular Korean context. The following section will look at contexts of the countries of origin to understand pre-migration characteristics of religious belief and practice.

Cultural contexts of the countries of origin. Pakistan, with a population of over 194 million (Population Reference Bureau [PRB], 2014), is the second largest Muslim-majority nation and the only country established in the name of Islam (Esposito, 2003). Approximately 97% of its population is Muslim and the majority of those are Sunnis. An estimated 10-15% of Pakistani Shias comprise the second largest population in the world

(Esposito, 2003). The PRC project on the future of the global Muslim population said that by 2030 Pakistan's population will increase to 256.1 million with a Muslim population that is expected to surpass Indonesia (238.8 million) as the country with the single largest Muslim population in the world (PRC, 2011a).

Bangladesh was founded in 1971 through secession from Pakistan. It is a secular state with a population of over 158 million (PRB, 2014). Bangladesh has the fourth largest Muslim population in the world, with an estimated 86.7% of the population being Muslim. The majority are of Sunni sects (Esposito, 2003). Bengali Islam has been prevalent in Bangladesh, heavily informed by Sufi traditions (Kibria, 2008). Bangladeshi Islam is considered moderate because social characteristics stem from distinctly non-Islamic social, political, and cultural traditions (Kibria, 2008).

Although Indonesia constitutes a secular state, it has the largest Muslim population of any country in the world, with approximately 237 million (87.2% of the total population of 251 million in 2011) identifying themselves as Muslim (PRB, 2014). Sunnis constitute the majority, comprising an estimated 99% of Muslims. One million Shias (an estimated 0.5% of the Muslim population) is ensconced around Jakarta ("Islam in Indonesia," n. d.).

According to previous research by PRC (2012), an overwhelming percentage of Muslims in the countries of Pakistan (94%), Bangladesh (81%) and Indonesia (93%) found religion to be very important in their everyday lives. In particular, fasting during Ramadan was practiced by the overwhelming majority of Muslims in the three countries: Pakistan (97%), Bangladesh (96%), and Indonesia (99%). In addition, mosque attendance is a practice that is also observed by all Muslims: 59% of Pakistani and 53% of

Bangladeshi Muslims indicated that they visited a mosque at least once a week for Friday prayer (*jumah*), while 72% of Indonesian Muslims attend mosque at least weekly (PRC, 2012).

Although the PRC's (2012) survey results on religious practices differ among the populations of the three countries, these Muslim-dominant countries appear to place a high value on the performance of religious practices. They are considered to be more traditional than Korea, which aligned to Western culture and traditions related to Christianity, but is characterized as secular and religiously pluralistic (Chang, 2010).

After migration to Korea, MMWs struggle to preserve the faith and practices they have brought from their countries of origin. Thus, a gap emerges in the degree to which they perform their Islamic belief and practices in a secular Korean context.

Roles Within Muslim Culture

In addition to Islamic beliefs and practices, there are diverse practices within Muslim culture in relation to gender and family relationships, Islamic dress, and dietary regulations. Thus, it is crucial to understand how religion informs a person's role as a Muslim and how this influences Muslims' lives each day in a migratory context.

Gender role and family relations. While there are many diverse interpretations of Islamic values, most Muslims share common family values and gender roles, regardless of their home countries (Al-Huraibi, 2009; Cerbo, 2010). Most members of Islamic cultures consider the family unit to be the foundation of society. Thus, according to Cerbo (2010), family members are supposed to "respect and conform to the norms of both the family and society" (p. 26).

In particular, Islamic perspective on gender roles defines the extended family systems. This perspective provides mutual support, and interdependence among generations (Al-Huraibi, 2009). Islam recognizes different obligations for men and women. These obligations ensure that men and women in a family system live in interdependence and partnership (Al-Huraibi, 2009). Traditionally, they differentiated their specific gender roles within an Islamic cultural context. Roles for men and women are distinctly defined (Akram, 2012). Men are mainly required to financially support all family members and ensure their financial security. Women, on the other hand, are expected to contribute to fulfilling spiritual and social functions as mothers and wives. They do this by taking care of the home, child rearing, and sometimes sacrificing for their family's needs (Akram, 2012; Al-Huraibi, 2009). These gender roles are typically conservative in Muslim-dominated countries, while they are more egalitarian in the West (Berghammer & Fliegenschnee, 2014).

Due to these gender roles that define male and female relations within a family, Sirin and Fine's study (2008) found that even in American society, many Muslim immigrants' parents assume their daughters will contribute to the household chores, preparing for roles as wives and mothers in the future.

Furthermore, in a Korean context, male MMWs, who come to Korea alone under EPS for the financial support of their families, may find it challenging to do household chores. This is because they have no prior work experience in this area in their countries of origin.

Islamic dress. There are diverse styles and practices in the wearing of the *hijab* (Cerbo, 2010; Cole & Ahmadi, 2003). Muslim women who migrate to non-Muslim countries struggle with and feel tension in their lives regarding dress codes (i.e., wearing of the *hijab*, or headscarf, and other Islamic dress for modesty). Scott (2007) argued that although wearing the *hijab* is not the only marker of religious belief, Muslim women are considered by secular French law to be a more serious threat than Muslim men with their display of beards, loose traditional clothing, and religious activities (e.g., prayer, dietary practices). In addition, Williams and Vashi (2007) show how Muslim women regard wearing the *hijab* as a symbol of equality and individualism in American cultural contexts. Wearing the *hijab* means different things as a religious and social symbol (Williams, & Vashi, 2007; Zine, 2006). Some women believe that the *hijab* is part of their identity and it provides a clear identity marker at a time when their lives are in a state of transition (Cerbo, 2010; Cole & Ahmadi, 2003; Williams & Vashi, 2007). Others perceive the *hijab* as mandated by religious tradition (Cerbo, 2010). The practice of wearing the *hijab* is dependent upon ethnic or cultural norms, rather than directly linked to Islamic beliefs. Thus, a Muslim woman's decision to wear the *hijab* or not can differ based on their cultural interpretation of Islam (Cerbo, 2010; Gunel, 2007).

Wearing the *hijab* makes Muslim female migrants more visible in public. In the Korean context, it is very rare to see women wearing this covering. The related study (Haddad, Smith, & Moore, 2006; Zine, 2006) found that in the United States, there are negative stereotypes associated with the headscarf covering, and racist attitudes toward those who wear them. When American society directs these stereotypes toward Muslim women in all cultures, Muslim women have often become the butt of jokes; and

discrimination against them has increased. Zine's study (2006) indicated that certain Muslim woman students wore the *hijab* and experienced Islamophobia and racism in school. This caused them to feel marginalized by their peers.

There is little literature on the dress code of Muslim migrant women in Korea. Ahn's (2012) study showed that public school uniforms present a concern and challenge to Muslim traditions and customs, especially for young female students. For example, both primary school students and high school students must wear uniforms in Korean schools. These uniforms include a short skirt and not pants that female students wear in the summer. A short skirt reveals a girl's knees in public, which violates Muslim customs. Traditionally, Muslims emphasize dressing modestly by wearing clothes that cover the body.

Whether wearing a skirt or not, female students are faced with a challenging situation in the public school setting in Korea. The Qur'an itself makes it clear that one should dress modestly, but the question is what constitutes modesty because the Qur'an does not indicate exactly how much of the body is to be covered (J. Smith, 1999). Hence, the majority of Muslim migrant girl students struggle to maintain their inherited cultural values or traditions that come from their home countries, while adapting to a new culture in a different setting.

Islamic dietary practices. Islamic dietary law prohibits certain foods. These foods are called *haram*. Permitted foods are called *halal*. The Qur'an forbids the following kinds of food: carrion (non-slaughtered meat), blood, pork, intoxicating drinks, and anything sacrificed and dedicated to a god other than Allah (Denny, 2011). Thus,

most Muslims do not eat pork in keeping with Islamic dietary law. Some Muslims, however, hold the opinion that one may eat commercial meat (e.g., ham, sausage, pork cutlet). This illustrates that among Muslims there are different interpretations of how the dietary laws in the Qur'an apply.

In a Korean context, most Muslim migrants who are students deal with food issues, especially issues related to pork products, which are *haram*, as well *halal* meats. Pork is often used as a main ingredient in Korean foods. Korean public elementary schools provide free communal meals for students. Meals on the school menu frequently contain pork. Students must consider whether or not to eat this prohibited food.

Ahn (2012) found that Pakistani students strictly observe the Islamic dietary laws. They never eat pork from a menu or commercial foods that contain pork as an ingredient. Indonesian students do not consider pork to be a forbidden meat. Their tendency is to accept the Korean food culture (Ahn, 2012). However, most Muslim parents who migrated to Korea expect their children to preserve the conservative Islamic traditions and customs that have been passed down through generations (Ahn, 2012). They consider the dietary laws to be part of the cultural heritage passed down to them as Muslims (Merry, 2005).

MMWs do not struggle only with Korean food culture, but they also have difficulties with the cultural norm in Korea that encourages alcohol consumption in the workplace. Drinking is almost mandatory in many companies and worksites in Korea, potentially affecting who gets hired or promoted. According to Korean culture, it is not easy to refuse alcohol offered by a boss, especially for MMWs. While MMWs have dinner with many Korean colleagues, they struggle with the decision to drink or not to

drink. Interactions like these with other Koreans have significantly influenced their sense of Muslim identity.

Ahn's (2012) study indicated that among Muslim groups there are different ways of representing a sense of being Muslim as assimilated or dissimilated groups. Their cultural values and norms are honored in their countries of origin, but have largely faded after migration to Korea. In this respect, J. Smith's (1999) study among Muslim immigrants in the United States showed that their daily living experience brings about a contradiction between adapting as part of a society and insisting on maintaining distinctively Islamic values.

Conclusion on Muslim Belief and Culture

This section discusses Muslim belief and culture in an effort to understand how distinctive characteristics of Muslims influence their daily living experiences in and out of the workplace. Without an understanding of this population's distinctive characteristics, Korean society cannot respond to them in appropriate ways culturally and politically. Thus, Muslims tend to isolate and marginalize themselves within their own groups, separated from the larger Korean society. Hence, it is crucial to increase knowledge about this minority group by seeking to understand Islamic beliefs and practices, as well as the role of Muslim cultural values. Further, a gap emerges in the degree to which Islamic belief and practices affect their daily lives in a Korean context.

Discussion of Literature

This chapter presents the background of this study to understand the effect of migration on Islamic belief, practices and identity. First, I explained how international

labor migration influenced the transition to a multi-ethnic Korean society. It is necessary to understand Korea's restrictive migration policy and its impact on the Korean public. Previous studies point to migrant workers' unsolved problems regarding macro-societal issues (e.g., law, crime, rights, and policy) in Korea. There was little concern or support for practicing cultural and religious diversity via Korean government immigration policies. While previous studies on migrant workers highlight inadequate legal and institutional policies in the workplace, the present study adds to the literature by intentionally exploring the role of Islamic religious practices and by considering compromised or reaffirmed religious identity in Korea. Thus, this study will give helpful information to policy makers and planners about the concerns and needs of MMWs for responding appropriately, in particular, related to religion and culture.

Second, I reviewed the background contexts of Muslim migrants in Korea. This informs how MMWs encounter their realities and difficulties as well as unresolved problems in and out of the workplace in Korea. For this study, there is a need to take into consideration the facets of interrelated challenges of ethnicity, religion, and migration that affect MMWs' adaptation to life in Korea. Especially in light of this study's purpose to understand MMWs' experience in Korea, there is a recognized gap in the consideration of Muslim values, beliefs, and practices in order to interpret MMWs' work experience as impacted by interrelated factors (religion and culture) both inside and outside the workplace.

Third, the literature has brought forward insights into how Muslim culture, belief and practice manifest in a migratory context. It reviews how Islamic values, beliefs and

practices inform the Muslim's role within Muslim culture related to gender roles in family relations, Islamic dress, and dietary practices.

After coming to Korea, MMWs confront cultural distance brought on by the differences that arise from the contradictory norms and attitudes carried from the countries of origin into the non-Muslim Korean context. They struggle to preserve their religious practices while trying to adapt to their new life in Korea (Ahn, 2012; Cerbo, 2010). Thus, they encountered difficulties in their daily lives. In light of this study's purpose, there is a need to look at encountered difficulties that MMWs face in and out of the workplace while adapting to life in Korea.

Further, a gap emerges revealing the need for this study to discover and explain how the experience of MMWs' adaptation influences their lives, religiosity and identity in the migratory context of Korea. Thus, the following chapter will explain the theoretical framework of the effects of migration on Muslim religiosity and identity.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THE EFFECTS OF MIGRATION

ON MUSLIM RELIGIOSITY AND IDENTITY

This chapter explains the theoretical framework for understanding the effect of migration on Muslim religiosity and identity. There are competing views about what happens to Muslim religiosity and identity in the process of migration. Some Muslim migrants find that Muslim religiosity and religious identity are strengthened, while other Muslims find that Muslim religiosity and religious identity are weakened. This theoretical frame should be used as background information for understanding how migration affects the strengthening or weakening of Muslim religiosity and identity. While MMWs' religiosity is hitherto unknown in Korea, looking at Western European and North American studies on the religiosity and religious identity of Muslim immigrants provides a frame of reference for this study's purpose.

The Effects of Migration on Muslim Religiosity

Current studies show that immigrants in both Western Europe and the United States are tremendously interested in religion (Van Tubergen, 2013). Migration is a major life event that can have a negative or positive impact upon religious commitment (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). In the case of Muslim migrants, adherence to their Islamic faith requires great effort in a different setting where the people in the host country don't

understand Islamic beliefs, practices, and institutions to support adherence (Berghammer & Fliegenschnee, 2014).

For exploring the effect of migration on Muslim religiosity, the following section will first present the concept of religiosity and then discuss what factors strengthen or weaken Muslim religiosity.

The Concept of Religiosity

The concept of religiosity lies at the core of the study of religion (Berghammer & Fliegenschnee, 2014). Religiosity, or degree of religious commitment, commonly focuses on beliefs and practices as its key components (Voas, 2007). Stark and Glock (1968) attempted to add sub-dimensions to Charles Glock's earlier, multidimensional model that identified five dimensions of Muslim religiosity; these dimensions were belief, practice, knowledge, experience, and consequence. The last dimension was excluded from the new model (Stark & Glock, 1968). Recent evidence supports the view that religiosity can be measured on a one-dimensional scale (Voas, 2007), while Abu Raiya et al. (2008) argued that a multi-dimensional model is preferable for Islam.

In particular, Berghammer and Fliegenschnee (2014) present several concepts of Muslim religiosity through existing multi-dimensional scales of empirical research: Muslim Attitude towards Religiosity (Wilde & Joseph, 1997); Muslim Religiosity-Personality Inventory (Krauss et al., 2006); Religiosity of Islam Scale (Jana-Masri & Priester, 2007); Muslim Piety (Hassan, 2007); Psychological Measure of Islamic Religiousness (Abu Raiya et al., 2008); Islamic Religiosity Scale (Tiliouine, Cummins, & Davern, 2009).They point out that religiosity consists of belief, practice, knowledge, experience, and worldview. The degree of personal religiosity contains dimensions that

vary among individuals. Belief and practices are all things measured on the scales on religiosity.

In line with the proceeding results, Berghammer and Fliegenschnee (2014) in their study of female Muslim migrants in Australia, defined Muslim religiosity as a multi-dimensional structure comprising faith (belief) and behaviors, with the latter dividing into two types: rituals and duties (such as religious practices) and ethical principles (e.g., no stealing, no lying, helping others, no killing, etc.). They indicated that belief values learning, while practices mainly include religious activities such as fasting and prayer. In sum, beliefs and practices emerged as two key dimensions for Muslim religiosity.

More precisely, in this study, belief (such as the five articles of Muslim faith) is the basic sign of religious commitment. In addition, "profession of faith (one of the Five Pillars), or agreement," possessing knowledge of the creed of Allah, and having an emotional connection were good indexes of personal religiosity (Voas, 2007, p. 147). Religious practices, however, appear to be a stronger sign of religious commitment (Voas, 2007). Some of which (praying and reading the Qur'an), are performed in private and others (fasting during Ramadan, attending mosque, or making the pilgrimage to Mecca) mainly occur within public activities.

In his investigation of dimensions of identity using measurement of identity, Moran (2003) found that behavior is an expression of identity development. Ward (2013) developed three components of Muslim identity, highlighting its psychological aspects, its behavior aspects, and its public markers or visibility (e.g., wearing the *hijab)*. He examined behavior aspects of Muslim identity using religious practices.

Many scholars have been interested in studying immigrants, trying to measure and determine the degree of their religiosity (Van Tubergen & Sindradottir, 2011). Recent studies considering the religious practices of Muslim immigrants were conducted in the Netherlands (Maliepaard, Gijsberts, & Lubbers, 2012; Van Tubergen, 2007) and in Belgium (Smits, Ruiter, & Van Tubergen, 2010). They concluded that migration leads to compromised religion which leads to strengthened religion.

Factors that Compromise Religion

Although migration has a positive and negative influence on religiosity, some scholars (Van Tubergen 2013; Voas & Fleischmann, 2012) have found that migration itself is a disruptive event for religious practice with consequences of change in religious culture as well as in social contexts in relation to networks and religious people in the secular host society. Migration leads to compromised religion.

Religious supply. In the case of new migrants having difficulty in accessing a mosque, this appears to lower religious practice. A study (Smits et al., 2010) among Turkish and Moroccan Islamic immigrants in Belgium found that the presence of a mosque in a direct environment promotes religious practice due to being able to service their religious needs. Similarly, another study (Maliepaard et al., 2012) among Turkish and Moroccan Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands indicated the presence of a mosque in the neighborhood promoted religious practice.

Separated networks and religious context. Separated from family (parents) and social contexts that enforce religious practice, Muslim migrants become aware of other possible choices (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). An individual's religion is a matter of

choice in Western countries, not determinism (Ammerman, 2003). When religious people and networks are separated in their living environments, they (new migrants) are less likely to participate in religious practices. It is because networks affect religiosity through controlling and reinforcing secular norms and values, and by social sanctioning in a secular host society (Smits et al., 2010; Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). Thus, separated networks and religious contexts impact disrupted religious practices.

Premigration characteristics. Some studies found that migrants in a different setting are less religious. As Muslim migrants are typically young, male, and unmarried, they appear to lessen performance of religious practices when newly arrived in a non-Muslim country (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). In addition, religious people are less likely to migrate to a foreign country. Alanezi and Sherkat (2008) argue, "individuals with higher stocks of religious capital or more grounded religious preference will be less likely to migrate" (p. 845).

Regarding pre-migration characteristics, relevant studies (Smits et al., 2010; Van Tubergen, 2006; Van Tubergen & Sindradottir, 2011) find that a higher education level is associated with lower religious participation after migration. However, a study (Smits et al., 2010) indicates that religious involvement positively affects the receiving contexts. Thus, they appear to be religious.

Factors That Strengthen Religion

The experience of migration brings loneliness, alienation, and homesickness in a secular society as a response to insecurity (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). In order to enhance psychological stability and protection, Muslim migrants often attempt to

participate more in religious activities. They appear to be more religious (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). Thus, migration leads to strengthened religion. Muslim religiosity may change in degree as well as representation by the context of migratory settlement (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). For instance, Muslims coming from abroad may become more religious in the United States, while less religious in more secular Western European countries (Van Tubergen, 2006, 2007).

More religious contexts and social networks. When Muslim migrants adapt to life in a different setting with more religious contexts and social networks, Muslim immigrants are more likely to become religious. Networks can protect against secular behaviors through "socialization, reinforcement of norms and values, monitoring and social sanctioning" (Van Tubergen, 2013, p. 716).

A study (Van Tubergen, 2007) of religious changes of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands also associated more in-group contacts (co-ethnic contacts) with higher religiosity because co-ethnic networks protect migrants against secular Dutch norms and practices, while predominant contacts with the Dutch majority are associated with lower religiosity (see Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). As a consequence of change in religious context and social networks after the migration event, the individual represents a different degree of religious affiliation and commitment. These changes vary in degree of religious salience, emerging through stimulating contacts with majority groups (i.e., the host country; Voas & Fleischmann, 2012).

Negative external valuation. In response to negative external valuation of Islam (e.g., discrimination, Islamophobia, and hostility), Muslim migrants appear to be more

religious. The experience of discrimination may foster "reactive religiosity" such as increase of wearing the *hijab* as response to the September 11 crisis for Muslim girls in the United States (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012, p. 357; see Peek, 2005b).

Strong religiosity or religious identification has a positive influence on individual well-being that promotes individual psychological stability (Ward, 2013; Ysseldyk et al., 2010). Religiosity also serves to control socially inappropriate behaviors of Muslims and positively impacts sociocultural adaptation (Ward, 2013).

Literature highly debates the role of an immigrant's religiosity in the integration process (Van Tubergen & Sindradottir, 2011). In the United States, religiosity of Muslim immigrants showed a positive perspective, "promoting ethnic identity and socioeconomic integration and facilitating the adaptation process" (Van Tubergen & Sindradottir, 2011, p. 272). On the other hand, in Western Europe the religiosity of Muslim immigrants was a barrier to integration rather than a facilitator (Van Tubergen & Sindradottir, 2011; Voas & Fleischmann, 2012).

In sum, the different degree of religiosity influenced their daily lives through its function. One function of religiosity that is viewed as a source of identity appears prevalently in a migratory context (Berghammer & Fliegenschnee, 2014). For Muslim migrants, religiosity served a powerful function to stabilize one's identity (Ysseldyk et al., 2010).

Conclusion on the Effect of Migration on Muslim Religiosity.

Muslim religiosity is influenced by migration, pre-migration characteristics, and contexts of settlement that may change in degree as well as expression (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). The migration event itself disrupts religious practices that affect

individual religiosity both negatively and positively. Thus, the effect of migration appears to either strengthen or weaken Muslim religiosity. In the next section, how religiosity influences one's identity and how migration affects identity will be explored.

The Effects of Migration on Identity

For Muslim migrants, it is important to consider the function of religiosity interwoven with daily Muslim life in migratory contexts. Strong religiosity serves a powerful function to stabilize one's identity (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). In addition, most Muslim immigrants may consider Islam as the core of their primary identity (Cerbo, 2010; Haddad et al., 2006; Ward, 2013). In a non-Muslim context, there are many ways of expressing their faith and practice. Muslim migrants comprise two groups: those who absolutely adhere to the performance of their Islamic beliefs and practices, and those who compromise their Islamic practices, holding a minimal sense of belonging as a Muslim (Alghorani, 2003). For Muslim migrants, one of the major issues is how they define what it means to be a Muslim after migration to a non-Muslim context (Khan, 2000), thus, contributing to a heightened awareness of Muslim-ness (Mishra & Shirazi, 2010).

The following section will review religious identity as social identity to understand the role of religious identity, group identity, and religious in-group identification or religiosity. Group identity and religious identification (or religiosity) as a social identity approach enables me to understand psychological mechanisms that either strengthen or weaken religious identity.

The Role of Religious Identity

Previous identity theory studies have heightened the importance of religion in maintaining cultural and ethnic traditions, precipitating support for the adjustment of the first generation of Muslim immigrants to a new society and functioning as a source of identity for the second generation of Muslim immigrants in America (Peeks, 2005b). Related studies (Aziz, 2010; Peek, 2005a) suggest that religious identity plays a central role in preserving group identity and solidarity, particularly for Muslim immigrants.

However, literature and research have mostly overlooked the role of religion in "forging identities for individuals and groups" (Peek, 2005a, p. 217). Peek explored how religion was "the most salient source of personal and social identity" among young Muslim American college students (p. 220). She developed the process of religious identity formation as occurring in three sequential stages: religion as ascribed, religion as chosen, and religion as declared identity. Peek argues, when Muslims students pass through each of the stages, "their faith became more intense and their religious practices increased, as did their identification with the religion of Islam and the individual characteristic of being Muslim" (p. 223).

Accordingly, religion has greater importance within personal identity and social identity for Muslim immigrants in multicultural America than in the countries of origin (Peek, 2005a). Individuals heartily affirmed their religious identity in the pluralistic and secular conditions of America. For instance, "religious dress, practices, and organizational affiliations serve as identity markers" that contribute to promoting individual self-awareness and enhanced group solidarity and cohesion (p. 219).

Furthermore, Ward (2013) evaluated cultural maintenance, in terms of religious identity and ethnic identity (including national identity). His study indicated that religious identity was significantly stronger than ethnic identity. The study's findings point to the importance of religion for Muslim immigrant youth that positively impact socio-cultural adaptation (Ward, 2013).

Group Identity as Socio-Psychological Perspective

Few studies have examined the psychosocial implications of religion as social identity (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). Social psychologists view one's social identity (Tajfel, 1981) as "a cognitive tool individuals use to partition, categorize, and order their social environment and their own place in it" (Owens, 2003, p. 224). Regarding group-level social identities, self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) considers "social categories as important in self-definition" (Hopkins, 2011, p. 530). In this view, an individual's self-concept is derived from one's knowledge of one's membership in groups with value attached (Hopkins, 2011; Ysseldyk et al., 2010). Thus, an individual identifies as a member of a particular group based on social categories (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, etc.) that interact in a complex way (Gloria, 2001; Onishi & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2003; Peek, 2005a; see Cerbo, 2010).

