

Acculturation Attitudes among *Zainichi* Koreans Living in Japan¹⁾

JungHui Lee* and Tomoko Tanaka**

This study examines two viewpoints on acculturation among the ethnic group of *Zainichi* Koreans, who settled, or whose ancestors settled, in Japan during the Japanese colonial era (1910-1945): the “traditional” view of acculturation (which includes four types of acculturation: assimilation, integration, marginalization, and separation), based on Western academic research, and the “context-specific” or “unattached” view, which conveys a desire for freedom from and a lifestyle or orientation that resists being constrained by pre-determined Korean or Japanese cultures and identities, preferring to identify as “human beings” or “individuals.” Through an ANOVA test, our research found that unattachment score was highest in a more integrated group—contrary to our hypothesis that it would be highest in a more marginalized group, who irrespective of the conceptual connection between marginalization and unattachment have a tendency toward integration in their “real lives.” These findings can help us understand the daily lives, identities, and perspectives of *Zainichi* Koreans and other ethnic minorities in Japan.

key words: acculturation, identity, *Zainichi* Koreans, immigrant, Japan

1. Introduction

1.1 Traditional acculturation attitudes and “unattachment” as context-specific acculturation among *Zainichi* Koreans

During the period of Japanese colonial rule over the Korean peninsula (from approximately 1910 until the end of World War II), many Koreans migrated to Japan, either voluntarily or under compulsion. This study defines *Zainichi* Koreans as Koreans who migrated from the Korean peninsula to Japan during the era of Japanese colonial domination of Korea (1910-1945) and who are currently residing in Japan, or their descendants currently residing in Japan.

Acculturation is commonly defined as the cul-

tural and psychological change that occurs through contact between different cultural groups and their individual members (Berry, 2005). Four types of acculturation are widely accepted in academic literature from Western contexts (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

Berry and Sam (1997) proposed that differing levels of involvement on two axes, ethnic and host (society) cultural orientation, generate four types of acculturation (assimilation, integration, marginalization, and separation). Constant, Gataullina and Zimmermann (2009) stated that assimilation attitudes refer to a strong identification with the host culture and society; integration attitudes reflect a strong dedication toward both the host and ethnic heritage cultures; marginalization means a strong detach-

¹⁾ This work was supported by Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B) (15H03456)

* Kanagawa Dental University, 82 Inaoka-cho, Yokosuka-shi, Kanagawa 238-8580, Japan
e-mail: j.lee@kdu.ac.jp

** Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Okayama University, 3-1-1 Tsushima-naka, Kita-ku, Okayama 700-8530, Japan

ment from either dominant or origin cultures; and separation attitudes represent an exclusive attachment to the origin culture. In the current study, we treat the four categories of acculturation as a “traditional” model of acculturation.

In recent years, challenges have been posed to the use of these four traditional types of acculturation to describe individuals. For instance, people might consider themselves to transcend ethnic or host categories that imply an absolute and fixed meaning. An example of this is the use of the term “global citizen” (Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013) or “human identity” (Albarelo & Rubini, 2012).

Similar perspectives are found among *Zainichi* Koreans. As there is little previous research regarding acculturation of *Zainichi* Koreans from the psychological viewpoint, this study turned to the sociological literature, in which a significant body of previous work fleshes out the processes of self-understanding and distancing from pre-determined group categories. For example, according to prior studies, *Zainichi* Koreans prefer to refer to themselves as “human beings” (Tsumimoto et al., 1994, p. 110), “individuals” (Kim, 1999, p. 125), or “cosmopolitans” (Harajiri, 1989, p. 90), rather than Japanese or Koreans. In Lee and Tanaka’s (2010, p. 189) psychological interviews of *Zainichi* Koreans, they found that some perceived their identity to be *jiyujin* (meaning “no identity” or “free from identity”), which releases them from the constraints of a pre-determined ethnic Korean or host Japanese identity. To summarize the above discussion, instead of corresponding to group categories of Korean or Japanese, which they perceive as oppressive, these *Zainichi* Koreans have devised an alternative lifestyle free from the constraints of such pre-determined categories.

However, despite the phenomenon of alternative existential self-concepts among *Zainichi* Koreans, no empirical research has been conducted from a psychological angle. This notion, which challenges the current social group categories and exceeds ethnic or host labels such as “individual” or “resident of the

earth,” renders the traditional concept of four acculturation attitudes inadequate.

The present study focuses on the milieu of Japanese society, which implies a unique Japanese local context for *Zainichi* Koreans, especially given their historical colonial settlement in Japan. Japan’s harsh attitude toward immigration served as an oppressive context for the assimilation of *Zainichi* Koreans (Fukuoka, 1993), one that stands in contrast to today’s co-existential, multicultural atmosphere. Based on the constraints of these circumstances, we argue that context-specific acculturation attitudes of *Zainichi* Koreans, who desire freedom from both Korean and Japanese identities, have emerged. The present study refers to these attitudes as “unattached.”

We chose to characterize these phenomena as unattached due to *Zainichi* Koreans’ self-identification as single individuals or humans, rather than pre-determined ethnic Koreans or members of the host society. The similarities of these examples again challenge the fixed ethnic or host socio-cultural categories, and reject traditional classifications that connect individuals to specific cultural groups.

Previous research indicates that unattachment could be viewed as a subordinate concept of marginalization in terms of distancing oneself from both the ethnic and host