In this study, MMWs are considered to be a group that provides elements of identity (e.g., ethnicity, nation, and religion). Sometimes they define themselves in terms of individual uniqueness and sometimes in terms of group membership (cf. Hopkins, 2011). This ambivalence clarifies the shifts between individual and group behaviors. The

group-making activities support such self-categories in a given particular context (Hopkins, 2011).

Stets and Burke (2003) also argue that self-categorization into a group for social identity (Turner et al., 1987) is similar to self-identification into roles in identity theory (McCall & Simmons, 1978). For this study's purpose, while self-categorization is labeled in group from a social identity, religious identification refers to the religious label that one uses for oneself (Aziz, 2010). Issues of religious identification are not just related to what religion one is affiliated with, but rather how salient this identification is among other roles (e.g., student, son, and daughter), and how the individual interprets their meaning and life purpose in the integration of their religious faith. Salient identity is referred to as "the likelihood of identity being enacted across situations" (Aziz, 2010, p. 41). A higher salient identity is more likely to interpret situations. Thus, strong commitment to an identity increases salience of that identity, which, in turn, reinforces performing identity-related behaviors (e.g., religious practices; Aziz, 2010).

Stets and Burke (2003) conclude that when individuals categorize themselves as members of a group or role, they see themselves as the embodiment of (a group or role) standard. Stets and Burke point out that individuals undertake different roles (intragroup relations) within groups, whereas individuals also see themselves as members of one group (the in-group) and not another (the out-group; Stets & Burke, 2003). While "intergroup relations activate a sense of belongingness and self-worth for individuals (focusing on who one is), intragroup relations activate a sense of self-efficacy (what one does)" (p.145). Hence, both self-worth and self-efficacy emerge as core dimensions of self-esteem or well-being (Stets & Burke, 2003).

Religiosity as Social Identity

Categorizing religious identification as social identity anchored in a system of guiding beliefs offers a distinct sacredness and perpetual group membership within one's religious identification with adherents actively or passively participating in performing religious practices (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). These religious affiliations and commitment (religiosity) serve in shaping psychological and social processes for the promotion of an individual sense of stability. Religiosity can provide a system of guiding beliefs through which to interpret one's experience and give life purpose and meaning (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). Therefore, religiosity considered as a synergy of its dual functions as "social identity and a belief system may facilitate an understanding of why religion is important to many" or not as important for others (p. 60).

Religious identity and external and in-group threats. From a social identity perspective, threats or crisis events to "one's self-esteem or well-being might be alleviated by increasing identification with a group" because strong religious identification provides high levels of stability (Ysseldyk et al., 2010, p. 61).

Peek's (2005b) exploration of how Muslim college students construct and maintain their personal and social identities relays that "religious, ethnic, and gender identities are shaped and further strengthened by the post-September 11 hostility as well as the perceived threat to both Islam and individual identities" (p. 199). When individuals strongly affirm their religious identity, despite perception of external threats, they can experience enhanced group solidarity and cohesion (Cerbo, 2010; Peek, 2005b).

As long as the perception of an external threat, as well as tension with a relevant out-group exists, personal identities and group solidarity advance, according to

subcultural identity theory of C. Smith and Emerson (1998). This supports the salience and importance of group identity that the more an ethnic minority group perceives a negative out-group, the stronger the in-group identification. VerKuyten and Yildiz (2007) present that perceived discrimination and forced national identification by the Dutch have increased the salience and importance of Muslim identity among Turkish-Dutch Muslims. Turkish Muslim immigrants appear to enhance Muslim identification within their in-group (Turks) because they affiliate more strongly with that in-group than with the majority out-group (Dutch).

In particular, group memberships are central to the self-concept when they are particularly salient under distressing circumstances or a crisis event (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). In response to out-group threats, religious identification increases to promote a sense of stability that highlights an individual's well-being or self-esteem (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). In this sense, religious identity is very important and salient when the individual sense of safety and security has been damaged (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). In addition, strong religious identification increases the individual sense of stability that emerges from the need for belongingness, confidence in the midst of uncertainty, and promotion of self-esteem (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). However, religious group memberships have simultaneous negative experiences while religious identity itself can be threatened through intergroup conflict (Ysseldyk et al., 2010).

Religious identity and social capital. For minority Muslim groups (faith identification or minority Muslim identity in Britain), surrounding environments and various social contexts play vital roles in religious identity as a resource from which to

build social capital (Hopkins, 2011). Social capital plays an important role in social interaction among minority Muslim groups (Hopkins, 2011; Kacimi, 2008). Social capital refers to connections among individuals, leading to "social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Hopkins, 2011, p. 529). Relationships have benefits for minority Muslim groups through the building of foundational social capital (Hopkins, 2011). Thus, religious identity is shaped by the degree to which social relationships happen and how social capital is produced (Hopkins, 2011). Hence, religious identity (faith identification) is shaped and reconstructed through social interaction within one's social representation or outside of one's social context through an on-going process (Hopkins, 2011).

Religious identity and negative external discrimination. During transitional experiences in Korea, MMWs as a group, influence an individual's sense of self through social interactions and interpretation of changes that impact to what degree they negotiate their identity among themselves. In order to understand one's self in a migratory context, one must answer the question of what it means to be Muslim (Cerbo, 2010). Along with others' perceptions of who they are in a non-Muslim context, MMWs reconstruct and compromise their Muslim identity through social interaction in a particular context, related to an individual (i.e., core values, beliefs and practices) and social (i.e., ethnicity, gender, and religion) identity (Cerbo, 2010).

In Western countries, young Arab Muslims face multiple identities related to religion, culture, migration, and gender. Tindongan (2011) argues that "such identifications at times co-mingle and at other times clash. Negotiating multiple identities

creates tension reflecting the inner turmoil associated with questions about who one is and where one comes from" (p. 80).

A study of Onishi and Murphy-Shigematsu (2003), showed the identity negotiation process among Muslim workers in a relatively mono-cultural context of Japan. They showed that individuals may experience internal conflicts damaging to their sense of self as Muslim, where the powers of Muslim culture and Japanese culture are unequal. The power discrepancy between two cultures may influence an individual's psychological state. In order to promote an individual sense of stability as a Muslim, they compromise or develop a coping strategy to avoid or reconcile the contradiction between the two cultures (Onishi & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2003).

While MMWs attempt to sustain their cultural and religious values through the process of adaptation in Korea, they face perceived discrimination and negative attitudes. Religious identity threats ensue via the perception of prejudice and discrimination. Individuals develop religious identity negotiation, or a different coping response that helps them to avoid or reconcile perceived discrimination and prejudice.

Previous studies have demonstrated a view of the degree to which Muslim migrants' religious identity and their faith is shaped by the perception of discrimination in Korea. The relevant studies appear to compete with claims about strengthening or weakening their faith and religious identity among MMWs who moved to Korea. A quantitative study by Huh (2010) concluded that MMWs in Korea manifest reinforced religiosity. MMWs became actively engaged in Islamic *da'wah* (inviting or summoning others). They were willing to share their Islamic faith with others, which further reinforced their religious identity (Huh, 2010). Similarly, Park's (2013) study confirmed

that Muslims in Korea have actively performed *da'wah* toward the Korean community. Thus, they appear to strengthen their religion.

Another study (Y. Kim, 2011) found that Muslim migrants are likely to become socially isolated and alienated in Korea. In order to reconcile or avoid suffering from cultural conflicts, discrimination, and lack of understanding of Islamic values, MMWs have established a community based on a firm religious bond against a backdrop of discrimination from Korean society, regardless of the language and ethnicity. Based on their religious community, they are closely linked to ethnic and social networks that can promote awareness of more security and comfort within in-group communities throughout their transitional life in order to cope with migration stress or conflict (Y. Kim, 2011).

However, Lee (2011) argued that MMWs' religious practices in Korea had declined when compared to the practice of religion in their countries of origin. They had become more secularized since moving to Korea.

Ward's (2013) study also found the negative effect of discrimination on psychological and behavior dimensions of Muslim identity. He indicated that Muslim behavior (in terms of religious practices) buffered the negative effect of discrimination on individual well-being, while psychological aspects, in terms of centrality and belongingness, exacerbated the negative effect of perceived discrimination (Ward, 2013). Ward posits both dimensions were not directly linked to adaptation, but rather each dimension interacted with perceived discrimination.

In summary, MMWs define a sense of self as Muslim in facing the perceived discrimination and negative attitudes of Korean society. Religious discrimination arouses

"negative affective and emotionally charged coping responses to a greater degree" (Ysseldyk et al., 2010, p. 67). Thus, individuals develop different coping strategies to reconcile or avoid suffering discrimination and prejudice, and this, in turn, results in damage to their reflective self-images and delays the overcoming of migration stress or conflict connected to migration.

Conclusion on the Effect of Migration on Identity

This section reviewed the importance of religious identity, group identity, and religiosity as socio-psychological identity in Korea. From psychosocial perspectives, religious in-group identification promotes a sense of solid stability that heightens an individual's well-being or self-esteem. Simultaneously, group membership can have a negative impact while religious identity itself can be threatened through intergroup conflict (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). Further, religious identity is shifted and reconstructed through social interaction in different social contexts through ongoing processes (Hopkins, 2011).

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Discussion of Theoretical Framework

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This chapter explained the theoretical framework for understanding how migration affects religiosity and religious identity.

In terms of concepts of Muslim religiosity, the empirical research provided an overview of existing multi-faceted scales and dimensions. While Muslim religiosity finds measurement through certain scales within specific migration contexts, both Islamic beliefs and practices come out in all scales of religiosity. While a large number of previous empirical studies measured religiosity within Muslim majority countries on a

multi-scale level, the present study draws its origins from MMWs who live as a minority in a non-Muslim Korean context.

While adapting to their life in Korea, Muslim migrants struggle to preserve their Islamic beliefs and practices in their daily life. In light of the effect of migration on disrupted religious practices, there is a need to consider MMWs' religiosity by discovering the multiple types of religious practices (i.e., daily prayers, attending mosque, fasting during Ramadan, reading the Qur'an, and dietary practices) in the unexplored context of Korea. Muslim religiosity is influenced by migration, pre-migration characteristics, and contexts of settlement that appear to strengthen or weaken religiosity. Furthermore, qualitative research that seeks to discover or explain disputed religiosity of MMWs, particularly outside the Western countries, is scarce.

Moreover, the role of religious identity and religious identity as identification or religiosity as a socio-psychological perspective is reviewed. This contributes to this study that a high level of Muslim identification increases a sense of stability, which heightens an individual's well-being. In particular, under distressing circumstances or a crisis, group identity is central to the cognizance of self-concept; thus, religious identity is very important and salient when a sense of safety and security has been damaged (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). While MMWs as a group, face threats from the out-group, their in-group identification increases for the promotion of an individual sense of stability. Thus, the psychosocial identity perspective enables me to understand and explain a conflated use of religious identity as religious identification or religiosity for this study. Strong Muslim identification enhances a sense of stability that promotes individual well-being, which is associated with a high level of religious practice.

Furthermore, the chapter implies that MMWs as a group provide an element of identity (e.g., ethnic, national, and religious). Religion takes a very important role in individual identity and group identity. This sheds light on the study's purpose of examining MMWs' experiences of adaptation to Korea as it affects their life, religiosity, and their identity.

The next chapter will describe the rationale and choice of research methods and approaches.

CHAPTER 4

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

This chapter provides an overview of the research methods and procedures employed in conducting this study on the experience of Muslim migrant workers' (MMWs') adaptation in Korea. The chapter gives specific attention to my choice of a qualitative research approach, data collection strategies and procedures, data analysis strategies, my validation strategies, and ethical considerations.

Qualitative Research Approach

In this section, I discuss my choice of the qualitative research method and the underlying philosophical assumptions for using a grounded theory approach for the study.

Qualitative Research Methods

The purpose of this study was to discover and understand MMWs' experiences of adaptation to Korean society. Through this study, I discover the effect of MMWs' migration and adaptation to life in Korea on their beliefs and practices inside and outside the Korean workplace. For this exploratory study, I chose a qualitative research approach. Qualitative research methods provide the researcher with a deeper understanding of complex issues, as every individual experiences phenomena differently in a given context where multiple realities coexist (Creswell, 2007). These multiple realities are constructed through individuals' social interaction with others (Creswell, 2007). Denzin and Lincoln

(2005) note, "qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (p. 3).

All participants in this study were MMWs. Nevertheless, their experiences in Korea were diverse and complex in nature because they had different cultures, family backgrounds, previous life events, and countries of origin (Gunel, 2007).

To achieve the primary goal of understanding multiple realities, conducting qualitative research was a more suitable approach for my study than quantitative research. Unlike quantitative methods, which test objective theories by using instruments or measuring the relationships among variables, qualitative methods grant insight into how individuals perceive a phenomenon, and interpret the meanings of the events, processes and structures of their lives while interacting with others in a particular situation (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Creswell, 2009). In addition, quantitative researchers usually hold to a post-positivist perspective on experimental strategies, and engage in deductive analysis, control variables, and generalize results (Creswell, 2009). Qualitative researchers, however, often prefer the social constructivist view, usually interpreting data and coming to their findings using inductive analysis (Creswell, 2009).

Throughout the entire research process, the focus is on understanding experiences of MMWs' adaptation as the research progresses "from the bottom up" (Creswell, 2009, p. 175). Hence, I utilized qualitative inquiry to delve into MMWs' experiences navigating the adaptation process in Korea

Undergirding Philosophical Assumptions

In order to plan a research design for conducting a study, Creswell (2009) states,

> [The] researchers need to think through philosophical worldview assumptions that they bring to the study, and the strategy of inquiry that is related to this worldview, and specific methods or procedures of research that translate the approach into practices. (p. 5)

Every researcher needs to be aware of philosophical assumptions that shape the study they conduct (Creswell, 2009). Qualitative researchers consider various paradigms or worldviews as basic sets of beliefs that guide their strategic inquiry process (Creswell, 2009). Thus, the belief systems are shaped by one's stance toward embracing a research method (Creswell, 2009).

This study assumes a constructivist paradigm. Social constructivists posit that individuals develop subjective and varied meanings of their experiences through interactions with others in a social and historical context (Creswell, 2007). Thus, the social constructivism paradigm enables a researcher to understand how individual participants construct the world around them in a social setting (Glesne, 1999). This paradigm was useful in conducting my study because I was able to see multiple realities constructed by individual participants who experience specific events in their natural environments.

Methodology

One's methodological stance determines the procedural approach of a study (Creswell, 2007). Because this is a grounded study, the focus of my research is to develop a central understanding that explains the experiences of MMWs in Korea. To achieve this end, data were collected (largely via interviews which were transcribed verbatim), coded, and used to develop a theory. Because qualitative researchers themselves serve as the primary data collection instruments, the qualitative approach allowed me to engage in a more personal and interactive process of data collection (Creswell, 2007). Hence, this

study involved active listening, recording, and reflecting on what each person said and did, in order to interpret how they construct meaning around events in their lives and what that meaning is in the participant's view (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

In summary, through emerging qualitative inquiry, gathering data from multiple sources in a naturalistic setting, and inductive data analysis, the use of a social constructivist paradigm influenced the entire research design and the depiction of the participants (Creswell, 2007). These strategies comprise the "interpretative approach," employed by a grounded theory inquiry (Creswell, 2007, p. 65).

Strategy of Inquiry: Grounded Theory

Grounded theorists endeavor to discover or develop a theory that is grounded in the data gleaned from participants who have experienced the same phenomenon (for my study MMWs' adaptation to life in Korea). Creswell (2007) introduces two popular approaches to grounded theory, the systematic procedures of Strauss and Corbin and Charmaz's constructivist approach. In the more systematic procedure proposed by Strauss and Corbin, "the investigator seeks to systematically develop a theory that explains process, action, or interaction on a topic" (Creswell, 2007, p. 64). From the social constructivist perspective, Charmaz focuses on "diverse local worlds, multiple realities and the complexities of particular worlds, views and actions" (Creswell, 2007, p. 65), and she places more emphasis on "the views, beliefs, feelings, assumptions and ideologies of individuals than methods of research" (Creswell, 2007, p. 65).

This study sought to hear participants' diverse voices and insights to generate or discover a theory that explained the experience of MMWs' adaptation. At the same time,

rather than relying solely on the constructivist approach, the systematic approach enabled me to better explain the process, action, and interaction with my topic.

Moreover, the grounded theory strategy simultaneously involves data collection and data analysis (Charmaz, 2006). Charmaz states, "grounded theory methods consist of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collection and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories 'grounded' in the data themselves" (p. 2). This approach is very flexible in that it allows me to go back and forth between collecting and analyzing data before developing a new theory. In essence, grounded theory engages in the employment of constant comparative methods of data analysis that compare rich information from data collection through theoretical or purposeful sampling, in order to elaborate the categories, leading to further theoretical categories. Therefore, the grounded theory strategy is more suitable because it provides more effective data collection and data analysis.

In summary, the grounded theory strategy was most appropriate for my study because it generates a theory by examining how participants explain the process, actions, and interactions with others and by asking what analytic sense we can make of them (Charmaz, 2006). As a result, we were able to understand the attitudes and values of MMWs throughout their adaptation experience in Korea.

Data Collection Strategies and Procedures

Data collection for this study involved interviews, observations, and interactions with the participants in a series of interrelated activities (Maxwell, 2005). In the following sections, I discuss data collection strategies and procedures in detail.

Gaining Access

Gaining access to the research site is an essential element of conducting a qualitative study. Since I had been involved in the field in Islamic countries, I was able to connect with directors of NGOs, ministers, and partners who are involved in advocating for domestic Muslim migrants in Korea. Prior to data collection in Korea, I visited several migration centers and mission centers in Gyeonggi Province of Korea. I contacted some pastors and partners who engaged in Muslim missions in Korea. They help MMWs by providing housing, wage, and employment information and advising on issues of labor, welfare, and law. They were able to introduce me to individual MMWs who come from Islamic countries (i.e., Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Pakistan) who provided valuable information for this research.

To obtain effective access to research sites, I used my connections to ministers and directors of relevant NGOs to gain the trust of the data sources—the participants. Some interviews were conducted with their companies to gain entry into factories and communal housing. Data collection occurred in two cities of the Gyeonggi Province of Korea: Ansan and Incheon City. As planned industrial cities arranged by the government, Ansan and Incheon contain migration centers, mission centers, and places where MMWs congregate to work and live.

I started with a homogenous sample, participants who had all experienced adaptation to life in Korea. For this study, I received permission from participants, and fostered a "rapport with participants so that they will disclose detailed perspectives about responding action or process" (Creswell, 2007, p. 125).

Participant Selection

  I employed a purposeful sampling strategy. Patton (1990) posits "the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth" (p. 169). My participants were selected as they had recently worked in Korea due to the country's rapid job growth over a short period of time. The criteria for my participants are (a) Muslims who came from Bangladesh, Indonesia, or Pakistan, (b) unskilled workers who came to Korea as a result of the labor shortage under the approval of EPS, (c) individuals whose stay in Korea was prolonged (three years or more). However, three participants (two Bangladeshis and one Indonesian) who were fluent Korean language speakers participated in this study despite their short stay (less than 3 years).

  I used a snowball sampling method for recruiting thirty-seven MMWs. By contacting the staff of relevant organizations and asking for individuals who would fit the investigation, I was able to gather valuable recommendations for locating information-rich study participants (Patton, 2002). Through receiving names and contact information for the potential participants, I recruited MMWs by asking them to take part in my study and obtaining their written approval (Creswell, 2007). I recruited some participants through the owners of local ethnic restaurants and markets in Ansan city, asking them to encourage their long-term friends to join my study. Thus, I got a sufficient number of participants. In the next section, I will detail participants' demographics.

Participant Demographics

  My study's thirty-seven participants, comprising thirty-six males and one female, had fifteen from Bangladesh (2 single and 13 married [1 female and 12 male]). All lived alone in Korea. Ten participants had migrated from Indonesia including 3 singles and 7

married men, all of whom lived alone. Twelve participants came from Pakistan including 5 singles and 7 married men. All except for one couple lived alone.

All participants had been staying in Korea for more than two and half but less than fourteen years. The average length of stay in Korea was 3½ years for Bangladeshis, 5 years, 9 months for Indonesians, and 8 years, 3 months for Pakistanis. All participants currently living in Korea were between 26 and 51 years of age. The average age of participants was 36 years. Average ages by nationality were Bangladeshis, 34 years; Indonesians, 30 years; and Pakistanis, 33 years.

Regarding educational background, 1 participant had a master's degree in political science, 20 participants had bachelor's degrees, and the remaining 16 participants had graduated from high school in their countries of origin. More than half of the participants were well educated. The full details of participants' demographic information are available in Tables 2, 3, and 4.

Data Collection

I collected two forms of data: interview data and observational data. I describe each below.

Interviews. Most of the data were collected via semi-structured interviews conducted in Ansan and Incheon City between October 20 and December 1, 2013. The length of each interview was approximately 40 to 50 minutes. A semi-structured interview is flexible, allowing new questions to be brought up as a consequence of an interviewee's response (Creswell, 2007). Conducting semi-structured interviews enabled me to focus on what my participants wanted to share (Gunel, 2007) rather than what I

Table 2

Demographic Information of Research Participants: Bangladeshi

Code[a]	Gender	Age	Education level	Legal status[b]	Months in Korea	Marital status	Monthly salary[c]
MB1	M	29	College	E-9	37	Mar.	2500
MB2	M	31	HS	E-9	39	Mar.	1400-1500
MB3[d]	M	33	College	E-9	27	Mar.	1800
MB4	M	49	HS	E-9	53	Mar.	1500
MB5[d]	M	51	College	E-9	53	Mar.	1500
MB6	M	34	College	E-9	40	Mar.	1600
MB7	M	35	College	E-9	56	Mar.	2000
MB8	M	31	College	E-9	39	Sing.	1800
MB9	M	31	College	E-9	51	Mar.	1600-2000
MB10	M	35	College	E-9	47	Mar.	1400
MB11	M	35	College	E-9/G-1	63	Mar.	1400-2300
MB12	M	28	Graduated	E-9	41	Mar.	1500-1600
MB13	M	31	HS	E-9	39	Mar.	1400-1500
MB14	M	29	College	E-9	36	Mar.	2200-2300
MB15	M	28	College	E-9	33	Mar.	2100-2200

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Note. [a]Each participant was given a code name. [b]Visa type. [c]Monthly salary, in U.S. Dollars . [d]Participant fluent in the Korean language. M=Male. HS=High school. E-9=Non-professional employment visa, legal worker under Employment Permit System. G-1=Other/miscellaneous visa (allowed to overstay in Korea for medical treatment due to injury or accident). Mar.=Married. ˙Sing.=Single.

wanted to hear about their experiences of adaptation. Utilizing open-ended questions provided the opportunity to learn and understand participants' common and shared experiences; the shared experiences provided rich data by eliciting "the participant's definition of terms, situations, and events, and [trying] to tap his or her assumptions, implicit meanings, and tacit rules" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 32). After interviewing the first few participants, I had refined my protocol and narrowed the focus (see Appendix B).

I conducted face-to-face interviews at convenient places (e.g., coffee shops, Islamic ethnic restaurants, factories, migration centers, and a mission center), depending on their choice. These places created an atmosphere in which participants felt comfortable enough to share freely and openly (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). In addition, I interviewed in their preferred language: four in English, five in Urdu, one in Indonesian, and the remaining twenty-seven in Korean.

During the face-to face interviews, I distributed a demographic questionnaire (see Appendix C). These demographic questions provided personal and educational information about the participants. At the conclusion, I asked them if they had anything to add.

Table 3

Demographic Information of Research Participants: Indonesian

Code[a]	Gender	Age	Education level	Legal status	Months in Korea	Marital status	Monthly salary[b]
MI1	M	31	MS	Illegal	87	Mar.	1500
FI2	F	40	HS	Illegal	162	Mar.	1500
MI3	M	35	College	E-9	74	Mar.	2000-2200
MI4	M	28	HS	E-9	69	Sing.	1500
MI5[c]	M	26	College	E-9	28	Mar.	2000
MI6	M	24	HS	E-9	41	Mar.	1600-1800
MI7	M	33	HS	E-9	52	Mar.	1900
MI8	M	34	HS	E-9	84	Mar.	2300
MI9	M	24	College	E-9	50	Sing.	1800
MI10	M	24	HS	E-9	39	Sing.	1800

Note. [a]Each participant was given a code name. [b]Monthly salary, in U.S. Dollars. [c]Participant fluent in the Korean language.

M=Male. F=Female. MS=Middle school. HS=High school. E-9=Non-professional employment visa, legal worker under the Employment Permit System. Mar.=Married. Sing.=Single.

After the interviews, I gave participants a thank-you note with some presents, asking them to provide any comments. In addition, I double-checked the meaning of participants' responses through phone calls, or revisited the interview sites (ethnic

Table 4

Demographic Information of Research Participants: Pakistani

Code[a]	Gender	Age	Education level	Legal status	Months in Korea	Marital status	Monthly salary[b]
MP1	M	29	HS	Illegal	86	Mar.	2000
MP2	M	36	College	Illegal	92	Mar.	1500
MP3	M	31	College	Illegal	96	Mar.	1500
MP4	M	29	College	Illegal	96	Mar.	2000-2200
MP5	M	31	HS	Illegal	106	Mar.	1400-200
MP6	M	30	HS	E-9	91	Mar.	1550
MP7	M	29	HS	E-9	83	Mar.	2000
MP8	M	43	HS	Illegal	150	Sing.	2000-2400
MP9	M	31	College	Illegal	98	Mar.	1600-1700
MP10[c]	M	32	HS	G-1	96	Mar.	1500
MP11	M	33	College	E-9(56M)[d] F-6(35M)	91	Mar.	2000
MP12	M	37	HS	G-1	105	Mar.	1200-1400

Note. [a]Each participant was given a code name. [b]Monthly salary, in U.S. Dollars. [c]MP10 lives with his wife and a son together in Korea. [d]MP11 stayed for 56 months on an E-9 workers' visa and then married a Korean spouse, changing from an E-9 to an F-6 visa for 35 months. M=Male. HS=High school. E-9=Non-professional employment visa, legal worker under the Employment Permit System. F-6=Marriage to Korean citizen visa. G-1=Other/miscellaneous visa. Mar.=Married. Sing.=Single

restaurants) on weekends. Visiting on the weekends also gave me time to reflect on their previous interview responses.

I recorded all interviews in MP3 format using a digital recording device as well as my phone recording application. After completing the interviews, I listened to all conversations on the way home. Later, the files were transcribed and translated into English. For translation from Urdu to English, I asked my companion, a Pakistani friend, to assist me. He was born in Pakistan and had come to Korea seven years previously to pursue a doctoral degree in comparative religious studies. For translation from Indonesian to English, I asked an Indonesian minister who had served in Indonesia for four years. For Korean to English, I translated the recordings and had a native English speaker verify them. For English interviews, I quoted them verbatim and, for ease of reading, have not added, "sic" after grammatical mistakes or errors in usage.

All participants were protected using identifiers consisting of an abbreviation followed by a number. MB was used to identify male Bangladeshi migrant workers (see Table 2), MI (FI) to identify male (female) Indonesian MMWs (see Table 3), and MP to identify male Pakistani migrant workers (see Table 4).

Observation. While data collection in this study involved primarily interviews, field observation served as a secondary method. Glesne (1999) stated, "participant observation ranges across a continuum from mostly observation to mostly participation" (p. 44). By observing participants' life interaction and activities, I witnessed the difficulties they encountered and their feelings about their present life experiences.

Initially, I focused on observing the events, rather than participating, but later had more personal interaction.

During the period of data collection, I observed participants' activities in the various aspects of their lives. I observed their activities while visiting factories, ethnic restaurants, ICC, and organization offices. I looked at the problems their friends took to the migration center and the mission center. In addition, I observed them outside of workplaces and residences. I saw interpersonal activity within Muslim communities situated near mosque locations where many Muslims congregated on either Friday or the weekend. My interactions (e.g., having casual conversations with Muslims) enabled me to get a feel for their environments, benefiting from first-hand experience in their community areas. For this reason, I spent time going to the local Islamic restaurants to have a cup of local tea, dinner, or for social occasions.

As I continued to observe participants, I took field notes regarding their activities and conversations. Field notes from my observations of time spent with MMWs assisted me in understanding participants' daily life experiences (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Through observations and field notes, I was able to understand and interpret unclear aspects of interviews as well as difficulties in their life experiences.

Data Storage

For all audio data storage and analysis, I used Nvivo10 qualitative data analysis software. This program allowed me to store and to locate the data easily. Transcribed audio data were stored on this program. This program was also used to code the data. The data were backed up periodically on a password protected, portable hard drive.

Anonymity of participants was maintained by protecting their names and privacy. All paper documents were stored in my personal residence.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is not a distinct research step, but data collection and data analysis are interrelated, dynamic and interactive processes (Creswell, 2007; Lofland & Lofland, 1995). Thus, data analysis and collection occurred concurrently as I interviewed participants, analyzed interview data, and interpreted the data. This process facilitated more effective interviews by allowing me to ask developed questions that became data for further analysis. In other words, data analysis involved continual reflection on data, asking analytic questions about the data, and writing memos throughout the study (Creswell, 2007). Hence, data collection and data analysis are ongoing and simultaneous processes of a research project (Creswell, 2007; Lofland & Lofland, 1995).

To achieve this goal, I attempted to employ inductive data analysis and refer to constant comparative analysis for a grounded theory approach (Creswell, 2007). I used the constant comparative method Glaser and Strauss (1967) recommended, through which data from individual interviews or participant observations is compared with data from other sets in order to find similarities and differences, categories and themes, and to further develop a theory (Gunel, 2007). In doing so, I utilized the Nvivo10 software program to make sense of the coding process. During the process of coding, I tried to understand the data and to discern its meaning (Charmaz, 2006). Constant comparative analysis requires coding and memo writing during the data analysis process.

Coding

      Coding represents the heart of qualitative data analysis (Creswell, 2007), and entails "naming segments of data with a label that simultaneously categorizes, summarizes, and accounts for each piece of data" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 43). Coding provides the link between collected data and the development of an emergent theory to explain these data (Charmaz, 2006). For developing solid theory, I utilized three types of coding procedures: initial, focused and theoretical.

      Initial coding. In open coding, the researcher "examines the text (e.g., transcripts, field notes) for salient categories of information supported by the text" (Creswell, 2007, p. 160). I conducted open coding line-by-line, and incident-by-incident such that each section of data was labeled with a name or concept by recommendation of Charmaz (2006). Open coding enabled me to separate data into categories (Charmaz, 2006). These reflected condensed meanings of general terms and revealed participants' views and actions (Charmaz, 2006). This phase identifies "the process of reducing the database to a small set of themes or categories that characterize the process or action being explored in the grounded theory study" (Creswell, 2007, p. 160).

      Focused coding. Focused coding is used to pinpoint and "develops the most salient categories in large batches of data" from which emerges "a single category as the central phenomenon of interest…discussed by the participants" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 46; Creswell, 2007, p. 160). This process ultimately results in more detailed themes and concepts. Through the process of constant comparison of data with data, and comparing

codes to data, focus coding refines the initial codes to make the most analytic sense and to categorize the data inclusively and completely (Charmaz, 2006).

During the process, I reviewed the data and gathered new data in order to understand the specific coding categories, which are related to the central phenomenon (Creswell, 2007). Furthermore, at this point, I proceeded to rename and reorganize the labels from renewed understanding to emerging concept, while eliminating unnecessary codes until all categories reached the point of saturation where the shedding of new light on the emerging theory diminishes or ceases (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006). This process strengthens the credibility and trustworthiness of this inquiry.

Theoretical coding. In the final stage, I organized the information gleaned from the focused coding and developed a theory that interrelated the categories (Creswell, 2007). Charmaz (2006) sees theoretical coding as proceeding through all the analytic steps in producing a grounded theory. Theoretical codes not only conceptualize how substantive categories relate to one another, but also coalesce into a theory (Charmaz, 2006). It also included a process of constant comparative analysis. While I integrated a process of coding analysis, I united 16 broad categories to 3 theoretical categories that merge the central themes. These categories helped me to develop the analytic story (Charmaz, 2006). Three core categories (a) adaptation difficulties, (b) disruption of religious practices, (c) veiled identity or reaffirmed identity that emerged as the central understanding.

Summary of coding. Through employing the constant comparative method, I analyzed the corrected data. First, I coded all the data from interviews to create initial

codes. Second, through constantly comparing analysis, I recoded the data and refined categories until final categories or themes emerged. In a final phase, in order to provide a coherent explanation of data and develop a theory, I re-categorized the codes and edited the named categories.

Memo-Writing

Memo-writing helped me to develop my own ideas as an important technique for data analysis (Maxwell, 2005). Charmaz (2006) considers memo-writing as "a crucial method in grounded theory" because it prompts the analysis of data and codes through the research process (Charmaz, 2006, p. 72). Writing memos helped me to "catch [my] thoughts, capture the comparisons and connections" and to make questions and discover directions to pursue (p. 72). Thus, I attempted to write successive memos through the entire research process because memos kept me engaged in the analysis and helped me "to increase the level of abstraction of my ideals" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 72).

Moreover, through writing memos, I was able to code utilizing my field notes, interview transcripts, and reflections through utilizing the Nvivo 10 software program (Creswell, 2007; Maxwell, 2005). As the coding process continued, memos were also used to record the connections and relationships made as the data were analyzed. During this process, I directly wrote memos to a memo function of the Nvivo software program. Memos also prompted analysis of the data categorized during the coding process to help me to develop ideas and "to fine-tune our subsequent data gathering" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 72). Throughout the research process my memo writing aided in the interpretation of the experience and perspective of each participant.

Validation Strategies

Validity in qualitative research refers to "the correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation, or some other sort of account" (Maxwell, 2005, p. 106). The term validity also speaks to the "trustworthiness, authenticity and credibility" of the research findings (Creswell, 2009, p. 191). Validity concerns how a researcher implements a research design and whether the data collected are legitimate (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

By using multiple types of validation strategies, I ensure the accuracy and credibility of my study's findings, as well as convincing readers of that accuracy (Creswell, 2007). To assess the accuracy of my study, I employ the following validation strategies: peer debriefing, member checking, rich and thick description, and clarifying researcher bias.

Peer Debriefing

Peer review or debriefing provides external checks of the research process (Creswell, 2007). This strengthens the credibility of the research by maintaining the researcher's honesty about the validity of data and helps them see the data from other perspectives (Creswell, 2007). In this study, I discussed the findings, conclusions, and analysis with some of my peers who already hold PhDs, and who were knowledgeable about qualitative research. All members of this group are familiar with Muslim culture and helped me to preserve consistency of code categories and clarity of thought by asking questions about my interpretation and conclusions. In addition, I received the opinion of an Islamic practitioner to confirm the ideas presented through my peers' feedback and critiques.

Member Checking

Lincoln and Guba (1985) consider member checking as "the most critical technique for establishing credibility" (p. 34). Member checking involves "taking data, analyses, interpretations, and conclusions back to participants, so that they can judge the accuracy and the credibility of accounts" (Creswell, 2007, p. 208). Further, this approach allows me to gain more information and to provide an external check of the research process (Creswell, 2007).

For this validation strategy, I engaged my participants by asking them to inspect a rough draft of my work, consisting of preliminary description, rather than the raw data or transcripts. In addition, I arranged a Bangladeshi focus group composed of participants in my study and I asked them to reflect on the accuracy of the account. Their comments on my initial analysis helped me to be more accurate (Creswell, 2007). Further, informal member checks occurred in the process of field observations. This process verifies the accuracy of the data collection by asking participants whether their words were correctly understood. Therefore, this strategy promotes the accuracy of my study's findings by examining preliminary insights, interpretations, and conclusions (Creswell, 2007).

Rich and Thick Description

Both observation and interviews enabled me to collect rich data that provided a detailed picture of the participants' experiences (Maxwell, 2005). I took field notes on MMWs' interactions with each other within in-group communities, their experiences of life events (migration), and their participation in religious activities. I also noted topics under discussion and any conditions that might have influenced the participants' behaviors. Thus, I provide readers with detailed descriptions of settings, participants,

processes, and interactions, so that I can enable them to experience realistic and rich data from many perspectives (Maxwell, 2005). Since a rich and thick description can help readers understand the context (Creswell, 2009), I attempted to present them with plenty of details of time, place, context and diverse participants, in order to confirm trustworthiness. Therefore, I express both my findings and their significance in rich, detailed descriptions to preserve the reliability of this research (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Clarifying Researcher Bias

My bias brings vital threats to the validity of qualitative research (Maxwell, 2005). As a qualitative researcher, I am the primary instrument of data collection and data analysis, and I am subject to preconceptions, biases, and assumptions. Clarifying my bias provides the reader with understanding of my position, assumptions, and any biases that affect the inquiry (Creswell, 2007). My previous experiences of working in various Muslim countries and living briefly with a Muslim family along with my positive bias toward Muslim migrants in Korea could interfere with objectivity. In addition, my interaction with them may build a close relationship whereby I could more easily become an insider. This fact could help me gain the trust of the interview participants, but it might bias the way that I ask questions and interpret the data. Specifically, I attempted to approach data collection apart from my previous knowledge and experiences, thus, interpreting the participants' voices and experiences as they emerge from their natural settings. In order to avoid negative consequences, I should be aware of, and understand how my values and previous experiences influence my study (Maxwell, 2005).

Furthermore, my research is unequivocally biased by my status as a non-native speaker of English; the research findings, understandings, and interpretations are limited

by language abilities. Although my intention was to set these biases aside when conducting data collection and analysis, I maintain the validity of my findings by making these biases and assumptions plain from the beginning.

Ethical Considerations

Creswell (2007) asserts, "All research agendas must question their underlying moral assumptions, their political and ethical implications and the equitable treatment of diverse voices" (p. 205). Because I sought to grasp an understanding of human perceptions and behaviors, ethics are a crucial part of my study (Mertens, 2005). Thus, I am sensitive to the potential for my research "to disrupt the site and potentially exploit the vulnerable populations" studied, such as my study's marginalized group (Creswell, 2007, p. 44).

Protecting the Safety and Right to Privacy

As some MMWs have illegal status in Korea, my objective was to convey a safe environment for a vulnerable population. Adhering to the ethical standards of Biola University, I submitted a proposal to the Protection of Human Rights in Research Committee (PHRRC) at Biola University, which included the method I used for protecting the safety and rights of research participants. After approval by PHRRC, I implemented data collection, following the PHRRC guidelines.

Before data collection began, in order to receive informed consent from my participants, I briefly explained the purpose of the research, the procedure of data collection and the analysis and its use of the data, in detail. Because of the limited Korean or English proficiency of the participants, I made sure that all participants correctly

understood the explanation. I provided them with my contact information and also encouraged them to present any doubts they might have about the interview. Further, I informed them that recording the interview was for transcription purposes only. Before initial interviews, I received signed consent forms (Appendix D) from each participant, following PHRRC guidelines.

In order to maintain the confidentiality of my participants, all data were kept confidential. I assured all participants that their views and personal story would be completely confidential. Thus, I was particularly careful to protect individual privacy. For this reason, I used pseudonyms and omitted the names of specific places, and worksites in the research. As for the data, I kept the interview transcripts, notes, and other information private on my computer in securely locked files. Further, I destroyed the personal data at the conclusion of my study. It is crucial to preserve confidentiality with respect to all responses.

Furthermore, I notified my participants that if they felt uncomfortable at any time, they had the right to quit the interview, to abstain from answering questions, and to withdraw from my study completely. I promised them I would erase any reporting from this research and that the project did not allow for any identification of their names or private information. In addition, in order to create safe environments, I kept reliable, friendly, and respectful relationships with all participants (Cerbo, 2010). In order to build trustworthy relationships with them, I often shared my previous background and experiences living in Islamic countries. If I had not developed close relationships, participants would not share deeply regarding their negative or positive experiences.

Benefits for Participants

I believe that the study's findings will benefit the research participants (Creswell, 2007). My study sought to gain an understanding of the complexity of experiences of participants' adaptation in Korea. I intend to reflect on how religiosity evolved and to ponder religiosity's impact on Muslim identity. My specific research questions are not only an issue of personal or professional interest on Islamic belief and practices, but also reflect ethical considerations. The results will foster among Koreans an awareness of the perspective of the Muslims living among them. Results can be used by participants as a point of reflection about the roles and practices of Muslims in Korean society and to contribute to finding better ways to support themselves.

Chapter 4 Summary

The methods and procedures of my study allowed for discovery of MMWs' experiences during the adaptation process. The methods and procedures provided a strategy for scholarly inquiry within the accepted bounds of qualitative research (Creswell, 2009). For this, I utilized a social constructivist paradigm, particularly the principle of naturalistic inquiry using grounded theory. I used purposeful and snowball sampling to select participants. I utilized two data collection methods: interviews and participant observation. To enhance the trustworthiness, I utilized the following techniques: peer debriefing, member checking, rich and thick description, and clarifying research bias. Therefore, I am confident that this methodology produced a useful analysis for understanding the experience of MMWs' adaptation in Korea. The next chapter will present this study's findings.

CHAPTER 5

ADAPTATION DIFFICULTIES

In this chapter, I introduce this study's findings drawn from interview data collected from 37 participants who shared their experiences of adaptation since their arrival in Korea. The central understanding to emerge from this study is that Muslim migrant workers' (MMWs') adaptation to life in Korea presents three notable difficulties: (a) separation from family, (b) cultural isolation, and (c) hardship in the workplace. These difficulties disrupt religious practices, which results in either a veiled or reaffirmed religious identity. Figure 1 illustrates these findings.

Before explaining the impact of adaptation difficulties on the evolving process of religious identity in the subsequent chapter, this chapter discusses each of three subcategories of adaptation difficulties: (a) separation from family, (b) cultural isolation, and (c) hardship in the workplace. However, it is important to note that these difficulties do not function in isolation but overlap and affect one another simultaneously. Figure 2 illustrates these findings in detail.

Separation from Family

All participants experienced life changes related to separation from their families as a result of their migration to a new land. These changes resulted in emotional, relational, and pragmatic disruption that made it more difficult to adapt to their life in
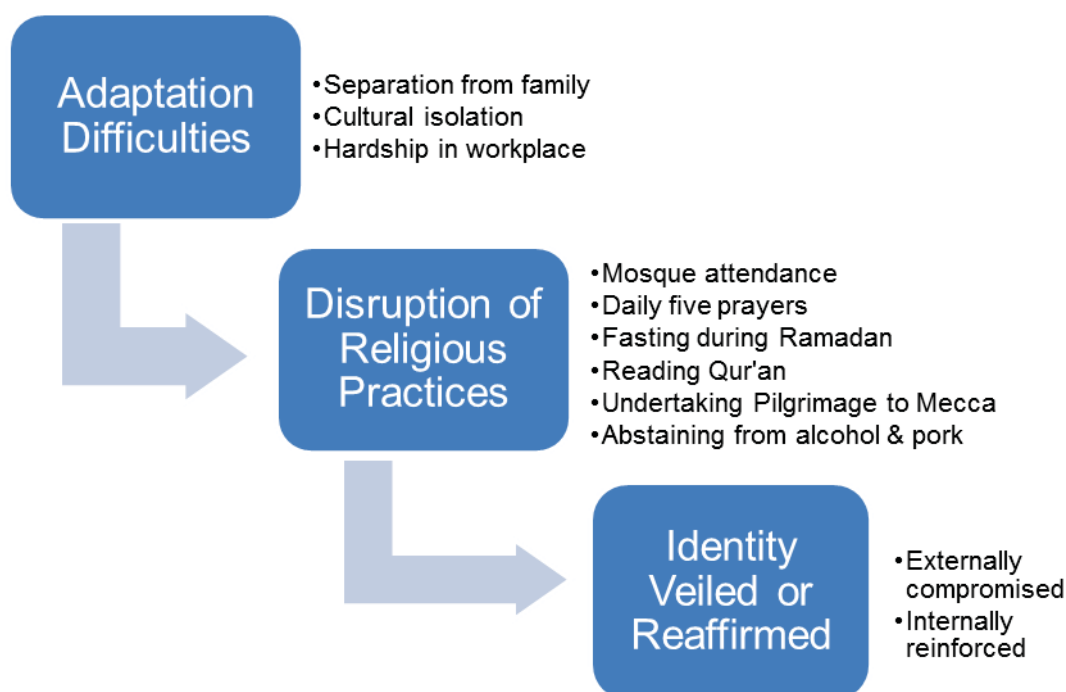
Figure 1. Impact of adaptation difficulties on the evolving process of religious identity of Muslim migrant workers.

Korea. In their countries of origin, most participants were surrounded by relatives (immediate and extended family). The extended family system (including extended family living together) was characterized by mutual support and interdependence. However, Korea's migration policy did not allow the workers to bring their families with them, not even granting a dependent visa for the spouse. Unskilled migrant workers were permitted to enter Korea for the sole purpose of working.

Participants explained three forms of disruption resulting from the absence of family. In the following section, I discuss emotional, relational, and pragmatic disruptions, which augmented stress as MMWs tried to settle into their life in Korea.
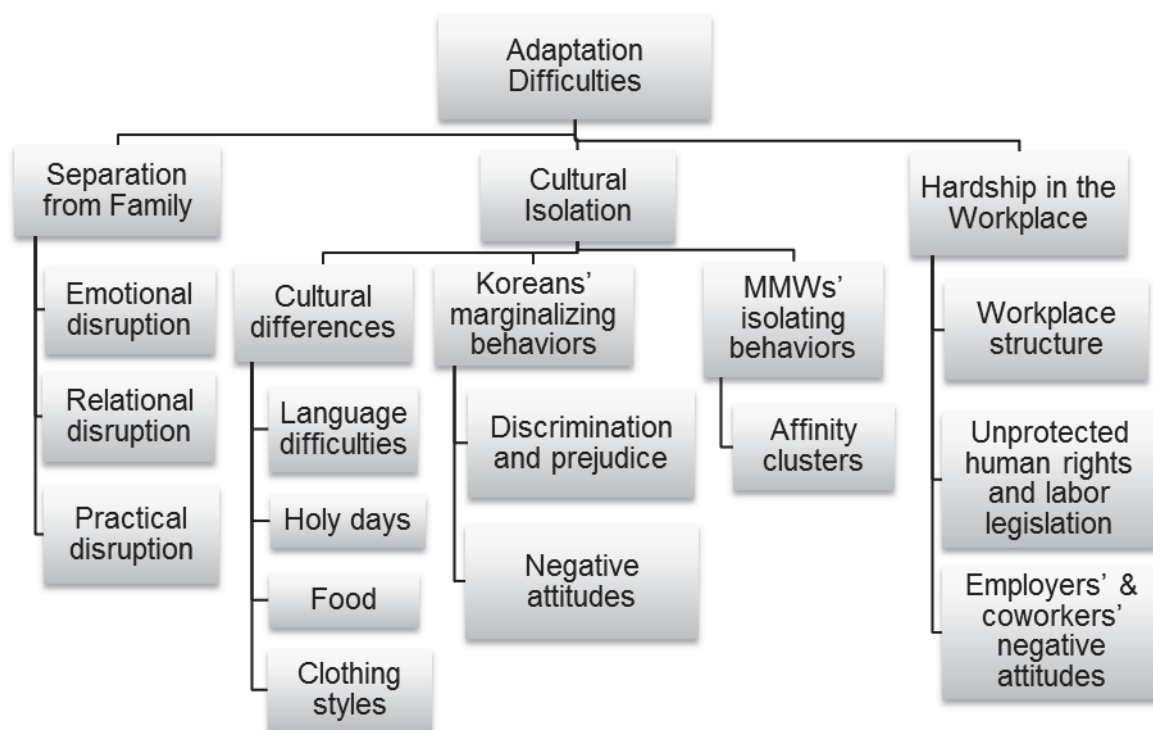
Figure 2. Three subcategories of adaptation difficulties.

Note. MMW=Muslim migrant worker.

Emotional Disruption

All participants experienced emotional difficulties due to the absence of family support after their migration to Korea. While trying to adapt to their life in Korea, they experienced emotional instability. For instance, one commented,

> Within the three years, my thinking changed. Before coming to Korea, I thought that living in a different nation would be like living with my uncle and friends in Saudi, where I had been happily working for more than ten years. But, when I came to the Korea, I was shocked by the lack of camaraderie. The atmosphere was so different. I became rather sad, and I was not happy. Living alone without my family was very difficult. (MP6)

Another participant, MP9, also spoke of loneliness due to being away from his family, despite having gotten along well with his roommates. He initially arrived in

Korea with an E9 work visa endorsed by the EPS. He later became an undocumented worker as he did not wish to curtail his stay in Korea. Whenever the Korean government's migration policy shifted into enforcement gear, his status as an undocumented worker caused him substantial tension as the threat of deportation loomed. He struggled with his illegal status. In an effort to pursue legal status, he attempted to find a Korean spouse, not only for maintaining legal status but also for emotional stability. He considered beginning a family with a Korean citizen. He looked upon it as the best way to seek emotional comfort as well as a means of relieving all stresses associated with his presence in Korea.

> It is not easy because I am foreigner. My routine in life has [is] so simple. In evening time, a little rest and in daytime, work. When I return to home, I continue to feel stressed, as does my Pakistani roommate. My friend was a good guy. We shared the same feelings of exhaustion and stress. Feeling all the stress…, it is not easy. When I returned home after working hard all day, I envisioned life with my wife and child. I dreamed about going outside with them for shopping and sightseeing. (MP9)

Likewise, many participants indicated that living separated from family members caused loneliness. They deeply missed the support and comfort of family members after a hard day's work. As one Bangladeshi participant said, "In Korea it is so hard to live alone, apart from family members. I would like to live with my family. It's so hard. I am really alone in Korea."

Relational Disruption

Some participants experienced relational disruption due to separation from families. They highlighted difficulties due to changes in familial connections: problematic marital relationships, childless marriages, and guilt over failure to fulfill

obligations toward older parents. These issues exacerbated the migrants' adaptation difficulties in Korea.

Problematic marital relationships. MI8 mentioned he sent over KRW 1,000,000 (about $1,000) monthly for financial support of his family, leaving a portion of his wages for his living expenses. The amount of remittance was of great value in the Indonesian currency (Rupiah). However, his wife was careless about spending money. He resented her frivolous spending. "I sent money monthly. My wife bought two cars at home. My wife did different things with the money. Her spending caused trouble in our relationship."

Childless marriages. In Muslim culture, procreation is a sacred right. It is one of the five basic goals of Islamic law (Abu-Rabia, 2013). Children are viewed as a great and blessed gift of Allah. Thus, infertile couples are excluded from social events, criticized, and mistreated in a Muslim context (Abu-Rabia, 2013). Some married participants had been in Korea alone for an extended period of time. Hence, they suffered from childless marriages, precipitating adaptation difficulties in Korea. For example, MB11 had been living alone over five years in Korea. Even though separated from his wife and still wanting to stay longer in Korea, he saw his childless state as problematic.

> I have been staying in Korea for over five years. As my family lives in
> Bangladesh, far from here, I miss them a lot. Other things are fine because I make
> money. But I have no baby yet in Bangladesh. This is a problem. (MB11)

Responsibility toward parents. For some participants, parents' needs in their home country caused them to experience additional hardship. Failure to discharge their family obligation toward older parents led to pangs of guilt, as they violated Islamic

teaching regarding family. For instance one participant, MP6, who had been in Korea for over seven years, was concerned about his parents' illnesses. He desperately missed his parents.

> My parents have continually been ill over the course of my living in Korea. I would like to spend more time with them. My heart is very hurt. I miss them very much. I would be a help to them if I were at home. (MP6) [Original in English]

In brief, those who had lived in Korea for a long time suffered marital problems, were forced to endure childless family situations, and had to deal with caring for parents from afar.

Pragmatic Disruption

The largest pragmatic difficulty due to separation from family had to do with domestic duties. Most participants struggled with challenges in response to gender role expectations when they arrived in Korea. As noted earlier, in their home countries rules for male and female obligations were clear. While men are required to work outside for financial support of the family, women are supposed to manage household affairs and to take care of their children (Al-Huraibi, 2009). As these gender roles are mutually exclusive, men seldom participate in household chores.

Most participants said they had never experienced cooking, washing, and household chores in their countries of origin. They were not used to these roles. However, in Korea, they had to do these unfamiliar chores. For example, one Pakistani participant, MP6, complained, "Life here [in Korea] is tough. I miss my family. I never had to cook before coming to Korea; however, I must cook for myself in Korea. This is a great challenge." A Bangladeshi participant, MB1, reported, "If I lived with my wife in Korea, I would find it easier to stay on in Korea. Right now, without my wife, my life is

so tough. I am responsible for everything! Cooking food, washing clothes, etc." Another

Pakistani participant, MP11 said, "Sometimes I contemplate returning home. Here [in

Korea] work does not end after working my job. I have to clean clothes, prepare food,

etc. Life here is tough."

These gender role changes brought embarrassment and distress in the midst of

their struggle to adapt to life in Korea. Thus, some attempted to bring their family

members into Korea. At the same time, despite the urgent necessity of maintaining family

support, as well as deeply missing family, some participants felt that migration of family

members would bring them an additional economic burden. The financial cost of having

a family living together in Korea would be very high. In addition, a migrant worker's

housing situation was often quite tentative. One Bangladeshi participant explained,

> My wife could come to Korea to live with me. My life is very rough without
> having my beloved wife in Korea. But I said to her, "Just wait and endure there."
> Due to unpredictable economic conditions, if the work is not available in the
> factory, I have to find another job in order to earn money in Korea. I said to my
> wife, "I will make more money so I can return home soon." [MB3]

For this participant, the permitted time in Korea of four years and ten months for

migrant workers also discouraged him from attempting to adapt to a Korean life style. He

always carried the thought that he would be back home after completing his employment

contract. The impending return may contribute to the tendency of MMWs to relate

largely to their ethnic group and build up their own network of support to fulfill their

needs in Korea.

Summary of Separation from Family

All participants described that what they had experienced without their extended

family while attempting to adapt to life in Korea. The absence of family support resulted

in emotional, relational, and pragmatic disruption that hampered their adaptation to life in Korea. They became distressed as they tried to cope with their difficulties in a new land that was so different from their cultural traditions or customs and religious values.

Cultural Isolation

As noted earlier, Korea is a predominately homogenous society despite the increasing presence of minorities. Regardless of religious beliefs (Christian, Buddhist, Confucian, Shamanist or some combination of the above), Koreans eat the same food, have similar customs and lifestyles, and use one language. For Muslims, there is no distinct divide between culture and religion. Islam interconnects with all aspects of a Muslim's life. After migration to Korea, MMWs were challenged in all aspects of their lives as they encountered a completely different culture that ran contrary to Islamic traditions and values. Participants found themselves marginalized by the larger Korean society, while at the same time they withdrew into affinity clusters. These phenomena hindered their integration into Korean society, resulting in further cultural isolation. Three subthemes of cultural isolation emerged from the data: (a) cultural differences, (b) Korean's marginalizing behaviors, and (c) MMWs' isolating behaviors.

Cultural Differences

Most MMWs revealed difficulties with cultural differences during the adaptation process. Participants spoke of four elements that isolated them from the established society: language proficiency, holy days, food, and clothing styles (dress code).

Language proficiency. Participants described their limited proficiency in the Korean language as a barrier during the adaptation process. They said the language

barrier affected every aspect of their lives. Other problems were exacerbated by the difficulty of understanding and communicating through the Korean language.

In order to gain permission to enter Korea, they needed a certain level of proficiency in Korean in their home countries. Before arriving in Korea, MMWs had studied the Korean language, at least enough to pass the TOPIK. Nevertheless, due to poor Korean language proficiency, many participants described difficulties during their initial stage of the adaptation process in Korea. For example, Indonesian participant MI3, who had stayed for over six years, commented, "Looking back, what I went through makes me laugh. It was really tough in the beginning. My Korean was very poor and I was not accustomed to the new job. I would call my family to relieve stress." MP5 described the difficulties due to not having Korean language competency.

> I have some language problems. I do speak Korean, though not very excellent. I can understand and I can express. Sometimes, I use signs and expressions… Well, in my own country there is freedom, but here I do not understand things much; I do not speak Korean well either, so some difficulties occur. (MP5)

Similarly, participants MB11 and MI8 expressed that lack of Korean language proficiency caused difficulties during the adjustment process on the job. The difficulties negatively impacted their relationship with Korean colleagues. This situation was very stressful.

> I feel bad when I am not very fluent at Korean in the workplace. Korean language should use honorifics to elders. But I do not properly express honorifics to seniors so Korean elder employees are so angry with me. I've heard that some factory personnel badmouthed foreign workers because of this issue. (MB11)

MI8, who came to Korea twice (in 2002 and 2009) under the authority of EPS, has been staying in Korea for almost seven years. While he now speaks Korean fluently, he pointed out that a poor proficiency in Korean language initially caused

miscommunication and misunderstandings with Korean colleagues, resulting in many troubles throughout his acculturation process. This led to having bad relationships with certain Koreans.

> In Korea, if we explain what happened and continue to ask and if you do not tell a lie, our bosses understand. They trust you because they are human too. As other Indonesians are not very fluent in Korean, there are many troubles caused by miscommunication. Some run away from the workplace. Then bosses are mad at them. (MI8)

In short, all participants recognized difficulties associated with the Korean language barrier that negatively impacted their process of adaptation as newly arrived migrant workers in Korea. Language limitations also led to further hardship and emotional difficulties.

Holy days. The holy day most often mentioned by participants was the important Muslim celebrations of *Eid: Eid al-Adha* (festival of the sacrifice at the end of Haji to Mecca), and *Eid al-Fitr* (feast of breaking the fast after Ramadan). During *Eid* festivals, Muslims traditionally observe and prepare in a number of ways. They wear traditional clothes; offer special communal prayers; share meat with their friends, the poor and needy; and wish one another well. In Korea typically they gather together in and outside the mosque to celebrate special religious events on *Eid* day. Small businesses (e.g., Muslim restaurants, *halal* stores, travel agency, the cellphone store, and bakery) were established around the mosque for Muslim customers.

However, after migration to Korea, MMWs have difficulties in observing *Eid* festivals with other Muslims. Unlike Buddhist and Christian holidays, Korean society does not officially recognize Islamic holidays. For example, an Indonesian participant,

MI5 complained, "Although Christian and Buddhist holidays are national holidays in Korea, and we have to work on a Muslim holiday like *Eid.* I couldn't do anything on that day."

In addition to special occasions, most Korean companies would not allow MMWs as unskilled workers to take time off from work for attending communal prayer service at the mosque on *Eid* day. Participant MP10 also expressed distress he couldn't celebrate it within the Korean society framework. MP3 noted that Koreans neither knew these Islamic holidays nor understood how important those days are to Muslims. The lack of recognition of Muslim's special occasions caused them to feel different and excluded from Korean society. Their feeling of exclusion was heightened due to their lack of ability to appreciate others in a non-Muslim context in Korea.

> There is a special occasion called *Eid*. They [the factory authorities] do not give us holidays for the *Eid*. Though we are far from home, *Eid* celebration happens over the course of time, anyways, but we cannot celebrate here, so that is the main problem for us… The main problem is on *Eid* day as parents are very strict about my working [I can't go to the mosque for offering special prayer service, because of working]. When *Eid* festival comes twice a year, at that time I felt really bad. (MP10)

> When we have religious festivals, like *Eid*, we cannot celebrate them appropriately in light of their calendar [Korean]. We do not have two or three days of holidays for those events, and Koreans do not understand how important those days are for us… Those religious traditions and cultural rituals, we cannot abandon. This is part of our religious life. (MP3)

In their Islamic home countries prior to their migration to Korea, they had not been exposed to other religious and cultural groups. However, they had to cope with these problems associated with fitting into Korean society. Both MP11 and MB10 expressed that, on the day of *Eid,* they went to the mosque in the early morning to offer

communal prayers before starting work. In addition, they also had to wait until the weekend to share a meal and to celebrate it with Muslim friends.

> On *Eid al-Fitr* day we must go to work. So we get up in the morning around four, and after finishing *Eid*-prayers, we go to the company. I come back to the company for working. Our country has three to five big Islamic holidays. We want to celebrate for *Eids* but here it is impossible. Early morning we go to the Mosque. After praying for two to three hours, we return to the company to work. The feeling is not good. We are waiting for Saturday or Sunday to meet with friends to make food. We miss our mom's special cooking. (MP11)

> On *Eid al-Fitr* festivals, when I told our boss we would be going to the Mosque for *Eid* service, the previous owner gave us a half-day off, but the present boss didn't give any leave to me. So I went to the Mosque at an earlier time at 7AM. (MB10)

Many participants worried about losing their cultural traditions and identity in Korean society, which caused them to feel peculiar, leading to isolation and further segregation from Korean society.

Food. Most participants stated that they had serious difficulties in adjusting to food after their migration to Korea. They did not expect that it would be so difficult for them to distinguish whether a food was *halal* or not in the free market because they had no prior experience of living in a non-Muslim country. As noted earlier, Muslims are obligated to observe the Islamic dietary rules via permitted food (*halal*) and prohibited food (*haram*). Thus, they should not only follow the rule to eat *halal* food, but also stay away from forbidden food.

Most participants expressed that it was very difficult for them to distinguish which foods would be allowed when shopping in the markets. After migration to Korea, due to limit Korean language proficiency, they were unable to read labels indicating food ingredients. They were greatly challenged when trying to distinguish between *halal* food

and non- *halal* food when shopping in a public market. The challenge was one more difficulty along the road of trying to adapt to life in Korea. For this reason, MP3 spoke of going to the Pakistani or Muslim stores, instead of the free market outside.

> Adjusting to Korean food (eating and drinking) as a Muslim was very difficult. I cannot buy things from malls out there. I could not distinguish what is *halal* or *haram* food in the public market. I only go to Pakistani stores or Muslim stores to buy food that I know. (MP3)

Both participant MI6 and participant MP4 described that the most difficult thing for them in adapting to life in Korea was the food. When the workplace cafeteria served meals at lunch, they were confused by the dishes, especially trying to determine the ingredients. Due to Korean dietary habits, not only the workplace cafeteria, but also company dinners that were often provided, contained pork or ham mixed with other food. In order to deal with this problem, most participants sought to make safe eating choices. An Indonesian participant, MI6 said, "The hardest things about adapting in Korea, are food and language. In the case of Korean food, Korean restaurants often serve pork. What shall we do? We just eat kimchi and eggs." Another one also shared a similar experience.

> Most of my problem is that I ate food at the workplace for almost a year. But in that case also, I just ate potatoes, soup, etc. I did not really enjoy it. Even, then, not because they are delicious, but just because they were available. That is also because I had very limited food that I could eat. The most difficult thing is food. (MP4)

Participants chose alternative foods, eating only vegetables, fruits, and fish, instead of meat at a company dinner. MP3said, "If I go to a mall, I have to be very careful. I have to make a safe choice. Like just eating fish, because fish is no problem. And I choose things that do not contain pork." Bangladeshi participant MB3 also shared a similar experience due to having unavailable *halal* food. "We have company dining

together. Our Korean boss ordered fish dishes or seafood as an alternative. We also eat

vegetables and fruits as well, because Korean restaurants do not offer *halal* meat."

Due to the limited eating choices, they faced difficulties when trying to engage in

social activities during the adaptation process in Korea. MP4 pointed out that it is very

difficult to explain about their food sensibilities to Korean people when they are out.

MP3 expressed the difficulty that some Koreans forced MMWs to eat Korean food that

was forbidden while other Korean employers were kind enough to allow them to make

their own *halal* food because of the apparent limitations of some Korean cuisine. This led

them to be even more isolated from Korean society.

> The biggest major problem is that when we want to go out, we need to tell
> [Korean] people that we cannot eat certain food. So it is very difficult to explain it
> to the people sometimes... As I said, I usually eat in a Pakistani restaurant--not
> Korean restaurants. (MP4)

> For new arrivals, Muslims do not know Korean food. Employers usually do not
> know about the sensitivities and limitations that Korean food causes, so they force
> us to eat Korean food, which is forbidden. However, some of the employers are
> kind enough to allow us to eat our own food. (MP3)

Regarding social activity, participants often do not go to Korean restaurants or

join company dinners, *hoesik* (literally, dinner with coworkers, official eating/drinking

fests). As company dinners are considered as an extension of work, it is very important

for workers to participate. However, because of the unavailability of *halal* food in Korean

restaurants, MMWs are reticent to go to these dining get-togethers. For instance,

participant MB1 explained,

> Muslims do not often go to Korean restaurants because we are so confused about
> what the food is made of. When the meal is served, we are so confused by the
> dish and how meats are used as ingredients. Thus, we do not often go to the
> company dinner with Koreans workers. (MB1)

Despite the unavailability of *halal* food in the workplace cafeteria, some participants were very strict about eating *halal* food in Korea. Hence, they cooked their own halal food in company housing and brought a lunch box for their midday meal. MP6 noted that he never ate any Korean meat dishes in the cafeteria as it was non-halal food. Like MP6, MB9 explained how he responded to non- *halal* food (e.g., beef, chicken) after he acknowledged that animal slaughter in Korea was not practiced according to Islamic custom. MB6 said, "We are sensitive about eating *halal* meat. We are seven Bangladeshi living under one roof. We cook our own food. I do not eat any beef and chicken in a Korean cafeteria or restaurant providing non- *halal* meals."

> We cook food with Bangladeshi friends. In the factory, our boss arranges for cooking facilities so that we can cook our own food for lunch… Most of the Koreans don't speak English, so I can hardly communicate with them. Korean meat dishes are not made with *halal* meat, so I cannot eat them [beef, chicken]. (MB9)

Clothing styles. In addition to difficulties in accessing *halal* food, participants felt uncomfortable seeing women's clothing styles (female immodesty), especially exposing their bodies. All male participants came from Islamic countries where almost all women fully cover themselves, no matter what the season. In their home countries, women are not allowed to expose their bodies, which violate their traditional customs to dress modestly, but must use loose clothing covering the entire body. However, after migration to Korea, they felt astonished and uncomfortable, especially in summer, upon seeing women wearing revealing outfits. For example,

> When I went outside in Korea, my mind suffered when I saw women who wore short pants and revealing dresses. In our country, as women are not allowed to wear styles like that, my mind does not get distracted. But in Korea, such styles tempt me to think badly. Winter season is okay but summer is not okay. (MB1)

Similarly, one participant was concerned about school uniforms that would consist of short pants especially for his daughters in Korean society. MB7, who earned a high monthly salary and was qualified to apply for an E7 visa, attempted to change his visa type from E9 to E7 (allowing for a dependent spouse visa), in order to bring his family members to Korea. He would like to extend his stay in Korea. However, when he thinks about unification of his family, he worries about the school uniforms of his daughter in Korean society. His daughter would wear a school uniform or at least sports uniforms in physical education class when attending a Korean school. He cannot allow his daughter to expose her legs to others. That's why he hesitates to raise his daughter in Korea. Bangladeshi participant MB7 said, "If our family lives in Korea together, I think that it is very hard, especially for my daughters to live in Korea, because they must wear school sports uniform and short pants in a Korean elementary public school." Like MB7, MB14 also commented, "I do not like Korean clothing styles very much."

In short, participants described the challenges they faced as their standard of dress differed from that of non-Muslim Korean society. Sustaining their Islamic dress code inhibited their engaging in social interactions within Korean social settings.

Summary of cultural differences. After migration to Korea, MMWs encountered difficulties in dealing with language, holy days, food, and clothing styles in relation to cultural differences. These difficulties posed significant barriers to their adaptation process that further led them to isolation from the larger Korean society. At the same time, Korean society tended to marginalize and exclude MMWs.

Koreans' Marginalizing Behaviors

As noted earlier, despite their presence in Korea, Muslim migrants were subjected to discrimination and exclusion within the ethno-centric environment of Korean society (Kang, 2010). In addition, in Korea the perception of prejudice and social stereotypes against Muslims has become more widespread in the aftermath of September 11 as well as from the incident of kidnapping of Korean missionaries in Afghanistan in 2007. These incidents led to increasing Islamophobia, which negatively reinforces social stereotypes of Muslim migrants. The majority of the participants perceived prejudice, discrimination, and negative attitudes in public.

Discrimination and prejudice. After migration to Korea, participants easily recognized that they were identified as foreigners within the relatively homogenous Korean society. MMWs were perceived as being different in Korea, clearly based upon the physical appearance. In Korea they needed to deal with social stereotypes in public (discrimination, racism). Participants easily perceived that Koreans preferred whiter foreigners. One participant expressed how Koreans look upon minority Muslims.

> I don't feel good when I'm treated differently. Koreans do not treat us equal. They like people from other countries [western countries] better than Muslims. I think it's normal to be hospitable to any foreigners, but Koreans never ask [us] anything. They don't ask even when I'm not doing well at my work. I always do the same work. (MP6)

Similarly, maintaining an Islamic dress code, wearing the covering, was strongly linked to discrimination. The visible difference brought about discrimination in the historically mono-cultural Korean society. One female participant, FI2, who had been in Korea for over ten years, shared that when she tried to follow Islamic tradition by wearing the *hijab*, she was easily targeted and victimized in Korean society. She wore the

hijab for almost ten years as a documented worker. However, since becoming

undocumented last year, she took off her veil. When she went outside wearing the hijab,

distinctively unlike Korean clothing styles, she was easily singled out and targeted by

police. She was most concerned that wearing the *hijab* would worry her, causing her to

think about possible deportation.

> Whenever I go to outside, I am always very sensitive about crackdowns as a
> Muslim. I feel so uncomfortable as things are tightening up these days. Now, I do
> not wear veil [*hijab*] to go to outside. However I always did wear it when of legal
> status. (FI2)

Negative attitudes. The attitudes of the host society have a major impact on

migrants' acculturation strategies and the adaptation process (Berry, Phinney, Sam, &

Vedder, 2006; Hartman, 2009). Strong national identity likely to reveal we-ness or

oneness might be closely connected to negative attitudes toward MMWs as well as other

migrants in Korea.

Participants cited experiences of inequality perpetuated in a variety of contexts

that created the feelings of rejection from Korean society. This negative perception

impacted their social interactions with Korean co-workers and citizens. MP6 stated that

Koreans never properly pronounce his name. One's Islamic name is very important for

Muslims because it is considered a marker of ethnic or religious identity (Syed & Pio,

2010). He felt devalued by Koreans.

> I don't really have a good experience. Koreans do not call me by my proper name.
> They don't care what my name is and can't pronounce it correctly either. I want
> them to call me by my proper name. My Korean boss rarely addresses me by
> name; once or twice a day. (MP6)

In addition to experiencing inequality, participants expressed that Koreans did not know about Muslims or what Islam is. They were not particularly hospitable toward MMWs. Participants were distressed, not only by the discriminatory behavior but also by Koreans' negative attitude. One Pakistani participant expressed that, as Koreans totally ignore Muslims, MMWs perceive an attitude of prejudice. MP10 said, "They [Koreans] think Pakistanis are Muslim, I am Muslim… there is nothing more. They do not know what Muslim is. Because I am Pakistani, sometimes people consider Pakistani as a Taliban watched through TV news." The other Pakistani participant MP2 presented an example of Korean's negative attitudes below.

> Korean boss has a not good attitude toward migrant workers and not good. Because Korean boss do not have thinking whether this is Muslim or not, Korean boss has a little mistake. For instance, if I were a boss, my company would have two workers. Two workers have good working relationships and always carry through with their work... You give them some happiness like a good smile and pleasing language. Only give them a salary, this is not go. The Korean boss considers them only to be a poor man… Then, Korean boss utters to them a bad word. They become heart-broken… The boss speaks unkindly. That is not good. (MP2) [Original in English]

Furthermore, participants described that Muslims were treated as worthless, treated like tissue paper by Koreans. MMWs experienced the feeling of exclusion from Korean society. MP10 reflected on how Koreans treated him differently in the workplace.

> Korean employer thinks that not only just Muslims, but foreigners who came to every country are wasted and used just like tissue paper. After using it for two to three years, if they have some problems, owners don't care for them. This is my personal experience. Previous factory management fired me because of accidents. (MP10)

Additionally, due to a lack of knowledge about Islam, MP11 noted that he would not expect that MMWs were welcome in Korea.

Korea is a non-Muslim county. Most Korean people do not know about the Muslims, so I do not expect that Koreans understand me. If there were many Muslims in Korea, they would understand our religion's culture. How can it be possible to understand? (MP11)

All in all, most participants shared experiences of inequity within the Korean societal system. They were perceived negatively and with discriminatory attitudes and prejudice against Islam, which, at the same time, negatively affects their social attitudes and interactions with Korean citizens. This phenomenon leads them to be alienated and further marginalized from the greater Korean society. MMWs tend to isolate themselves from Korean society.

MMW's Isolating Behaviors

After migration to Korea, MMWs maintain their own Islamic values and traditions. Participants recognized that Muslim culture and traditions are at odds with Korean culture. Many felt that they as Muslims could not fit into Korean culture. Hence, they isolated themselves from the rest of Korean society. For instance, one participant stated that he stayed at home, with the exception of work time and interacting with Bangladeshi friends, rather than interact with Koreans.

> Because Muslims are not fitted to live in Korean culture, usually I work and go home and cook after finishing my work, living away from Korean culture. As Muslim culture is totally different from Korean culture, I have never really gotten along with Koreans, but rather, I am very close with Bangladeshi friends. It is hard for me that I respect Korean culture if I get along with Koreans. (MB1)

Similarly, one Pakistani participant also expressed that he never had social interaction with Koreans. Rather, he isolated himself from Korean society. He appeared to self-segregate his life from Korean society.

> I had no contact with outer people [Koreans]. Without people [Pakistanis], I have never gone out. Only work, and go home. After six months in Korea, I got my own car. I had never used any public transportation to get out… And never had

any significant interaction with anybody [Koreans]… I talked to family and friends through Skype. I have many friends in Pakistan so I just Skype through watching movies, and cooking. I have never walked outside before working this factory works. (MP5)

As a result of segregation, participants revealed that they created affinity clusters to build social networks of support within their own ethnic group. This provided social resources to facilitate bridging relationships that promoted many benefits for them (Hopkins, 2011; Ji, 2011). MMWs gather with their own ethnic group due to language differences. This pattern was evident in the present study as expressed in the following excerpt. One Bangladeshi participant, MB1 said, "I have [had] some Pakistani and Indonesian friends, who have a similar Islamic language, ask a simple question "Do you pray?" But we cannot have a deep talk, because of [the] language difference."

Indonesian participants MI3, MI4, and MI7 acted as members of Indonesia Community of Corea (ICC) in Ansan. They tried not only to help Indonesian MMWs with their needs but also to connect them with others through networks when they sought to solve problems.

> I was involved in an organization called Indonesia Community in Corea (ICC). We would make clothes and sell phone cards to manage the organization and help migrant workers in emergency situations. We would also invite Islamic experts to learn more about Islam. Recently, we had to raise over $ 563,380 to build a mosque. So we did a lot of fundraising events. Although I'm not an ICC staff member, I counsel people who have trouble getting payments on time and connect them with people I know at Boopyung and Incheon migration centers. (MI3)

These MMWs spent their free time with their ethnic friends (i.e., cooking, playing, etc.) and engaged in many social activities within their own group.

> I come to the Indonesia Community in Corea and help people with their needs. If I can't solve their problems, then I connect them with a migration center. I spend my free time cooking food and playing with my friends. (MI4)

On the weekend, I have been active in the Indonesian community. While I work on Saturday, I go there during the evening time. We engage in many social activities and we help the sick. We raise money for the sick through Internet announcements. (MI7)

Moreover, for Bangladeshi participants, they gather together in Bangladeshi restaurants at Ansan city where they create social relationships. Bangladeshi participants, who have worked in the Ansan city area, are used to coming to Bangladeshi restaurants on the weekend, where they provide many resources related to their jobs. One could also see many friends. MB10 stated, "I often pray [at the Mosque near the restaurants] and I come to Bangladeshi restaurant to see many friends who frequent the place, and who seek available factory jobs." Another participant, MB11 reported, "I come to the Bangladeshi restaurant and [halal] market. I drink our tea, eat food, meet friends, and talk with them." Further, another participant, MB13 also stated, "When I get stressed, on the weekend, I go to a Bangladeshi restaurant to meet friends and chat with them and have fun."

Pakistani participants appear to have similar patterns. The social activity is shaped within their ethnic group. They only hang out with Pakistani friends. For this, one Pakistani participant commented, "I don't have many Korean friends. I only hang out with Pakistani friends. We cook and eat together and go out for shopping… I also have met some Bangladeshi and Uzbekistani friends at mosques in Ansan and Incheon city." Pakistani participants also go to a Pakistani restaurant to see compatriot friends. The restaurant does not just provide traditional meals, but was also a place to create social relationships. For instance, MP2 said, "Watching a movie and going to the Pakistani restaurant. Maybe meet my friends on the weekend." MP4 also stated, "Usually I spend time with friends; my friends cook delicious food, and go to the parks." Thus, they built close relationships within their own group.

To sum up, MMWs appear to be alienated from Korean society. They are in affinity clusters that build up their social network of support within their own ethnicity. This phenomenon prevents them from socializing with Koreans, resulting in segregation from Korean society.

Summary of Cultural Isolation

MMWs face difficulties in dealing with language, holy days, food, and clothing styles, further accentuating cultural differences. Participants perceive Korean marginalizing behaviors such as prejudice, discrimination, and negative attitudes within the Korean societal system, which at the same time, negatively affect their social attitudes and interactions with Korean citizens. This phenomenon leads them to be alienated and to be further marginalized from the larger Korean society within their groups or communities.

Hardship in the Workplace

MMWs migrated to Korea for the purpose of working to earn money. As unskilled workers, most participants were engaged in low-level and low-power positions at workplace structures in Korean labor markets. In Korea many societal and work values emerge in deference to western norms, which, in turn, may marginalize or compromise individual MMWs from non-western backgrounds, further accentuating cultural differences in the workplace between a host Korean society and the MMWs' home countries.

MMWs encounter the complex nature of issues of interrelated culture and religion in and out of the workplace in Korean society. These issues highlight a marked contrast

for MMWs, especially as workplace or employer attitudes seek to reconcile their monolithic perspective on migrant workers, without considering cultural and religious diversity. Hence, the multiple challenges in the workplace—societal (violated issues of human rights and legislation), organizational (a low level of workplace structure), and individual (coworkers' negative attitudes)—can be analyzed by predictors of life satisfaction through MMWs' working experiences. Thus, the working experiences of MMWs lead to positive or negative influences upon their life as they seek to adapt to life in Korea.

In this section, I discuss multifaceted issues of encountering hardship in the workplace. These issues emerged from the data: (a) workplace structure, (b) violation of human rights and labor legislation, and (c) employers' and coworker's negative attitudes.

Workplace Structure

Companies' organizational culture and policy characterized by mono-cultural dominance tend to keep minority migrant workers at a low level within the power hierarchy (Syed & Pio, 2010). Under the implementation of the EPS, MMWs have little chance to become part of a power structure; they consistently are stuck in low-paying, 3-D (dangerous, difficult, and dirty) manual jobs. As unskilled workers, MMWs encounter structural challenges in risky and dangerous working environments. Before arriving in Korea, they didn't expect to engage in such perilous and harsh working conditions. These workplace conditions make work especially difficult. Difficult experiences were a part of their daily regimen.

> It is so challenging to engage in risky and danger work. I think Korea became a developed country because it dealt with many working fields. But it is too tough to work for me…I never recognized before. I have experience that Korean life is

so tough. After I studied management and computer at college, I directly came to Korea where it looked like a rich country. (MB9)

Harsh workplace conditions. Most MMWs engaged in 3-D manual jobs in the harshest of work environments. When working conditions are especially tough, they often choose to seek a less taxing workplace. They often suffer sickness related to industrial injuries, usually happening in the most austere of working conditions. MB14 and MB6 participants explained how hard the working conditions were and why they switched workplaces.

> In the first company, I hurt my fingers so I was operated on twice in the hospital. After that I moved [from] this company. As manager of previous company went to the hospital with me together, hospital cost was covered by insurance. After coming to Korea at the beginning, as my work was very tough and I was injured, I changed into this workplace. (MB14)

> Past my company, first, I have no idea about the plastic factory. Every day I have worked from 7AM to 8PM. Only thirty minutes was allowed for lunch time and I kept on working in a day. When I worked machine in factory, the temperature is very high. The plastic items make to melt at about 100 to 120 degree. That's why I could not work that company. Later, I move to Ansan in CLC Company from the plastic factory but the CLC is very heavy. So I worked for one month and quit it. (MB6)

Due to frequent workplace changes, they faced a challenge with finding a new job. After participants had been to their home countries, it was very hard for them to get new job for earning money. One expressed that there was no more job available, which is linked to one's hard life in Korea

> Since my father passed away, I, as an elder son, had been to Bangladesh for two months. There was no job available in Korea. Despite maintaining legal status, it is not easy to find a new job because the remaining visa period will only leave ten months. So it is very hard to live [without enough money]. Also I got injured and ill. These days, I suffer from some pains when the weather turns cold. My visa has only ten months left on it. (MB10)

According to Article 25 of the Act on Foreign Workers' Employment, Etc.,

migrant workers should not change their workplace, but must continue to work where

they first began. But the EPS can, under certain conditions, allow a worker to change

workplace no more than three times during the period of three years, and no more than

two times for the remaining two years. In reality, once participants engage in the harshest

of working conditions and suffer exploitation and discrimination at their workplace, they

often seek to move to a different workplace.

> Since I have changed companies three times, I have no problem right now. At first, when I took a job on a fishing boat, there was a problem. The owner of boat was a liar. He didn't provide me with retirement payments. However, now I can receive an hourly wage if I work for one hour. (MB7)

As a result, the harshest working conditions cause frequent workplace changes.

Once MMWs violate the regulation of limited workplace changes, they easily became

undocumented workers. Frequent workplace changes prevent them from fostering work

skills that make it possible to settle into workplaces as well as Korean society. I will now

present challenges of undocumented workers in relation to legalization and institution in

workplace contexts, linking these challenges to everyday personal life experiences.

Challenges of undocumented workers. Regardless of legal status, inability to

achieve their goals causes some MMWs to extend their stay and become long-term

settlers in Korea. In the case of undocumented workers, they encounter many difficulties

in daily living experiences. For illegal workers, the immigration policy has strong

penalties and restrictions against reentry. Ironically, this tightened policy discourages

them from leaving the country. Rather, there is a move to bring family to Korea despite

the difficulties (S. Kim, 2010). One long-term migrant worker with an illegal status

highlighted not only his upsetting experiences, but also the way he brought his wife into Korea.

> Life in Korea is really hard. When my father passed away, I couldn't go home due to my illegal status. At that time, my visa had expired. I had no job for one year. In order to obtain a G1 visa [Others/Miscellaneous: wife's illness], I paid a penalty of $2,200 due to overstaying my approved time. I used a broker, paying him $5,000, to get my wife from Pakistan to Korea. (MP12)

Due to a tightened migration policy, most undocumented MMWs feel subject to arrest and deportation as they contemplate the threat of immigrant crackdowns. One Pakistani undocumented worker said, "I fear an immigration officer will come. First [official] document statement [you should go] after that, immigration causes many problems." The fear of arrest and deportation become a part of everyday life. A climate of fear sparks a feeling of instability in Korea.

For this study, nine undocumented long-term participants revealed the challenges of finding accommodations and jobs, as well as receiving proper medical treatment and compensation.

Long-term undocumented (illegal) workers have difficulty finding affordable housing. If they leave their workplace, they have to find housing outside of the company's housing arrangement. Most workplaces provide a company residence during their stay in Korea. Through the company housing, the migrant workers have a communal way of life. For instance, MP8 says, "I used to have a job and stayed in the workplace residence, but now I don't. I have many problems now." One undocumented participant pointed out that he had no prior experience living by himself, even in his home country. It was difficult living alone in tentative housing.

Now my visa status is unregistered [illegal]. It is very hard. Previous life is fine [as legal status]. When I got an E9 visa, I lived in workplace housing with other workers together. Now because I became an illegal status, I rent a room outside of the workplace and I live by myself. (MP1)

In addition, participants shared that finding a factory job is not easy, especially for undocumented workers. One felt stressed about the lack of available jobs due to his illegal status. One participant, MP9 stated, "As I have shifted into illegal status, it is very hard to get a job. I feel so stressed. If I have a legal status, I am so relaxed and I do not receive stress due to joblessness." However, once one got a job, one experienced discrimination and exploitation by Korean employers and coworkers at the workplace.

When a new comer comes, that is no problem. People whose visa period is expired have a lot of problems. Most of them, factory owners, they exploit them. They cannot go out; they cannot go shopping to a market; that's why, in that sense, the owner and the other workers [Korean coworkers] exploit them. "Okay, we will give this only; you will work until this time." (MP10)

Furthermore, undocumented workers do not receive equal protection of law. Undocumented participants with industrial injuries have problems receiving consistent medical care. MP10 said,

I do not earn enough money in Korea; we [friends and I] rent room together, and there are programs; some Korean families give us some food.[We are just surviving]. [Because] we work every day, there are [medical] problems. If a real problem happens, people don't give help with medical issues. Even at the beginning, the company does not help with [the issues of] immigration; that is a big problem...If I misuse doctor's prescription, what on earth, why a doctor should vindicate me. (MP10)

In particular, as the EPS implemented under the labor migration system for legitimate workers since 2004, only documented unskilled workers are granted human rights and labor legislation through the application of the National Labor Relations Acts (e.g., Labor Standards Act, Minimum Wages Act, Industrial Safety and Health Act)

(Ministry of Employment & Labor, 2010). However, in reality undocumented workers do not receive equal protection through labor rights.

Violations of Human Rights and Labor Legislation

As noted earlier, despite reformation of the immigration law and policy in Korea, little concern and support for MMWs in everyday experiences, was found. As a result of the improvement of the laws and rules to benefit migrants, the EPS implemented a legitimate workers labor migration system beginning in August 2004 (A. Kim, 2009; Ministry of Employment & Labor, 2010). Nonetheless, the implementation of EPS is still dependent upon the workplace. Thus, individual unskilled migrant workers still demand protection for equality in regard to human rights and labor legislation, assuring humane working conditions, minimum wage, overtime pay, retirement pay, medical treatment, and compensation related to industrial injuries (Kang, 2010; Ministry of Employment & Labor, 2010; S. Kim 2010). Moreover, the expansion of the rights of migrant workers to migrant families, including childcare, education, and national health care, are viewed as strong factors leading to promoting settlement into Korean society (S. Kim, 2010).

Previous studies highlighted the demand for protection of human rights for ethnic minority migrants (Kang, 2010; A. Kim, 2009). Similar issues relating to labor rights were evident in the present study, as expressed in the following statement.

> They basically do not have equal rights with the same criteria. Koreans have more rights than legal foreign migrants here. They are treated equally but they are always treated as second-class citizens. Policies are totally different for foreigners. Salaries are lower for them. (MP3)

One participant, MB11, fights for migrant worker rights in order to receive not only retirement pay but also medical treatment and compensation related to industrial

injuries. Another participant MB13 reacts against unprotected labor legislation connected to receiving proper wages.

> It is too dangerous for me to work in Korea. When I operated a machine, it didn't work out very well. An accident occurred and my finger [was] injured before returning home three months early. Now I suffer the illness from industrial accidents. My boss didn't give retirement pay for three years and seven months, so I took legal action against the company in Hwaseong City. (MB11)

> In the past [I worked] for three months and six months respectively and now in [my] present workplace, I have been working for two years and five months. The previous workplaces had hardly worked on day/night shift, paid low wages. And I didn't meet good boss. So I reported to the ministry of labor so that I could change [to an] other workplace. (MB13)

As a result, participants' working experiences were manifested in a study of migrant workers as they sought protection for their labor rights. Individual undocumented long-term MMWs seek to promote human rights as a means to maintain their limited legal rights as they try to pave their way to settle in Korea. Particularly, human rights and labor legislation can be used to prevent workplace abuses, leading to positive working experiences that further result in a more secure and stable life in Korea. In the next section, I will discuss how employers' and coworkers' attitudes and lack of knowledge of cultural difference and diversity affect individual MMWs' working experiences within and out of workplace contexts.

Employers' and Coworker's Negative Attitudes

As noted earlier, almost all participants were placed in low level and low power positions. Accordingly, Korean's current migration policy with its emphasis upon the economic benefits first focuses on fulfilling the demands of the labor force. Thus, its policy reveals minimal consideration of diversity management and its practice in the workplace. In addition, a lack of recognition of cultural and religious diversity as well as

misunderstanding of Islam causes employers and companies to pay little attention to minority MMWs. That intentional naiveté on the part of employers inevitably affects the work experiences of MMWs. This lack of considerate treatment linked to adaptation difficulties within wider societal contexts. Participants perceive intolerant attitudes, unequal treatment, and discriminatory behavior through their work experiences.

Intolerant attitude. Most participants perceived that Korean employers were rarely tolerant toward other religions, especially for MMWs. Korean employers rarely let them take a break for prayer times during work. One Pakistani participant, MP10, said, "My Mongolian colleague respected my Muslim culture and prayer times, but my boss didn't understand them." Another one, MI3, similarly commented about employers' intolerant attitude in terms of treatment of MMWs. "I have seen other friends who are not permitted to keep their prayers at workplace and have trouble asking for a leave of absence for pilgrimage." Furthermore, another described a difficult experience in having prayers at the workplace where the company thinks of its own benefits first. Korean employers appear to have minimally tolerant attitudes toward Muslims in particular.

> In workplaces, some Korean colleagues are not very good, just order us to work. Some workplaces are very busy places of non-stop work. We are human beings, not machines. We want some break for five to ten minutes to take the time of our prayer and rest [but do not allow it]. Our company first thinks of its own needs. (MP6)

Unequal treatment. In terms of employee treatment, Korean employers treat MMWs differently, not the same as Korean employees. One described Korean employers demonstrating unequal treatment toward migrant workers. They were accepting of

Korean employee errors at work, but were not understanding when migrant workers

erred.

> It has been said that foreigners and Korean workers are the same in the workplace. However, foreigners and Korean workers are thought of differently. If a Korean worker is not really doing his job well, it is acceptable. But if we do it, we are blamed. Korean bosses do not point out a mistake when a Korean employee makes a mess of his work. He treats us differently because we are foreigners. (MB1)

> Additionally, another participant commented about unequal treatment. MMWs

only engage in hard and dirty working positions, and they do not receive special benefits

like Korean employees do.

> Even with tissues, foreign worker, Muslim, foreigners using it, it is [they think] wasting. Very hard working is only for foreign workers. Even though Korean workers are hardly working and [do not engage in] dirty work, only Korean workers get a bonus, but foreigners do not get a bonus. (MP10)

Discriminatory behavior. In addition to unequal treatment, some participants

perceive subtle discriminatory behaviors in workplace contexts. They not only receive

low wages but also might have profanity uttered at them. Despite evident distress,

MMWs keep on working, which in turn, exacerbates their stress due to their relentless

working.

> When I worked as a welder for a company, I received low wages in the company, even though there was too much work to do. Also I felt bad when I received the brunt of swear words. I was distressed when I was hurled abuses by Korean employers from morning to evening. At that time, I tried to avoid listening to their abusive words. I did not feel well because I was under constant stress. Among Koreans, there were many bad employers who used swear words too much. (MI10)

> To sum up, employers or company policies were not particularly empathetic

toward MMWs in relation to organizational, institutional, and individual level.

Participants' tough experiences included facing intolerance toward different cultures, unequal treatment, and discriminatory behavior on the part of Korean employers within and out of workplace contexts. The MMWs' negative experiences were further exacerbated by their perceived marginalization in Korea society at large. The negative outcomes in working experiences as barriers expanded into the wider societal context through the adaptation process.

Summary of Hardship in the Workplace

Participants' experiences encompassed multiple and intersected issues, such as workplace structure, violations of human rights and labor legislation, and employers' and coworker's negative attitudes. These multifaceted issues that participants encountered in the workplace are strong indicators of a lack of MMW satisfaction in the workplace. Their hard experiences in the workplace created additional impediments. The spiritually and psychologically debilitating outcomes in working experiences negatively impacted satisfaction of their lives; emotional wounds from the workplace stilted their attempt to adapt into widely societal contexts in Korea. Thus, their marginalized or compromised state alienated them from the larger Korean society. Further, they confronted working and societal values that accentuated cultural differences related to the intersected contexts of religion, ethnicity, gender, and migration.

Chapter 5 Summary

This chapter demonstrated three primary difficulties among MMWs as they seek to adapt to life in Korea. The three adaptation difficulties brought to the surface were: separation from family, cultural isolation, and hardship in the workplace.

Due to separation from family, MMWs experience emotional, relational, and pragmatic disruption that leads to difficulties and hardships through the adaptation process in Korea. In addition, cultural isolation impedes their integration into a larger Korean society. MMWs face difficulties in dealing with language, holy days, food, and clothing styles in relation to cultural differences between the home and the host country. MMWs are marginalized by the larger Korean society. The marginalization causes them to withdraw into affinity clusters within their own ethnicity (group). Furthermore, regarding hardship in the workplace, participants experience multifaceted challenges posed by the workplace structure, violation of human rights and labor legislation, and employers' and coworkers' negative attitudes. These workplace challenges adversely affect their adapting into wider societal contexts.

As a result, these adaption difficulties actively affect performing religious practices (i.e., attending mosque, five daily prayers, fasting during the Ramadan, reading the Qur'an, making pilgrimage to Mecca, and abstaining from alcohol) in Muslims' daily lives. The next chapter will discuss how adaptation difficulties disrupt MMWs' religious practices and its impact on religious identity.

CHAPTER 6

DISRUPTED RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND EVOLVED RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

The previous chapter presented Muslim migrant workers' (MMWs') difficulties in adapting to life in Korea. As MMWs' Islamic values might be at odds with Korean values, they face complex issues of interrelated challenges within and outside the workplace of the Korean society during their adaptation process. The three subcategories of adaption difficulties (i.e., separation from family, cultural isolation, and hardship in the workplace), in particular, the removal of familial obligations and influence on religious practices, intolerance of religious difference, and onerous employment conditions, actively disrupt religious practices. This event does not have one single cause but complex challenges on societal, organizational, and individual levels.

Disruption of religious practices, including mosque attendance, praying five times a day, fasting during Ramadan, reading the Qur'an, undertaking the pilgrimage to Mecca, and abstaining from alcohol, impact participants' Muslim religiosity. MMWs fashioned reactive forms of religious resilience in dealing with challenges in and out of workplaces in a non-Muslim Korean context.

In Chapter 6, I present the disrupted forms of religious practice and how participants react to disrupted religious practices that appear to weaken or strengthen personal religiosity. Thereafter, I discuss reaffirmed or veiled religious identity through internal reinforcement or temporal compromise.

Disrupted Forms of Religious Practice

For this study, almost all participants described religion as being of the utmost importance within Muslims' daily lives. They considered Islamic religious practices central to the experience of being Muslim. One important function of religion is to stabilize one's identity especially living in a non-Muslim Korea. Nonetheless, after migration to Korea, participants' experience revealed that adherence to their faiths and religious practices could be hard.

The following section provides participants' perception of six elements of Islamic religious practice that emerged as disrupted: mosque attendance, five daily prayers, fasting during Ramadan, reading or listening to the Qur'an, making pilgrimage to Mecca, and abstaining from drinking alcohol and eating pork.

Mosque Attendance

Muslim prayers can be either an individual or a communal act. For communal prayer, Muslim men are supposed to attend mosque regularly on Friday afternoons, where they not only hear a sermon but also participate in obligatory congregational prayers. Participants found this observance of *jumah* or Friday service disrupted due to the lack of accessible mosques and permission denied by employers.

Dearth of accessible mosques. In Korea, there are relatively few mosques and they were found far from participants' residences and workplaces. One participant explained,

> There are a few Mosques in Korea whereas there are a lot of churches. When I would like to pray, I am used to going to an Ansan mosque, where it takes one hour. In Korea, it is not easy to engage in prayer time at a mosque. To pray is a real challenge in Korea. (MB13)

Likewise, a Pakistani participant complained about the lack of accessible mosques in comparison to church accessibility in Korea. "Here there are many churches, so many people come to church. We want to go the mosque, but one city has one mosque and it is not near but very far (MP11)." Another participant concluded,

> I became somewhat detached from the religion because of the work I am doing. Breaks are not allowed for prayers (*namaz*); I cannot go to a mosque. And mosques are far from where we live, and there are not many mosques available in the city. We do not have enough time to go there; so we pray at home. (MP3)

One participant spoke of Islamic occasions on *Eid*. As noted earlier, Muslims are supposed to attend mosque for a congregational prayer service to celebrate a special event. Participant MP6 complained that the mosque is located far from residences and the workplace; on *Eid* day MMWs could not attend the mosque for congregational prayers due to their work obligations.

> There's only one *masjid* [mosque] near my place. In Ansan it's easy to go to a mosque. Now, it's 100 kilometers away from my place and it takes two to three hours by bus. It was *Eid al-Fitr* a couple days ago [Islamic holiday], but not many of us were able to attend the event. Korean employers do not allow Muslims to take a day-off on Islamic holidays. Even if they allow you to take a short break, it's only one or two hours. It takes me at least three to four hours by bus to get to the nearest mosque. (MP6)

No permission of attending Jumah in the middle of a work day. Attending *jumah* service at mosque is a religious mandate for Muslim adult men. Most are held at lunchtime. Participants shared that few Korean employers understood the importance of Islam's Friday prayer service (*jumah*). Hence, MMWs can rarely participate. "They [employers] do not allow [to attend mosque for *jumah* service each Friday]. Few employers give permission for prayers to their workers. Experiencing that kindness is very rare (MP3)."

Some MMWs who used to attend mosque observed *jumah* prayer when they worked the night shift or during a day-off at the beginning period of their migration. However, many fell out of the habit even when time permitted them to attend. For instance, Pakistani participant MP9 said, "I often go to the mosque twice a month for Friday's prayer service while working the night shift, but I often don't go. When I am so tired on Friday, I sleep and meet up with friends." In addition, Bangladeshi participant MB12 spoke of his state of religious participation. He got used to not praying on Friday due to working.

> I am just a normal Muslim. While I was in Bangladesh, I was a normal Muslim, but I used to go to the mosque for Friday prayer service. Here, if I have a day off on Friday, I pray, but I am not used to praying on Friday if I have work. (MB12)

Five Daily Prayers

Daily prayers are central to experiences in the lives of Muslims. According to the traditions, the prayers are required five times a day and bound to scheduled times (daybreak, noon, mid-afternoon, sunset, and evening). After migration to Korea, almost all participants perceived that prayers were problematic, especially in relation to work.

> I think as Bangladesh is a Muslim country, we can take prayer times during work. However, after migrating to Korea, it is difficult to practice daily prayer times while we are working. If we pray, our employer will yell at us and we do not go to the mosque; that is hard. (MB3)

In addition, one Bangladeshi participant described the challenges of daily prayers as they are dependent on employers' permission for taking prayer times during busy working times, as shown in the following statements.

> Every Muslim has to pray five times a day. We do the same as all Saudi Arabian people. We pray. During working time, we cannot pray because the owner does not grant us permission for prayer times. Sometime I see that the owner of a small factory may allow prayer times. This is a problem for us. (MB13)

More specifically, due to the lack of understanding of Islam, employers and coworkers did not allow MMWs to take a break for mid-afternoon prayer. Participant MB13 explained,

> [The] owner of our factory does not give permission for prayer times. I would not pray in the workplace if prayer times were not offered to me. As Koreans do not know Muslims, our boss does not grant prayer times during working time. (MB13)

Regarding midafternoon prayer, despite the need for between five and ten minutes, depending on individuals, many were not granted the time off. MI3 and MB8 shared,

> Every Muslim must perform obligatory prayers five times a day. However, Korean companies do not allow this. At first I was not able to pray in the mid-afternoon. Even though the prayer does not take long, my boss still does not understand. (MI3)

> During working time, it is uncomfortable when I can't pray. My present factory does allow for my prayers during working time. I used to pray the third prayer of the day, *asr,* during mid-afternoon in my previous factory. But the present factory doesn't allow the third prayer during working time. (MB8)

Moreover, participants pointed out that, due to poor Korean language proficiency, they were not able to explain about daily prayers to their employers. This inability to communicate contributed to the barrier to practice daily prayers. MI3 explained, "At first, I couldn't keep my prayers because my Korean wasn't good enough to explain about midafternoon prayer. I used to get much criticism because of that and often was upset with the circumstance." He went on about how secular Korean culture permeated Muslims' lives.

> The Korean culture is very busy. There are not many Muslims in Korea, so most of the people do not pray. In Indonesia, everyone prays five times a day. However, in Korea we get accustomed to the Korean culture so we do not pray at all. (MI3)

As a result of not practicing mid-afternoon prayer, participant MB1 felt uncomfortable and hurt.

> This is a matter of the mind. Muslims must perform obligatory prayers five times a day. When a prayer time approaches, I sense that I have to pray. If not, my mind is burdened and my brain doesn't work it out. My Korean colleagues do not allow a prayer time, so my mind is hurt. (MB1)

Fasting During Ramadan

Muslims traditionally abstain from food and drink during the day throughout Ramadan month. This annual fast is widely practiced in most of the Muslim countries. As noted earlier, PRC (2012) indicates that fasting is practiced by the majority of Muslims, specifically in the countries of Pakistan (97%), Bangladesh (96%), and Indonesia (99%).

However, despite the high percentage in observance of fasting during the month of Ramadan in the three countries of origin, after migration to Korea, MMWs experienced disruption in observing the fast. One Bangladeshi participant, MB5, explained, "Everybody cannot fast during the Ramadan period. Some do. Others do not. I cannot fast during Ramadan because my work is very hard. If I do not eat, I cannot work." One Indonesian participant, MI1, who has stayed in Korea over seven years, also admitted, "I have never taken fasting during the Ramadan period, but I did in Indonesia."

Many participants sought to explain low participation in fasting during Ramadan. Most participants explicitly mentioned tough working conditions contributing to disruption of observing of fasting during Ramadan. MP9 shared,

> When I was in Pakistan as a Muslim, I observed Ramadan and five prayer times a day. After coming to Korea, I cannot fast during Ramadan because I often received an order for outside work. Due to tough work, I cannot fast. I haven't observed Ramadan since my arrival in Korea. (MP9)

One Bangladeshi participant, MB13, also said, "In my workplace, there are three Bangladeshi workers and the rest are Koreans. During working time, I do not fast. I have not observed Ramadan for three years, the length of my current stay in Korea up to this time."

Participant MP10 pointed out that long fasting hours are one of the disruptive factors in observing Ramadan, especially during the season of summer. Fasting can last for almost fifteen hours without drinking and food, despite hot and humid weather in Korea. In this respect, MMWs tended to decrease fasting during the month of Ramadan in Korea.

> It was summer [this year]. In summer day hours are very long. Especially, fasting is so hard in the summer, very long time–it was over fifteen hours. In the morning, it started around 3:40 AM and in the evening, it finished around 7 PM. (MP10)

Up to this point, I have focused primarily on participants' religious practice in observing fasting during Ramadan. Harsh working conditions are linked to lower participation in observation of fasting during the Ramadan month. Some participants never practiced fasting during Ramadan; others did during their day-off on the weekend.

Reading or Listening to the Qur'an

Through reading or listening to the Qur'an, Muslims affirm their beliefs (PRC, 2012). According to the survey done by the PRC (2012), daily reading or listening to the Qur'an is most prevalent in Indonesia (37%), followed by Pakistan (36%), and Bangladesh (15%) in their home countries.

For this study, not all participants spoke about the importance of these practices. As noted earlier, they experienced adaptation difficulties that affect MMWs' religious

participation in reading and listening to the Qur'an. After coming to Korea, they engaged in busy and different life styles. One Pakistani participant, MP7, seemed to have reasoned his lack of practice of reading the Qur'an by saying, "Korean life style is completely different from that of Pakistan. In Pakistan I had to pray in the morning and read the Qur'an, but now I don't do that anymore." Likewise, as an Indonesian participant, MI5, extended his stay in Korea, he did not study the Qur'an. "Through Arabic language, I tried to continue to study the Qur'an at Guro Mosque, but I stopped doing that."

In terms of seeking Islamic study, a few young participants studied Islam using an alternative method. As was my observation, almost all MMWs got new or second-hand smartphones to correspond with their family in their home countries. They also used Skype in Korea. Participant MP7, who was 29 years old, adapted by utilizing technology. "I used to study Islam with an imam [clergy] at a mosque in Pakistan, but now I can't. Rather I study Islam online. It is fine because Korea is a non-Muslim country."

Reading and listening to the Qur'an emerged as less important to participants than other practices. Nevertheless, evidence emerged of decreased engagement with the Qur'an on the part of MMWs in Korean society.

Undertaking Pilgrimage to Mecca: Hajj

All Muslims are required to participate in the annual *hajj* or pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in their lifetime. As the pilgrimage is costly and requires great effort for most, its practice is less common among Muslims from Southern and the Southeast Asia (PRC, 2012). The majority of Muslims have not completed the pilgrimage. Hence, I was surprised to find that one Indonesian (MI3) among the 37 participants went to Mecca. After staying in Korea for over six years, he chose to undertake the *hajj* rather than travel

to his home country. After migrating to Korea, he described his initial faith state as a lower level in religious participation. "When I first arrived in Korea, I didn't have a strong faith. However, I completed the pilgrimage to go to Saudi Arabia for annual *hajj* last October and spent about $4,700 for 26 days." He added,

> I didn't have any plan to participate in annual *hajj*, but a travel agency contacted me to join a pilgrimage. Initially, I was going to return to Indonesia in July; however, after my wife gave me permission to go to *hajj*, I decided to come back to Korea after the trip to make more money. (MI3)

One of the Bangladeshi participants, MB7, who had a high-wage job, unlike most MMWs, described his lower religious participation in Korea as compared with an example of his friend. Participant MB7 didn't undertake the *hajj*, however, he admired his friend who "observed fasting during the month of Ramadan while he works on the day/night shift at the factory. Further, he completed the *hajj* and went to Mecca in Saudi Arabia last year." While few MMWs appear to have undertaken the pilgrimage during their stay in Korea, it is interesting that earning higher wages in Korea actually facilitated the *hajj* for some MMWs.

Abstaining from Drinking Alcohol and Eating Pork

As noted earlier in previous chapters regarding food, *haram* and *halal* food are interrelated with the religious component of cultural identity. According to the Qur'an, Muslims abstain from religiously prohibited activities, such as drinking alcohol and eating pork. All participants are very sensitive about *haram* (prohibited) food, especially pork.

Many Korean dishes include pork ingredients. Pakistani MP9 described his experience, "When I worked in a packing department, everyone ate together. They were

used to eating pork and said to me, 'Try to eat pork.' I refused the pork." All participants
tried not to break their commitment to eating only food that was religiously acceptable.

In terms of abstaining from drinking alcohol, in light of a Korean drinking culture
within workplace relationships, two participants among 37 participants, mentioned the
state of drinking in Korea. One Bangladeshi participant MB11described his housemates
and friends' drinking propensity as "some young people [Bangladeshi] drink and some
often smoke. We live together in the workplace residence." Likewise, another Pakistani
participant, MP4, who has stayed over eight years in Korea, said he enjoyed drinking and
going to a club with his girlfriend. He appeared to be moving toward a secular lifestyle—
drifting away from his religious affiliation.

> I can drink beers. Usually I spend time with friends; my friends cook delicious
> food, and go to the parks. And sometimes I just drink beer or go to a club. I have
> another Pakistani friend. His girlfriend is Filipino. She is always asking to go a
> club, so sometimes we have a beer. (MP4)

Summary of Disrupted Forms of Religious Practice

Clearly, after migrating to Korea, most participants experienced adaptation
difficulties that disrupted their religious practices. These would be associated with a
degree of religious commitment, resulting in much lower participation in attending
mosque, praying five times a day, fasting during Ramadan, reading the Qur'an, and
abstaining from drinking alcohol. Undertaking the pilgrimage to Mecca was found to be a
rare event and likely did not represent a significant change in the lives of participants.

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Approaches to Individual Religiosity

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As discussed earlier in the previous section, almost all participants experienced
disruption of religious practices that might have a positive or negative influence on

individual religiosity. As a consequence of disruption in religious practices, they developed strategies of religious resilience in dealing with workplaces as well as other Korean contexts. In order to preserve their faith and practices in a different setting, they negotiated to perform religious practices. The reaction to this disruption appears to be different degrees of religious commitment, leading to strengthening or weakening individual Muslim religiosity. Three ways of reactive religious practice emerged from the data: devoted persistence, resigned acquiescence, and creative modification.

Devoted Persistence

Some participants worked at continuing Islamic beliefs and practices in their everyday Muslim lives despite less-welcoming Korean contexts. As they did in their countries of origins, they practiced almost the same things: praying five times a day, attending mosque for Friday prayers, fasting during the month of Ramadan, and attending mosque for *Eid* congregational prayers. Their struggle to participate in religious practices seemed to increase their devotion to the Islamic faith. For instance, participant MI3 stated, "I kept my daily prayers in the midst of changing jobs three times." Another F12 shared, "I feel the same as a Muslim in Korea, except going to the mosque. Faith is almost the same in Korea. There is the keeping the practices of Ramadan and praying five times per day."

When denied approval to practice midafternoon prayer, some participants not only tried to persuade employers to allow the practice, but they also asked the migration center for help to solve this problem. Their attempts enabled them to continue to pray in the middle of a workday.

After about talking about prayer time, the employer finally gave me permission to take a mid-afternoon prayer. Also, some Muslim workers asked the migration center for help. The center calls their companies for permission. After consistent explanation, my boss now understands that I must keep my prayers. The prayer does not take long at all. (MI3)

Likewise, in order to continue fasting during the month of Ramadan, participant MI3 asked his friend to help explain Ramadan to the employer because of his poor proficiency in the Korean language. Thus, he was able to fast. "It was Ramadan. When I first came here, I asked my friend to explain Ramadan to my boss because my Korean was very poor." Another participant, MB4, said, "I have performed Ramadan every year for four years in Korea. Fasting is tough on the first or second day, but it is fine as fasting keeps going on the rest of day[s]." Thirteen participants performed consistent fasting in Korea. For this, Indonesian MI9 pointed out the change of his religious involvement in Korea, stating, "I have no big change in my religious life, compared to four years before."

Regarding attending *jumah* prayers, four participants were used to observing *jumah* prayers. However, if the company was extremely busy, one had to help the company, rather than try to go to mosque on Friday for *jumah* prayers. His conciliatory attitude enabled him to attend the mosque for *jumah* prayers on Friday with his employer's permission.

On Friday I must go to the *jumah*. My boss allows to me the time from 12:25 to 1:25 and said to me "go and pray and come back to work." Some Koreans do not give any permission. My boss gives me a very short time. If my company is really busy, then the boss says "No, sorry." Because I understand my company is so busy, I still may request time from my boss. No I don't like [missing *jumah*]. Maybe my boss gives me permission, but I don't get mad at my boss, if he doesn't let me. (MP2)

Participants pointed two key reasons for consistent participation in religious practices in Korea. One reason for maintaining religious participation is that increasing Islamic religious supplies (e.g., mosque, Islamic centers, small prayer rooms (*musallah*), and national restaurants) have provided resources to facilitate religious participation. This implies the importance of opportunities for MMWs in living or working in direct environments to participate in religious practices (Smits et al., 2010). Indonesian participant MI8, who had come to Korea in 2002 and again in 2009, stayed in nearby Hwaseong and Ansan City, in Gyeonggi Province where many MMWs congregated. He expressed that performing a ritual prayer was much easier (that is, accessing Islamic religious accommodations in public) than it was a decade ago.

> In the previous time, it was difficult to pray in Korea, where there were few mosques. Now it is easier to pray since wherever we go, there are a number of Indonesian restaurants, prayer rooms, mosques, and they are increasing. (MI8)

Another reason is that some employers show more generosity toward Muslims for special Muslim holidays such as *Eid al-Fitr* and *Eid al-Adha*). *Eid al-Fitr*, the Feast of Breaking the Fast occurs at the end of Ramadan, which practice is related to the fourth pillar, concluding Ramadan. The other is *Eid al-Adha* when Muslims sacrifice a sheep at the Last Festival of Sacrifice. This practice is linked to the fifth pillar as the Festival takes place at the end of month of the pilgrimage whether it is celebrated by pilgrims or those staying at home (Smits et al., 2010). In other words, those festivals not only are associated with religious practices, but are important for maintaining cultural identity. One Bangladeshi participant, MB11, said of his experience, "During *Eid*-festivals, one or two hours are permitted as break for prayers when the factory is so busy. Our company only grants the break for long-standing workers. We can't leave on that day." Indonesian

MMWs were able to take off on a special *Eid* holiday through the actions of the Indonesian Embassy. The Indonesian Embassy proactively sent Korean employers an official letter on behalf of the MMWs suggesting they celebrate their holiday together. MI7 discussed his experience on *Eid* holiday. "It doesn't matter when *Eid al-Fitr* falls on a Sunday. If not, on the *Eid* day, the Indonesian Embassy sent the owner of the factory an invitation so that we could go there and spent time with friends in the morning."

After migration to Korea, less than half of the participants consistently observed all their former religious practices. However, some perceived their participation in religious practices as leading to the increase of individual religiosity, in a secular Korean context. One shared that he had become more religious in Korea.

> I just became a better Muslim here. In Pakistan I didn't really care about the prayers and my religious life or preserving practices. But here, I am much more involved in the religious life and promoting religion and contributed to constructing a mosque that was recently built in nearby Namyang City. (MP3)

Resigned Acquiescence

Participants' religious participation suffered depending on workplace conditions and the receptivity of the Korean context. Over half of the participants appeared to have low participation in three types of religious practices such as midafternoon prayers, fasting, and attending mosque.

More specifically, observance of midafternoon prayers was dependent upon employers' permission during working times. Both Pakistani participants MP1 and MP8 explained,

> I used to observe daily prayers in Pakistan. However, in Korea, I can only pray during working hours if my employer allows me to. Some employers are understanding and tell me to go pray and come back quickly. (MP1)

I used to observe daily prayers in Pakistan. However, in Korea, I can only pray during work if my employer permits me. Some employers are understanding and tell me to go pray and come back quickly. (MP8)

Due to suppressed workplace environments, almost half of the participants temporarily acquiesced in observation of daily prayers. They viewed religious commitment as a personal choice, depending on one's Islamic faith. Personal Islamic beliefs varied. They recognized that even some Muslims do not practice daily prayers in their Islamic home countries. One Pakistani participant noted,

> When I have no time, I don't pray in the workplace. But if I do, I am really happy. However, if we do not pray, it would be okay. Those who do not practice daily prayer in our country are some. I observed prayers five times a day in Pakistan, whereas I can't pray because there is not enough time in Korea. During the work time, if I practiced prayers, employers would dislike it. If I pray, employees [Korean coworkers] don't like it as work is so hard and busy. (MP1)

Another participant, MP6, added,

> Since I came to Korea, I was not able to observe my daily prayers because I work, even on holidays. I feel really bad. At first, I was able to keep the daily prayers pretty well, but it became harder and harder to keep the prayers as time went by. (MP6)

As noted above, MMWs' religiosity is tied to practice, not just belief. This supports the idea that among MMWs the association between beliefs and religious practices may be small (Smits et al., 2010). As one Bangladeshi participant said, "I devoutly observed five times daily prayer in our country. But in Korea, my religiosity is going to decrease (MB1)." Another participant described personal religious commitment as influenced by the Korean context of receptivity.

> They [MMWs] have an impact on their religious life because they cannot offer their prayers on time. Friday prayer is really important as Sunday service is important for Christians. They are always reminded of that because of all this limitation. We are in a foreign land. This is not their home. They are Muslims in a foreign land. Their religiosity is not respected by people. (MP4)

Moreover, eight participants spoke of not fasting during Ramadan in Korea. They blamed hard working conditions for their failure to fast. One Bangladeshi participant explained, "Everybody cannot fast during the Ramadan period. Some do. Other don't. I cannot fast during Ramadan because my work is very hard. If I do not eat, I cannot work." Another Pakistani participant added, "Because of the tough work, we can't keep fasting during Ramadan."

Regarding attending mosque for *jumah* prayer, 12 participants stated that they were not attending a mosque for Friday prayer during work times, whereas four participants reported attending mosque weekly. One Pakistani, MP11, said, "Friday is impossible because I work. So I am not a regular at the mosque because of the work... On Friday, working doesn't allow for going to the mosque." Pakistani participant MP8 added, "I often go to the mosque during the night shift twice a month for Friday service, but I often don't go. When I am so tired on Fridays, I sleep and meet up with friends." In this respect, MP7 said, "I've become less religious because I can't go to the mosque often."

Furthermore, busy Korean lifestyles and secular Korean standards surround Muslims' lives, preventing participants from participating in religious activities. This results in a decline in their religiosity.

> When I came to Korea, my impression was that Korea was not particularly religious. Everyone seems so busy. From morning to evening Korean people are working, cooking, eating, sleeping, internet checking, and watching dramas. After they engage in these activities, their religiosity is low. When we are in Pakistan, we have a lot of religious times. Every time we recite and look at the Qur'an… When I came to Korea, religious level is very low. (MP9)

Accordingly, Indonesian participant MI1 mentioned in reference to his irregular religious practices, "I feel free from religious practices. My mind becomes much easier as time goes by." Hence, acquiescence to the ambient culture appears to have diminished (at least temporarily) religious practice, which leads to perceived lower religiosity.

Creative Modification

In seeking to maintain Islamic practices for preserving a sense of being Muslim, some participants creatively modified religious practices. They made up for missing midafternoon prayer during other prayer times; they found a substitution for attending mosque on Fridays; they fasted on weekends during the month of Ramadan; and they studied Islam on their own rather than with an imam.

In terms of mid-afternoon prayer, I found that five participants made up for mid-afternoon prayers by praying in either sunset or evening times. One participant MP10 explained, "If I skipped prayer times during working time, I ventured that I would recite them twice during other prayer times." Another participant, MB9, added a similar response.

> So, when I pray the time of fourth prayer after sunset, I will recite including the third prayer if I have time. If not, I will make up for mid-afternoon prayer while I take the time of the fifth prayer at night. (MB9)

Concerning mosque attendance for *jumah* service, one third of the participants found alternative practices: individual prayer at home or at a small prayer room (*musallah*), and going to the mosque on weekends. One Bangladeshi, MB10, said, "Like today, if I don't have any work on Friday, I go to the mosque to attend for Friday prayer service [*jumah*]. When I work, I pray at home alone." Likewise, MP3 also commented, "If they cannot offer prayers in the mosques due to the work situation, they just offer

their prayers at home." In addition, some went to small prayer rooms (*musallah*) as a

place for prayers occasionally. This room, rented by a mutual ethnic group in Korea and

located near workplaces or residences, is used in lieu of attending mosque for *jumah*

prayer services.

> I could not go to the mosque on Friday service but I prayed in a small prayer room, *musallah*. I went to mosque about three times per month. With permission of the owner, I went to mosque when I was working the night shift. (MI9)

> In the case of both Bangladeshi participant MB8 and Pakistani MP12, they

preferred to go to mosque for prayer on weekends, instead of attending Friday prayer.

> But if I have time, I pray. I do not go regularly to a mosque to attend for Friday prayer… I went to the mosque on Saturday night to pray with a Pakistan family together in Ansan and Suwon City. Every Saturday I used to go there. (MB8)

> Often on Saturday evening I go to the mosque, because I cannot attend Friday *jumah* service due to my work. But now I don't go to the mosque regularly because of married life. I have to work for my living in Korea. (MP12)

> A small number of participants practiced fasting on their day off during weekends

throughout the month of Ramadan. MB10 said, "During Ramadan, I prayed and I fasted

during my day off over the weekends. And I fasted only the weekend. As Allah is alive, I

prayed my weekend fasting would work out for me." Likewise, participant MB11 chose

to fast on the weekends. They negotiated the difficulties in their workplace environment

and developed a personal process for religious practices.

> During the month of Ramadan, I would fast on weekends, if I have work. But I would not fast during the week when I worked late overtime. Difficult work led me to get sick and to have no strength. (MB11)

> Furthermore, some participants continued to seek Islamic knowledge through

their own personal study, rather than an imam at a mosque in Korea. One participant

continued to study Qur'an by himself, because "Qur'an is most important for me. It itself

needs to study. Qur'an directly came from Allah and was written in the Arabic language. It was translated by many languages to English, Bangla, and Korean. We must study only Qur'an (MB1)."

In addition to seeking Islamic study on one's own, some young participants utilized smartphone apps to not only build up Islamic knowledge themselves to but also receive information on religious practices through text messages, such as daily prayer times and events on Islamic calendars. One participant stated,

> I can download an application of Islam into my cellphone. It gives me study questions. If I download an Islamic calendar, it sends me text messages on prayer times and other information. When each prayer time starts, (my cellphone) sends me a text message along with a prayer sound (azan) "Allah is great…" The azan sound appears. One-year Islamic calendar announces five prayer times through text messages every day. (MP7)

Summary of Approach to Individual Religiosity

As participants compromised to perform religious practices, some participants attempted to persistently perform religious practices that would strengthen their religiosity, whereas others appeared to acquiesce in religious practices that led to the decline of individual religiosity, compared with their home countries. Others, in an effort to emulate the religiosity experienced in the countries of origins, modified religious practices by making up midafternoon prayer, attending mosque on the weekends, fasting weekends during Ramadan, and pursuing Islamic studies privately. Figure 3 illustrates how disruption affects their evolving individual religiosity positively or negatively.
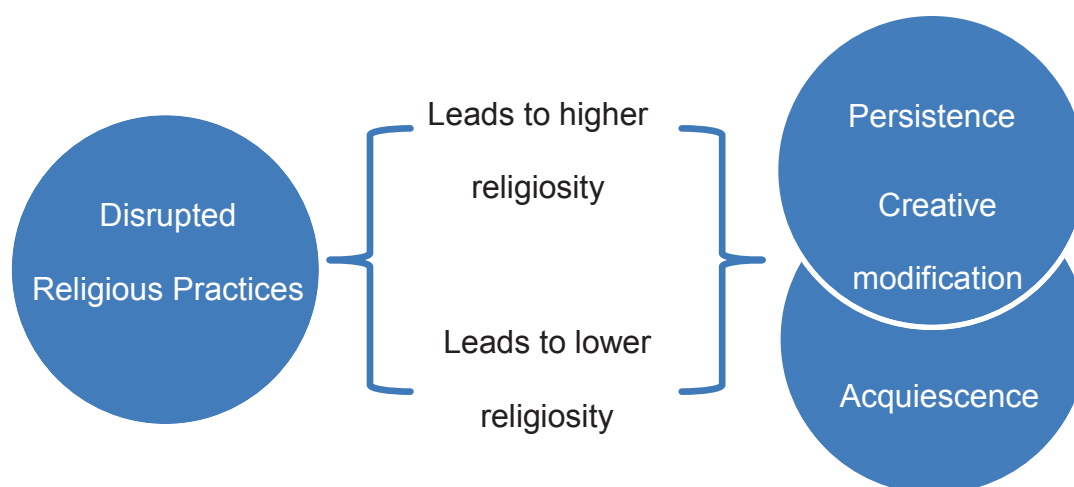
Figure 3. Impact of disruption of religious practices on individual religiosity.

Reaffirmed or Veiled Religious Identity

The previous section discussed disruption of religious practices that affected personal religiosity either positively or negatively. In the midst of evolving personal religiosity, this section addresses reaffirmed or veiled Muslim identity through the process of internal reinforcement or temporary compromise. It further discusses the presence of a supportive community as a key mitigating factor in determining whether or not religious identity is strengthened or weakened.

The supportive in-group Muslim community played a significant role in emerging Muslim identity for almost all participants in Korea. Religious identification to an in-group within the ethnic community was associated with a strong in-group centrality, and a sense of belongingness that contributed factors for promotion of individual sense of stability. The participants were continually evolving their identity as a result of group

identification within the in-group community. Similarities and differences in religious

negotiation experiences were represented by participants from the three countries.

Two Paths

Far from social networks and religious contexts in countries of origin that might

have reinforced religion, most participants were conscious that religious obligations were

a matter of choice, not routine (Ammerman, 2003; Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). For

example, one participant, who had stayed over eight years in Korea, emphasized religious

practices emerging through personal choice, depending upon self-perceptions of religion.

> Other religious practices and activities are still going on. That is not a problem. In
> Pakistan, most of the people have their own perception on religious things, even
> though they don't practice things [such as daily prayers and Ramadan]. In Korea,
> depending on the man, if he wants to pray, he can, and if he doesn't pray, he can't
> pray. (MP10)

The development of personal religiosity was contiguous and ongoing, rather than

a static phenomenon. During the evolving process, participants reaffirmed or negotiated

their Muslim identity, through reinforcing and controlling behavioral norms, attributing

value, and societal restraints in a secular Korean society. Almost all participants among

the three countries found two paths on their evolving religious identity. One is that being

Muslim is one's primary identity. The other is moving toward a secular way of life**.**

Internal reinforcement: Being Muslim is one's primary identity. Adherence to

Islamic beliefs and practices are in tandem with the nature of their identity (Kacimi,

2008). Participants who remained persistently active in religious practices were deemed

representative of those with a higher religiosity. As they overcame obstacles to Islamic

religious practices in their new environment, they internally reinforced a sense of being

Muslim. Their Muslim self-awareness garnered a source of pride, a sense of belongingness, and centrality for them, all happening within their perceived cold environment of Korea. One important function of religiosity is that it serves to stabilize one's identity by answering questions of who I am, or where I being (Berghammer & Fliegenschnee, 2014).

For instance, one Indonesian participant commented, "There are few Muslims in Korea. Most of them are foreigners. So I am so proud to be a Muslim in Korea (MI3)." Similarly, a Pakistani participant explained, "First, I am Muslim, second foreigner-Pakistani, and third the Korean. First, we are prepared for the religion. Secondly, I am Pakistani. And third, we live in Korea and we want to work (MP11)." One Bangladeshi participant further identified, "Muslim means to be best for me. We have to pray five times. Believing in Allah prevents bad things, like drinking alcohol or having an affair. (MB7)."

External compromise: Moving toward a secular way of life. Some participants compromised on religious practices, which tended to attenuate their religiosity and move them toward secular ways, far from religious affiliations. In order to achieve their goal of earning money, many participants considered temporary compromise on religious practices an acceptable part of the experience of staying in Korea. When asked about any changes in religious practice while living in Korea, one Bangladeshi participant responded, "For me, it doesn't matter whether religious practices are performed or not. The purpose is that I came to Korea working to earn money for my family (MP9)." "Another participant added, "It doesn't matter on religious activities because we came to

Korea for working. As the priority is work, I often forget daily prayer times." A Pakistani participant reflected on how MMWs view their daily religious life in Korea.

> They don't care about it, so they think that it is okay that they make enough money to return home, and have the freedom to go to a mosque and offer their prayers [in Pakistan]. So he gave another example. When they talk about it, they say they will do all these things when they return home. (MP4)

All MMWs coming from Islamic countries in Korea, intimated they were more tolerant of different religions such as Hinduism and Christianity and became open-minded toward them. Pakistani participant MP4 commented after coming to Korea, "I could not differentiate who is Hindu or Christian. So it does not matter, if I have to eat with somebody, I do not care."

In particular, in the case of Bangladeshi MMWs, I found they felt free to come to the Bangladeshi Mission Center, which was established not only to help MMWs with their problems (e.g., overtime pay, labor rights, job recruiting, and legal issues) but also to evangelize Bangladeshi MMWs in the Incheon area. When faced with problems, they readily came to a mission center to seek the pastor's assistance. One Bangladeshi participant described the feeling of attending a Bangladeshi service on Sunday at a mission center.

> My feeling is more disposed to go to the Bangladeshi mission center. Muslims cannot go to the church but here, in the mission center, there are Muslims and Hindus. In our country, only Christians go to the church. Christians do not like it when Muslims come to the church, neither did the Muslims. (MB14)

> In terms of a secular way of life, Bangladeshi participant MB5 argued,

> We as Muslims came to Korea for the work. If we have the time, we pray at home. Islam believes people are Muslim. We are human beings. I feel sorry for Allah. A real Muslim cannot do illegal work and cannot drink alcohol.

Another participant, MB6, said of himself, "I felt that I am not a Muslim. I didn't practice a perfect Muslim's life. I feel sorry [for Allah] for five years living in Korea."

In-Group Supportive Community Influence

Far from social networks and religious contexts in the countries of origin, MMWs develop special affinity clusters within their own ethnic groups. They build networks through social interaction with others for the support of their ethnic in-group. These supportive in-group communities contribute to strengthen in-group ties, pride, and centrality (Ward, 2013). In this sense, strong religious identification increases a sense of stability that leads to comfort and individual well-being (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). Thus, networks also reinforce a sense of self as Muslim within the in-group community.

Regardless of nationality, almost all MMWs resided in Korea separate from family members. Thus, the supportive in-group ethnic community served as a proxy family.

Indonesian in-group community influences. More than other ethnic groups, Indonesian MMWs, have built networks to facilitate social interaction (e.g., Indonesia Community of Corea organization). Closeness and togetherness with an in-group community provide them with a platform to be proud of their ethnicity. This enhances in-group solidarity. The ethnic in-group community plays a significant role in promoting a sense of belongingness as being Muslim in Korea.

Most of the Indonesian participants stated they benefitted from the supportive Muslim community through the strong organization structure of ICC. The ICC of Ansan is one of the largest. As they concentrate on specific localities, ethnic business, religious

institutions, migrant advocacy organizations have emerged based on mosque neighborhoods. Since 2006 the ICC has managed to rent a place which serves as a small prayer room (*musallah*) for Indonesian MMWs. The community has many resources for helping members settle into their life in Korea. They not only offer training programs to foster Islamic knowledge, but are also involved in many activities like fund-raising events for mosque renovation. MI3 explained,

> I was involved in an organization called Indonesia Community in Corea (ICC). We would make clothes and phone cards to manage the organization and help Muslim migrant workers stuck in an emergency. We would also invite Islamic experts to learn more on Islam. Recently, we had to raise $563,380 to build a mosque. So, we did a lot of fundraising events. Although I'm not an ICC staff, I counsel people who have trouble getting payments in on time and connect them with others whom I know at Boopyung and Incheon migration centers. (MI3)

In-group communities play a critical role in dealing with MMWs challenges on conflicts in the workplace. Unlike other MMW participants, MI8, who spoke the Korean language, held a technical qualification in metal working with a high salary. He served as a staff of ICC and added, "The ICC organization helps to resolve problems for other friends. Whenever they face some problems with Korean employers, I call them to resolve their problem that occurred in the workplace… I mediate many conflicts." MI8 went on to explain the reason why he has continually involved himself with ICC.

> I have worked for eight hours a day. After finishing on-duty hours, I stay and work overtime for one to two hours when the company has a lot of work to do. Then owner gives some extra money. If I take a part time job for the owner's friend's welding store, I would receive $200 per eight hours. There are many MMWs who suffer from many problems, speaking Korean poorly, or if one who has stayed in Korea too long, I help them. That's why I should be involved with ICC. I am much happier helping other friends, rather than earning money. (MI8)

Most participants identified ICC's promotion of religious values and support in workplace problems as important factors that contributed to MMWs having a positive

experience while in Korea. One commented, "When I face some problem in the factory, I ask my friends at ICC to solve the problem (MI10)." After connecting with the ICC, another one commented, "I do not get stressed living in Korea but it is fun. We enjoy ourselves immensely on the off days; we went on an outing to Seoul and did sightseeing in Busan City (MI9)." Those participants, with substantial in-group community support, were more likely to have subjective well-being.

In particular, nine of ten Indonesian participants found their religiosity was strengthened. Ethnic networks promote the religious monitoring of co-ethnics (Van, Tubergen, 2013) and protect them against more secular Korean norms and practices. Staying closely identified with an in-group community enhances a sense of stability, which then reinforces the psychological aspects of Muslim identity, in terms of pride, centrality, and a sense of belongingness that are linked to individual well-being (Ward, 2013; Ysseldyk et al., 2011).

Conversely, participants revealed that being religious was associated with refusal to integrate into Korean society. As noted earlier, their lives appeared to be isolated from Korean society, which led to further segregation within their in-group cluster. In the future, after fulfilling their goals for earning money in Korea, most participants would like to go back to their home countries rather than extend their stay in Korea. MI3 confirmed, "I had trouble keeping daily five-time prayers and fasting during Ramadan in Korea. So I want to return to Indonesia and keep daily prayers like before."

Bangladeshi and Pakistani in-group contacts. Compared to Indonesian participants, Bangladeshi and Pakistani MMWs found less in-group contact and more

negative experiences. In more religious contexts and social networks, individuals tended to become and remain religious (Van Tubergen, 2013). Fewer in-group contacts tended to lead to lower participation in Islamic religious practices leading in turn to a decline in religiosity. Religiosity is strongly influenced by everyday lives and social networks (Berghammer & Fliegenschnee, 2014). Some participants perceived personal religious conformity as stemming from individual choice. For example, MP1 said, "There are some people who do not have regular prayers in Pakistan, so I am fine with the challenges of performing daily prayers because I came to Korea to earn money."

While observing in the communities in Ansan and the Incheon area, I was unable to find an in-group community organization for Bangladeshi and Pakistani MMWs like the ICC. However, they congregated at the entry to the mosque and at national restaurants or grocery stores in order to gain information on adapting to Korean life, finding a job for the weekend, and connecting socially. One Bangladeshi participant, MB10, said, "On the weekend, I often pray and I come to the Bangladeshi restaurant to see many friends who are used to going there and who seek some available job similar to the factory work."

Both Pakistani and Bangladeshi MMWs built new relationships through personal interaction with others rather than through a community group's activities. Some tried to actively interact with others; others did not. In this regard, one Bangladeshi participant shared, "I meet friends and go to the mosque for prayers, to eat our food, and to talk with them during the weekend. That is the best for me (MB1)." On the other hand, a Pakistani participant stated,

> I came to Korea, so I met many high-level Muslims in Itaewon, where business has been established by many Muslims in Korea. Their ways of thinking are not so good. Christians help me willingly even though I have a different religion.

However, Muslims do not help me even though they said they willingly helped me. But many Christians help the Muslims a lot. I have no good relationships with Pakistanis. (MP12)

Another experienced negative feelings and rejection from his own group. He

explained,

I've known them for eight years. I like them. Some Pakistanis don't mingle well with other Pakistanis because they are from different parts of Pakistan: Karachi, Peshawar, Baluchistan, and Punjab. Those who came from Punjab often fight. Many people from Karachi run businesses. They are selfish and they don't like people from other provinces. (MP8)

All in all, negative feelings and rejection from one's group as well as fewer in-

group contacts led to diminishing group-ties and belongingness that were associated with

a sense of being Muslim. Such weaker in-group ties appeared to contribute to

assimilation into secular Korean life far from the religious life. After finishing their

working contract, for the future, such participants often preferred extending their stay in

Korea.

Summary of in-group supportive community. By strong organizational

structure the supportive Indonesian community, increased the centrality of group

memberships that led to strengthened Muslim identity. Indonesian participants with more

in-group community contacts revealed higher religiosity that fleshed out a sense of

stability and centrality in being Muslim. Fewer in-group contacts, such as among

Pakistani and Bangladeshi participants, was associated with lower religiosity and

negative feelings and rejection from their own group, which led to a diminished sense of

self as being Muslim in Korea.

Chapter 6 Summary

This chapter first presented disrupted religious practices. After migration to Korea, MMWs experienced adaption difficulties that disrupted religious practices in Muslims' daily lives. Multiple types of religious practice were disrupted, including attending mosque, praying five times a day, fasting during Ramadan, reading Qur'an, and abstaining from drinking alcohol. But undertaking the pilgrimage to Mecca was found to be a rare event and likely did not appear a significant change in the lives of participants, regardless of degree of religiosity.

Disrupted religious practices affected individual religiosity both positively and negatively. In order to preserve the sense of being Muslim experienced in the countries of origin, participants developed strategies to cope with disruption in and out of the workplace in Korea. Their reaction to disruption gave birth to three distinct approaches to Islamic religious practices: devoted persistence, resigned acquiescence, and creative modification. Using one or another of these approaches, they compromised their religious practices, which resulted alternatively in reinforcing or compromising their Muslim identity. Through the ongoing process, participants shaped and reconstructed a religious identity.

Further, the evolved process of religious identity is marked by in-group supportive community influence. For Indonesian MMWs, strong religious identification to in-group contacts revealed an edification of group centrality, a sense of belonging, and pride of being Muslim in Korea. The strong in-group ties strengthen individual well-being. On the other hand, Pakistani and Bangladeshi participants with fewer in-group

contacts, tended to experience a diminished sense of being Muslim, which opened the door to secular life styles in Korea.

In the following chapter, I will summarize this study's findings, discuss them in light of the effects of migration on Muslim religiosity and religious identity found by other scholars, present the implications and application of this study, and make recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, APPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this grounded theory study was to understand the experience of Muslim migrant workers' (MMWs') adaptation in a non-Muslim Korean context. The participants, 12 Pakistani, 15 Bangladeshi, and 10 Indonesian MMWs who came to Korea to earn money under the approval of the Labor Migration System, had been working under 3-D (difficult, dirty, and dangerous) conditions for at least three years. They voluntarily shared their experiences with me.

After analyzing the participants' experiences and voices, the central understanding to emerge from the data was that MMWs' adaptation to life in Korea presents three notable difficulties: separation from family, cultural isolation, and hardship in the workplace. These difficulties disrupt Islamic religious practice, which results alternatively in veiled or reaffirmed religious identity during their stay in Korea.

I begin this chapter by summarizing the study's findings on MMWs' adaptation experience in Korea. Thereafter, I discuss those findings in light of the effect of migration on Muslim religiosity and identity found by other scholars, present the implications of the findings, suggest practical applications, and make recommendations for further research.

Summary of Findings

In this section, I present an understanding of MMWs' experiences of adaptation to a non-Muslim Korean context. Three central themes emerged as ongoing processes: (a) adaptation difficulties, (b) disrupted religious practices, and (c) veiled or reaffirmed identity. I discuss each in turn.

Adaptation Difficulties

As mentioned above, the data showed that MMWs' adaptation to life in Korea presents three primary difficulties: (a) separation from family, (b) cultural isolation, and (c) hardship in the workplace.

Separation from family. While trying to adapt to their life in Korea, MMWs struggled with separation from family, both nuclear and extended. The absence of extended family support resulted in emotional, relational, and practical disruption, which, in turn, increased stress and instability, hampering their adaptation to life in Korea.

Cultural isolation. Cultural isolation had three points of origin: (a) cultural differences, (b) Koreans' marginalizing behaviors, and (c) MMWs' isolating behaviors. I present each in turn.

Cultural differences. Cultural differences manifested themselves in four ways: language difficulties, holy days, food, and clothing styles. Difficulties stemming from cultural differences posed significant barriers characterized by isolation from the larger Korean society.

Koreans' marginalizing behaviors. Korean society tended to marginalize and exclude Muslim migrants. MMWs spoke of experiences of inequity within the Korean societal system. They perceived negative and discriminatory attitudes and prejudice toward Islam, which negatively affected their social attitudes and interactions with Korean citizens. Hence, they tended to engage in isolating behaviors of their own.

MMWs' isolating behaviors. At least partially in response to marginalization and exclusion, MMWs withdrew into affinity clusters and built up social networks of support within their own ethnic groups. This withdrawal led to further segregation and deepened cultural isolation.

Hardship in the workplace. MMWs encountered a number of hardships in the workplace that hampered their adaptation to life in Korea. Three findings emerged from the workplace environment: (a) workplace structure, (b) violations of human rights and labor legislation, and (c) employers' and coworkers' negative attitudes.

Regarding workplace structure, unlike Muslim immigrants, MMWs were placed in low positions as unskilled workers. They faced structural challenges in unpleasant and dangerous work environments. Before their arrival, they were unaware of the perilous and harsh environments they would encounter in Korea. These conditions made MMWs' daily life especially difficult.

Further, they had to cope with issues of unprotected human and labor rights in their workplaces. In addition, they often encountered negative attitudes on the part of employers and coworkers. Employers' and coworkers' negative attitudes and

discrimination in the workplace were further exacerbated by the MMWs' perceived marginalization in the Korean society at large.

Disrupted Religious Practices

Adaptation difficulties disrupted religious practices within the Muslims' daily lives. The data pointed to the disruption of multiple religious practices, including attending mosque, praying five times a day, fasting during Ramadan, reading the Qur'an, and abstaining from drinking alcohol.

Interestingly, disruption in religious practices affected personal religiosity both positively and negatively. MMWs reacted to this disruption in one of three ways: devoted persistence, resigned acquiescence, or creative modification. Some MMWs were devoted to persistently performing religious practices, which led to strengthened individual religiosity, while others manifested a resigned acquiescence with regard to religious practices that led to a decline in individual religiosity. Still others, in an effort to emulate the religiosity experienced in the countries of origins, modified religious practices by making up midafternoon prayer, attending mosque on the weekends, fasting weekends during Ramadan, and pursuing Islamic studies privately.

Veiled or Reaffirmed Religious Identity

In the midst of evolving religiosity, MMWs alternatively veiled or reaffirmed their religious identity through conforming to or controlling secular norms, values, and social sanctions in a secular Korean context. Hence, they either reaffirmed religion as central to their identity (associated with a high level of religiosity) or they compromised by adopting a more secular way of life.

Interestingly, this evolving process of religious identity emerged as influenced by an individual's in-group supportive Muslim community. For example, Indonesian MMWs appeared to have more in-group contacts, which promoted a sense of centrality, belongingness, and pride as a Muslim. Hence, they appeared to strengthen their Muslim identity. Indonesian MMWs also seemed to have a more positive experience in the workplace as well as in daily life. In contrast, Pakistani and Bangladeshi MMWs had few in-group contacts, which tended to weaken their sense of being Muslim, opening the door to a more secular lifestyle.

Conclusion on the Summary of Findings

This section summarized the findings to emerge from the study's data. Exploring participants' voices revealed fascinating insights into MMWs' experience of adaptation to Korea. Other scholars have studied Muslim migrants' adaptation, settlement, and the process of identity negotiation with varied results. In the following section, I will discuss findings based on the theoretical frame and how other scholars contribute to the findings of this study.

Discussion of Findings

Few existing studies (Huh, 2010; Lee, 2011) have focused specifically on religiosity and religious identity among MMWs in Korea. While some did, this study draws needed attention to the effect of migration on how MMWs' adaptation difficulties negatively affect religious practice (religiosity), thereby impacting religious identity. Based on the theoretical frame of the effects of migration on Muslim religiosity and religious identity, I primarily discuss here factors previously identified as contributing to

strengthened or disrupted religiosity (i.e., religious practice). I further discuss religiosity's impact on identity. Finally, I discuss aspects of migration contributing to MMWs' adaptation difficulties in light of the relevant literature.

Effects of Migration on Muslim Religiosity and Religious Identity

As mentioned already, my study's findings show that for some MMWs beliefs, practices, and religious identity were strengthened, while for other MMWs they were weakened. Specifically, the Muslim religiosity and identity of Indonesian migrant workers was strengthened due to strong in-group ties and a strong organizational structure (ICC). Pakistani and Bangladeshi migrant workers' Muslim religiosity and identity were weakened due to a lack of these things.

This finding surprised me because I expected those with more conservative beliefs and practices in their home countries (i.e., Pakistani and Bangladeshi migrants) to be more devoted even after migrating. However, it was the more liberal Indonesians who became stronger in their religious beliefs and practices in the face of migration difficulties.

What made the difference for the MMWs in Korea was in-group identification as a mediating factor that led the Indonesian MMWs to greater religious practice and greater devotion and Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslim migrants to fall away from religious practice. If psychological mechanisms were the reason for MMWs to draw closer to faith, then Pakistani and Bangladeshi MMWs should have felt the same need to draw closer to religion, but they did not. Hence, a supportive, in-group community appears to function as a mitigating factor affecting persistence in religiosity.

Strengthened religiosity. MMWs in Korea who have more contact with a supportive Muslim community (e.g., the Indonesian participants in my study) appear to engage more in religious practices than those who have less contact with an in-group community (e.g., the other MMWs in this study). Thus, Indonesian MMWs appear to be more religious than other migrants. These findings corroborate a similar pattern discovered in the Netherlands, which showed that those with regular contact with co-ethnic partners (or close-knit ethnic communities) were more likely to have higher religiosity, while those with more frequent contacts with the largely secularized Dutch majority were likely to have lower religiosity (Smits et al., 2010; Van Tubergen, 2007).

Disrupted religious practices. The three subcategories of adaptation difficulties (i.e., separation from family, cultural isolation, and hardship in the workplace) tend to disrupt religious practices, such as attending a mosque for Friday *jumah* prayer, praying five times daily, fasting during Ramadan, reading the Qur'an, and abstaining from alcohol. Further, the subcategories of adaptation difficulties are interrelated with external and internal factors of disruption of Islamic religious practices in a migratory context of Korea.

The external changes in religious culture and social contexts. As noted earlier, some studies (Van Tubergen 2013; Voas & Fleischmann, 2012) found that migration itself is a disruptive event for religious practice through consequences of changes in religious culture as well as in social context in the secular host society. These findings parallel mine in terms of disrupted religious practices. My category "adaptation difficulties" emerged from data on the external change factors found in the religious and

cultural contexts as well as the change of social networks and religious environments in secular Korean society. Together, these change factors have contributed to disrupted religious practices associated with a different level of individual religiosity.

Religious supply. My study found that while MMWs living close to a mosque appeared to participate more frequently in religious practices, many MMWs in Korea had limited access to religious practices connected to the mosque. Further, they struggled to follow religious practice, in particular, observing mid-afternoon prayer during the workday. The limited access of religious supply appears to lower religious practices, which result in a weakened religiosity. These findings are consistent with Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands and Belgium where religious provision (e.g., the presence of a mosque) in their living environment positively impacted participation in religious activities (Maliepaard et al., 2012; Smits et al., 2010).

In sum, the external factors of separated social networks and religious environments (e. g., limited access of religious supply [mosque]) disrupted religious practices that appeared to diminish religiosity.

Religiosity and its impact on identity. Religiosity as reflected in religious practices emerged as more salient than belief. MMWs spoke often of daily prayers, fasting, dietary practices (the prohibition of eating pork and drinking alcohol), and mosque attendance, in terms of religious practices, while they rarely spoke of their relationship with Allah or religious experiences and feelings (such as affective connection) with respect to belief. Thus, in my study, belief remains an ambiguous

indicator of individual religiosity, while actual practice emerged as a clear sign of religious commitment.

Some MMWs were persistent in performing religious practices, which fostered religiosity. Others appeared to compromise or adapt their religious practices, leading to weakened individual religiosity. This finding parallels a study (Smits et al., 2010) among Muslim immigrants in Belgium that the correspondence between belief and religious practice may be smaller because they might participate in religious practices in an effort to have social interaction with their affinity group in a migratory context.

Berghammer and Fliegenschnee (2014) shed light on my findings in regard to religiosity influencing Muslims' daily lives. They indicated that one important function of religion is to stabilize one's identity in a migration context. Ysseldyk et al. (2010) also posited that religiosity as a social identity serves to promote an individual's sense of stability.

In keeping with prior studies, I found that some MMWs became more religious as they struggled to retain their religious identity in the face of difficulties and distressing circumstances in their new cultural context of Korea. In response to distressing circumstances, strong religious identification with in-group (religiosity) increased, resulting in a strengthened sense of solid stability that highlighted individual well-being (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). This well-being is associated with reaffirmed religious identity.

At the same time, other MMWs became less religious as they interfaced with their new environment in Korea. A low level of religious identification has a negative effect on controlling and sanctioning individual religious behaviors. This phenomenon is linked to compromising identity, resulting in the following of a secular life. Hence, as discussed

earlier, MMWs in Korea tended to follow one of these two paths; they either reaffirmed their religious identity despite encountering obstacles to religious practice or they compromised by making concessions to society's secular norms.

Conclusion on effects of migration on Muslim religiosity and identity. Even though MMWs experienced displacement, discrimination, and hardship after migrating to Korea, my study found that MMWs' adaptation experience could engender greater or lesser religiosity and religious identity, depending on the closeness of their connection to an affinity group community of support.

Adaptation Difficulties

Migration directly disrupts religiosity and identity. In order to understand the effects of migration, I will discuss the primary outcome on MMWs' adaptation difficulties in light of the relevant literature. The studies mirror the conclusions of a number of scholars conducting related studies; for example, A. Kim (2009) and S. Kim (2010), who wrote on restrictive migration policies for migrant workers; Ahn (2008, 2012), Cho et al. (2008), Ji (2011), and D. Kim (2008), who researched challenges presented by differences among cultural and religious contexts; Syed and Pio (2010), who studied the work experiences of female MMWs. The following section will revisit relevant literature regarding adaptation difficulties.

Restrictive migration policies. A. Kim (2009) and S. Kim (2010) discussed migrant workers' unsolved problems regarding macro-societal issues (e.g., law, crime, rights, and policy) in Korea. Their studies showed how migrant workers confronted the challenges they experienced in difficult work environments, and how they overcame their

settlement challenges with respect to migration policy and control management in Korea. Both studies point out that not only growing cultural diversity but also the emergence of a multicultural society was hardly envisioned by the Korean public or by governmental policy makers. Like several Western European countries, Korea still maintains a non-immigration policy that controls migrants' inflow, restricting long-term stays, discouraging permanent residence, and limiting citizenship (A. Kim, 2009).

A. Kim's (2009) and S. Kim's (2010) studies addressed migrant workers' general issues (e.g., human rights, right to family and children of migrant workers, right to education of migrant children) without addressing distinctive characteristics and religious practices of Muslims migrant workers. Hence, the present study adds to their findings by intentionally exploring the role of Islamic religious practice, and by considering compromised or reaffirmed religious identity in Korea.

Prior studies on Muslim workers show that foreigners, like those participating in this study, are considered by various Western European countries to be "Muslim immigrants" (Maliepaard et al., 2012; Smits et al., 2010; Van Tubergen, 2007, 2013) rather than migrant workers as they are in Korea. In Japan (Onishi & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2003), they are categorized as MMWs, much like in Korea. Their role is to fill the unmet demand for unskilled labor. Studies in Korea, like those by Kim and Kim, focus more on race and nationality than on religion. Hence, while they corroborate my study's findings on discriminatory attitudes and highlight inadequate legal and institutional policies in the workplace, they do not specifically address issues of religious practice and identity for MMWs.

Challenges stemming from differences in cultural and religious contexts. In studies of current cultural conflicts involving Muslims living in Korea, Ahn (2008, 2012), Cho et al. (2008), Ji (2011), and D. Kim (2008) focused on the challenges of the difference of cultural and religious context. Somewhat irrespective of distinctions among socio-economic classes, these studies on Korea examined Muslims more broadly or Muslims of a single ethnicity. Within these groups, various descriptive classifications emerged (e.g., migrant workers, former international students who remain in Korea as white-collar workers, businessmen, and female brides for intermarriage). These studies (Ahn, 2012; Cho et al., 2008; D. Kim, 2008) exposed Muslims' circumstances and realities, conflicts, cultural and religious distance much in keeping with this present study. However, as my study focused specifically on the experiences of unskilled MMWs' inside and outside of the workplace, it provided deeper insight into their unique adaptation difficulties and how these difficulties impact religious practice and identity.

At the same time, these studies corroborated my findings in that they argued that Korean society not only shows general intolerance toward Islam but also reinforces stereotypes and prejudice. Hence, Muslim migrants have developed strategies to cope with these difficulties. Despite the short history of Muslim migrants in Korea, ethnic businesses (e.g., travel agencies, ethnic restaurants, and *halal* markets) and religious institutions have appeared, particularly in neighborhoods with mosques (S. Kim, 2010). The expansion of such businesses has transformed certain localities into Muslim neighborhoods; ghettoizing rather than integrating Muslims into the larger Korean society.

Previous studies (Ji, 2011; Y. Kim, 2011) indicated that MMWs have established a unified front based on a firm religious bond to counter discrimination and prejudice, regardless of language and ethnicity. However, my study's findings are more in line with those of S. Kim (2010) in that they point to MMWs establishing affinity clusters along ethno/linguistic lines (e.g., Bangladeshi, Indonesian, and Pakistani).

Working experience. Syed and Pio's (2010) study of workplace experiences of Muslim migrant women in Australia highlighted the multifaceted nature of gender, ethnicity, and migrant-specific factors (both individual and structural) that affect workplace experience. They noted that women's experience in the workplace was not attributable to a single factor, such as company or organizational policy, but rather multiple factors and events. The study emphasized the complexity of their experience as embedded in macro-societal, meso-organizational, and micro-individual systems. In this manner, their study parallels my findings that point to MMWs' experience as impacted by interrelated factors involving religion and culture, both inside and outside the workplace.

For my study, there is a need to take into consideration the multiple natures of interrelated challenges of ethnicity, religion, and migration that affect MMWs' adaptation to life in Korea. Most MMWs faced multifaceted challenges inside and outside the workplace in Korean society throughout the adaptation process. However, as MMWs' Islamic values were at odds with Korean values, their voices and concerns indicated that they are resilient in the negotiation of cultural and religious practices in the Korean workplace on multiple levels— societal (immigration policy, law, labor legislation),

structural (workplace conditions), and individual (employer and coworker attitude towards MMWs, interaction with other Koreans).

Summary of discussion of adaptation difficulties. This section interacted with relevant literature regarding adaptation difficulties. Three related areas of concern were in evidence: restrictive migration policies, cultural and religious differences, and Muslim migrants' working experiences.

Regarding restrictive migration policies, present migration policies in Korea reflect economic priorities. Policies are in place to alleviate a labor shortage. MMWs are controlled and managed through restrictive immigration laws that overlook MMWs' cultural distinctiveness and religious values. My research adds to the findings of earlier studies by showing how difficulties engendered by governmental policies impact religious practice and identity.

Moreover, regarding cultural and religious differences, as in my research, studies related to mine have exposed how Muslim realties and life patterns led to isolation as they adapted to life in Korea. My study distinguished two factors contributing to isolation: (a) Koreans marginalizing MMWs, and (b) MMWs isolating themselves in an effort to cope with adaptation difficulties.

Further, the workplace experience of Muslim immigrant women in Australia supplements my findings by focusing on gender issues in the workplace. My research sample did not allow me to discover gender-specific findings with respect to MMWs in Korea. Nevertheless, both studies underscored multifaceted challenges, shaped by workplace conditions, unprotected human rights, prejudicial labor legislation, and

employers' negative attitudes. While workplace experiences permeate every aspect of MMWs' lives, my findings indicate that multifaceted challenges result in significant adaptation difficulties, both inside and outside the workplace.

Conclusion on Discussion of Findings

In this section, I discussed my findings regarding effects of migration on Muslim religiosity and identity. Thus, I discussed how effects of migration either strengthen or weaken religious practice (religiosity), thereby impacting religious identity. Further, I clarified MMWs' evolving religiosity and identity that alternatively reinforced or veiled (at least temporarily) their Muslim-ness when they experienced disrupted religious practices. My study mediates competing claims about strengthening or weakening of religiosity by revealing that a key mitigating factor is the presence of a local supportive community from one's religion and country of origin.

Finally, related studies generally mirrored my research findings on adaptation difficulties in areas where they overlapped. However, my study complemented previous studies by uncovering parallel patterns in a new context (Korea). The relevant literature also more clearly underscored the unique contribution of this present study.

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Implications and Applications

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This study's findings have implications for Korean society in general as well as for employers of MMWs in particular. In general, it is in the best interest of Koreans to be more aware of a latent multicultural society that requires a greater understanding of and sensitivity to culture and religion. As Korean society continues on the road of pluralism, it must forestall the cultural clashes that have rocked other societies by helping

foreigners adapt to life in Korea. In particular, employers need to develop more inclusive workplace diversity practices for MMWs in order to facilitate holistic integration.

Cultivating an Emerging Multicultural Society

This study clearly revealed that adaption difficulties disrupt every aspect of a Muslim's life. As their distinct cultural values and Islamic religious practices are at odds with Korean values, they find themselves isolated within the larger Korean society. The rejection they feel leads to further marginalization as they form their own affinity clusters. As their numbers grow, the formation of racial and religious ghettoes is likely, which could threaten the overall stability of Korean society in the relatively near future. Hence, it is urgent to promote immigration policies compatible with the emerging multiculturalism of Korea. The Korean government's near zero-immigration policy gives rise to a foreign workforce consisting largely of migrant workers (A. Kim, 2009) who, as seen in the case of MMWs, integrate poorly into the larger Korean society and regularly become undocumented workers.

Policy makers' and planners' role. First and foremost, policymakers and planners in the national government would do well to pass legislation embracing a realistic understanding of the complex issues surrounding cultural and religious diversity, which would facilitate the integration of migrant workers (including MMWs). Failing to recognize migrant workers and other foreigners as possible future members of society or potential Korean citizens perpetuates a wide gap between reality and policy for the near future (A. Kim, 2009; Onishi & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2003). In order to reduce the gap, reform of governmental migration policies is needed to ensure migrants (including long-

term undocumented workers) the same legal and civil rights that protect Korean citizens, including social services, equitable treatment, freedom from harassment, and medical services (A. Kim, 2009; S. Kim, 2010).

In particular, local government policy makers and planners should initiate social services and integrated programs for MMWs who have formed affinity clusters in neighborhoods surrounding mosques. In doing so, they will embrace MMWs as community members and facilitate their incorporation into Korean society. At the same time, the media should be encouraged to project more positive images of Muslims and other migrant peoples to foster harmony for diverse groups living in Korea.

Educators' role. Educators and educational efforts, both formal and non-formal, have much to contribute to ameliorating the challenges of Korean life for MMWs and promoting harmony between them and native Korean citizens.

First, both national and local governmental officials require training to enhance their understanding of the needs and concerns of MMWs and other foreign workers in Korea. Such training could include exposure to ways in which other multicultural nations have dealt successfully with the phenomenon of migrant workers in their context.

Second, local policy makers should also conduct seminars for native Korean citizens to reduce discrimination against other races, ethnicities, and minorities in order to promote peace and harmony in the local community.

Similarly, educational policy makers should promote cultural and religious sensitivity and awareness regarding cultural diversity in Korea's public schools (S. Kim, 2010). Curricula should be developed that sensitizes learners to religious, ethnic, and

cultural diversity with a view to diminishing discrimination and prejudice. Regarding cultural awareness, teacher-training programs also need to equip teachers to recognize cultural differences and respond to the needs of a multiethnic student body.

Improving Workplace Religious Diversity Practices

This study's findings on the hardships of MMWs in the workplace point to the need for employers hiring managers who understand religious diversity and its implication for management practices. Much of the intolerance MMWs experience appears to stem from managers' ignorance of Islamic culture and religious practices.

Failing to consider cultural and religious diversity in the workplace is likely to bring about larger problems, such as frequent workplace changes, lack of skilled workers, and labor shortages. In order to accommodate MMWs adequately, employers must practice religious and cultural tolerance in the workplace (Syed & Pio, 2010). For example, the Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding (2014) proposed that employers pay attention to policies, practices, and people.

First of all, employers should revise company policies so they are religiously inclusive and respectful of MMWs (e.g., granting a day-off on the *Eid* holiday or at least a half day off for communal prayer, providing meals without pork in the cafeteria, forgoing alcohol at dinner meetings, and accepting Islamic dress code for Muslim female workers).

Second, governmental agencies should develop diversity policy manuals for businesses calling on the expertise of Islamic consultants. Such manuals would help employers know how to manage workplace diversity practices, related to Islamic faith-

based concerns. A robust understanding of Islamic religious practices is required to negotiate and protect MMWs' right to religion (The Pluralism Project, 2014).

Finally, it is important for Korean employees to demonstrate religious sensitivity in the workplace if a company employs Muslim workers. Employers could provide training for their employees in this regard. In addition, employers need to create comfortable environments to accommodate Islamic religious practices for Muslim workers.

The Christian Community's Role

While the focus of this study was not specifically on Christian ministry to MMWs, its findings inform practices within the Christian community that might build bridges to Muslim migrants. Hence, I suggest the following practical applications with regard to the role of Christian community.

Ministry in the context of this research. Churches and the Christian community would do well to help MMWs in bold humility (Bosch, 1991) and sensitively respond to help meet the needs of MMWs, in order to promote psychological stability and comfort as well as protection in Korea. However, a lack of understanding on what Islam is, Islamic values, MMWs' culture and diversity in their countries of origin, and the needs of MMWs, makes it difficult to help and reach out to MMWs in Korea. Korean churches are not ready to minister to the MMWs (Park, 2013). Above all, it is urgently important for them to understand appropriately what Islam is and who Muslims are to increase knowledge of Islam. I have three suggestions for meeting the needs for research.

First, Korean churches and para-church networks need to form a special team to foster Islamic specialists or recruit further potential scholars to research Islam. These can sensitize Christians and help them understand important issues (e.g., religious obligations, Muslim culture, countries of origin of the MMWs, needs). Thus, Korean Christian scholars could publish diverse writing about Islam and Christianity (Park, 2013). A general understanding of Muslims' distinct characteristics and backgrounds, communal lifestyles, hospitality, and food sensitivity (*halal*, *haram* food), would render MMWs more accessible to concerned Christians.

Second, Korean church communities should design special seminars on understanding Islam or conduct training courses for lay church members (e.g., Islamic encounter and perspectives courses) to transform the general misunderstanding, stereotypes, and prejudice of Koreans against Islam and Muslims and to increase their knowledge of Islam and Muslims.

Third, Korean churches need to research and study holistic approaches to Muslims in Korea. Korean churches should teach lay church members biblical and missiological principles of embracing strangers (including Muslims) and why we as Christians should care for and love them as our neighbors by expressing hospitality and compassionate friendship. Hence, Christian communities could understand and approach MMWs through holistic ministry and Kingdom principles, along with a more open and welcoming attitude toward MMWs and other Muslims living in Korea.

Partnership strategies. Korean Christian community has an opportunity to play a leading role in bridging the gap between Muslims and Koreans through friendly

overtures. The most important thing in the relationship between Muslims and Christians is friendship (Merad, 1999), which is much needed in Korea in order to initiate a holistic ministry toward Muslims' within the Muslims' everyday lives (Jeong, n.d). I suggest two specific partnership strategies in which Christian community can engage: (a) social community programs, and (b) networking within the broader Christian community.

Developing a social community program. In neighborhoods with mosques, local churches would do well to make a special, holistic effort to facilitate MMWs' adjustment to life in Korea. Prospective ministries might include Korean language classes, support for medical services, migrant children programs (daycare, nursery, preschool and after school tutoring and childcare programs), legal assistance, employment assistance, and opening church facilities for migrant workers' activities (H. Choi, 2004). To serve and support the social community program, it is important to work in collaboration with the migration center, mission center for migrant workers, social movement organizations, and community service centers.

Networks among Korean churches. Korean churches would do well to build networks among denominational, para-church mission, and field missionaries in order to reach and support domestic MMWs. Through these networks, Korean churches could play an important role in recruiting devoted professional partners for domestic MMWs and provide resources to build organizations to assist Muslim workers. Further, the networks could play an important role in connecting with field missionaries, and the Christian communities from predominantly Muslim countries with Muslim migrants working in Korea.

One such organization, the Mission Center for MMWs, has managed to not only bring together its own ethnic peoples for fellowship and worship services, but also to work toward solving difficult problems, such as undocumented workers' medical care, overdue payments, and unemployment problems. MMWs may be reluctant to frequent church buildings. However, they appear comfortable visiting the mission center because of the positive impression the center has made through solving their ethnic friends' problems.

At present, Indonesian and Bangladeshi mission centers are found in Gyeonggi Province and a few other areas of Korea but are lacking elsewhere. Establishing additional centers that serve people of various nationalities is important because a mission center typically serves a single language group. Through the networks, many passionate ministers, who are fluent in the languages of MMWs due to previous field experience, could be identified and mobilized to serve.

Recommendations for Further Study

Obviously, this study could not (and did not) attempt to cover all aspects of Muslim workers adaptation to Korean society. It focused primarily on male MMWs. Other segments of the Muslim population in Korea merit further scholarly attention. Here, I suggest three.

Female Muslim Workers

The perceptions and experiences of female MMWs need further exploration in order to understand the complex nature of interrelated challenges and difficulties of the working experience in Korea. As migrant workers, they face a triple threat (ethnicity,

religion, and gender) in the workplace (Syed & Pio, 2010). Future research might include more detailed investigations on how female MMWs deal with various challenges, and how they perceive themselves through their experiences in the workplace.

More specifically, regarding the religious practices within Islam, men and women are substantially different because women are not compelled to attend Friday prayers (Smits et al., 2010). While Ruiter and Van Tubergen's (2009) study of a native Muslim population found that women have a higher attendance at the mosque than men, previous studies of Islamic immigrants in the Netherlands show attendance to be low (Van Tubergen, 2007). It would be interesting to identify factors contributing to female MMWs' religious practices and to what degree they perform them in Korea during the adaptation process.

Muslim International Students

Recent years have witnessed a massive influx of Muslim international students at Korean universities. Since 2008, the Korean government has offered scholarships to attract foreign students. International college students coming to Korea for higher education are from predominantly Muslim countries. Thus, the college experiences of Muslim international students need to be explored to understand the challenges and difficulties they encounter in relation to religious practices and in regard to accommodating Muslim students whose religious and cultural background marginalizes them in Korea. Further, such studies will discover and explain how their religious identity and religiosity evolve through their college experience in Korea.

Muslim Foreign Brides

A growing phenomenon, particularly in rural areas, is the importation of foreign women as brides. While these migrant women come from a variety of Asian regions (Central Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia), they migrate from predominantly Muslim countries, such as Indonesia, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan. They can easily acquire Korean nationality through intermarriage with a Korean spouse. Within their bi-cultural family, they encounter challenges regarding cultural differences and religious practices. Thus, future research could explore the experience of Muslim foreign brides as they adapt as part of society while maintaining distinctly Islamic practices (e.g., wearing the *hijab*). How they navigate challenges encountered and how their religiosity and identity are affected through interaction in various social contexts in rural areas remains underexplored.

Conclusion

Due to the kidnapping incident of Korean short-term missionaries in Afghanistan in 2007, increased post-September 11 discrimination, and the physical appearance of Muslim foreigners, Korea has an overwhelmingly widespread misunderstanding, a distorted image, and a fear of Islam (Islamophobia). In turn, minority Muslims experience feelings of prejudice, rejection, and discrimination during their adaptation to Korean society.

My interest in this study stemmed from my previous field experiences where I interacted with Muslims who showed hospitality to me as a stranger in the midst of their everyday lives. This positive image of Muslims motivates me to combat misunderstandings, misperceptions, and misrepresentations of Muslims in Korean

societal contexts. Furthermore, it informed my desire to study how they deal with their distinctly Islamic practices during the adaptation process in Korea.

As MMWs are predominant among the Muslim population in Korea, this study focuses on the effects of migration and related experiences on their life, religiosity and identity in Korea. My field research provided me with numerous opportunities to learn from the participants through asking questions and seeking understanding from officials or ministers who are involved in advocating for MMWs. In addition, I had great opportunities to listen to their valuable insights and voices on interrelated issues of religious and cultural difficulties of Muslims' everyday living experience inside and outside the workplace in Korea. I was also able to observe the complex realities they encountered in the Korean context. Hence, their voices merged to reveal MMWs' primary adaptation difficulties (i.e., separation from family, cultural isolation, and hardship in the workplace). These difficulties disrupt religious practices, which result alternatively, in reaffirmed or veiled (compromised) religious identity. At the same time, my study's findings on the adaptation experiences of MMWs point to the urgent need for Korean society to reform diversity policies for an increasingly pluralistic population. Such policies will result in better environments that take into account the complex nature of interrelated cultural and religious issues. In particular, in order to help create an accommodating workplace, companies or employers must engage in workplace diversity management practices that appreciate the complex, holistic nature of MMWs' adaptation challenges. Furthermore, its findings suggest that Korean churches or Christian communities can play a leading role in building bridges toward the MMW communities

by appropriately responding to the needs of MMWs in a holistic manner and embracing

them as strangers and aliens in accordance with biblical teaching

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

ESTIMATED FOREIGN MUSLIM POPULATION IN KOREA

Table A1

The Present Situation of Muslim Foreign Residents in Korea

Nationality[a]	Total foreign residents[b]	Migrant workers			Estimated Muslims		Rate (%)[e]
		Total	Doc.	Undoc.	Migrant residents[c]	Migrant workers[d]	
South Asia							
Bangladesh	13,474	9,024	7,206	1,818	12,059	8,076	89.5
India	8,766	–	–	–	1,175	–	13.4
Nepal	19,189	15,932	14,981	951	806	669	4.2
Sri Lanka	21,955	19,802	17,192	2,610	1,669	1,505	7.6
Pakistan	9,858	3,968	2,828	1,140	9,503	3,825	96.4
Subtotal	73,242	48,726	42,207	6,519	25,212	14,075	
Southeast Asia							
Myanmar	9,176	7,714	7,100	614	367	309	4
Cambodia	24,963	18,892	17,645	1,247	524	397	2.1
Indonesia	33,004	28,791	23,372	5,419	28,416	24,789	86.1

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Nationality[a]	Total foreign residents[b]	Migrant workers			Estimated Muslims		Rate (%)[e]
		Total	Doc.	Undoc.	Migrant residents[c]	Migrant workers[d]	
Southeast Asia							
Philippines	42,057	21,587	13,113	8,474	2,103	1,079	5
Thailand	43,115	18,590	14,857	3,733	1,983	855	4.6
Vietnam	118,702	60,611	42,374	18,237	119	61	0.1
Taiwan	29,019	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hong Kong	4,022	–	–	–	–	–	–
China[f]	701,447	248,976	231,321	17,655	10,522	3,735	1-2
Ethnic Korean Chinese[g]	(451,301)	(227,670)	(218,378)	(9,292)			
Japan	45,055	1,741	1,740	1	–	–	–
Mongolia	26,688	9,264	6,123	3,141	1,068	371	4
Timor-Leste	1,010	1,010	900	110	10	10	1
Subtotal	1,078,258	417,176	358,545	58,631	45,112	31,606	
Central Asia							
Kyrgyzstan	1,326	1,326	1,210	116	995	995	75
Uzbekistan	34,554	23,865	21,812	2,053	30,408	21,001	88

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Nationality[a]	Total foreign residents[b]	Migrant workers			Estimated Muslims		Rate (%)[e]
		Total	Doc.	Undoc.	Migrant residents[c]	Migrant workers[d]	
Central Asia							
Russia (United)	11,524	1,542	1,418	124	–	–	–
Subtotal	47,404	26,733	24,440	2,293	31,606	21,996	
North America							
Canada	22,752	4,402	4,384	18	432	84	1.9
United States	131,602	14,508	14,453	55	790	87	0.6
Subtotal	154,354	18,910	18,837	75	1,222	171	
Europe							
United Kingdom	7,108	3,112	3,107	5	192	84	2.7
Subtotal	7,108	3,112	3,107	5	192	84	
Australia							
Australia	7,573	678	672	6	129	12	1.7
New Zealand	3,336	593	588	5	37	7	1.1
Subtotal	10,909	1,271	1,260	11	129	12	

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Nationality[a]	Total foreign residents[b]	Migrant workers			Estimated Muslims		Rate (%)[e]
		Total	Doc.	Undoc.	Migrant residents[c]	Migrant workers[d]	
Australia							
Other[h]	51,347	8,919	8,395	524	–	–	
Total[i]	1,422,622	524,847	456,791	68,056	103,269	67,951	

Note. Table format based on Ahn (2012, pp. 31-35); Total foreign residents and Total migrant workers statistics based on Korea Immigration Service statistics in February 2013 (Ministry of Justice, 2013); % of Muslims in each country based on *The World Factbook*, (Central Intelligence Agency, 2012). Doc.=Documented/Legal migrant workers. Undoc= Undocumented/illegal migrant workers.

[a] Nationalities are based on 25 major countries listed in Korea Immigration Service Statistics. [b]Number of residents from each country living in Korea. [c]Calculated by multiplying total residents by Muslim percentage of that country's population. [d]Calulated by multiplying total number of migrant workers by Muslim percentage of that country's population. [e]Percentage of each country's population that is Muslim. [f]Total Chinese. [g]Ethnic Korean Chinese are included in total Chinese. [h]Residents from countries other than the 25 major countries listed above. [i]Total is a sum of subtotals, plus Other.

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONAIRE FORM

Introduction: Please answer all of the items. On items that have more than one choice, please make a check next to your choice.

1.   How old are you?

2.   What's your birthplace and hometown?

3.   What is your ethnicity?

4.   Annual Income?

5.   How long have you stayed in Korea?

6.   What is your marital status?

_____ Single   _____Divorced/Separated

_____ Married   _____ Widowed

7.   What is the highest level of education you have completed?

_____ High School   _____ College

_____ Graduate School, if yes, what subjects _____?

_____ Other

8.   What kind of job are you working in Korea? _____

9.   How often do you attend a service?

_____ Never   _____ A few times a year

_____ Once or more a month

10.   How about your religiosity over the life cycle? (Zimmerman, 2015)

_____ Low in childhood and adulthood

_____ Decreased since childhood

_____ Increased since childhood

_____ High in childhood and adulthood

Note. For demographic reporting purposes only. Please do not write your name on this form. Thank you for taking time completing this questionnaire. Please give the completed questionnaire to the researcher.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Intro

1.   Please tell me about yourself.

     Key Interview Questions

2.   Tell me about your everyday life experiences throughout the adaptation process in

     Korea.
     a. What challenges or conflicts did you experience after your migration to
         Korea?
     b. How do you deal with these challenges in Korea?
     c. How have these challenges impacted the maintenance of your daily Islamic
         traditions and religious practices since moving to Korea?
     d. Are there any Islamic beliefs and practices that you have changed in Korea? If
         so, in what ways?

3.   Can you tell me about your working experiences as a Muslim migrant worker at

     your workplace in Korea?
     a. How have you seen Muslim migrant workers being treated in workplaces or in
         Korean society?
     b. Have you experienced prejudice or discrimination as a Muslim at your
         workplace in Korea?
     c. If so, can you tell me about your feelings and perceptions regarding your
         experiences of prejudice or discrimination in Korea?
     d. Do these experiences have any impact on your religiosity? If so, in what
         ways?

4. How does adaptation to life in Korea affect an MMWs' Muslim identity?
    a. Are there things that you have changed about yourself as a result of your everyday life experiences in Korea? If so, in what ways?
    b. As a Muslim, how do you describe yourself after coming to Korea?

5. Describe some significant experiences with your friends, colleagues and individuals.

6. Whom do you usually hang out with? And what do you like to do?

7. In what ways do you expect Korean society to better support you in your everyday life?

Closing

8. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Note. Other questions may arise in the situation of the interview due to the nature of this study.

APPENDIX D

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Participant's name:

I authorize, Sunok Her, Cook School of Intercultural studies, Biola University, La Mirada, CA, USA, and/or any designated research assistants to gather information from me on the topic of understanding experience of Muslim migrant workers' adaptation in Korea.

I understand that the general purpose of the research is to understand how Muslim migrant workers deal with challenges throughout their experiences in Korea, and this study focuses on understanding issues of Islamic belief and practice and their impact on religious identity. And that I will be asked to be interviewed, and that the approximate total time of my involvement will be 45-60 minutes. After completion of the interview, I will be received a gift card ($20) as a thank you for participating in the study.

The study is beneficial in that Muslim migrant workers will have an opportunity to voice their concerns and needs. Policy makers and planners will benefit by having a deeper understanding regarding Muslim migrant workers' needs and challenges, and this may contribute to improved support services and policies. Furthermore, this study could provide insights for schools to develop cultural awareness and tolerance for the integration of minority culture groups.

I am aware that I may choose not to answer any questions that I find embarrassing or offensive. My interview will be audio recorded only with my permission. I understand

that my participation is voluntary and that I may refuse to participate or discontinue my participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled.

I understand that if, after my participation, I experience any undue anxiety or stress, or have questions about the research or my rights as a participant, that may have been provoked by the experience, Sunok Her will be available for consultation, and will also be available to provide direction regarding medical assistance in the unlikely event of physical injury incurred during participation in the research.

Confidentiality of research results will be maintained by the researcher. My individual results will not be released without my written consent.

_____   _____

Signature   Date

There are two copies of this consent form included. Please sign one and return it to the researcher with your responses. The other copy you may keep for your records. Questions and comments may be addressed to Sunok Her, Cook School of Intercultural Studies, Biola University, 13800 Biola Avenue, La Mirada, CA. 90639-0001.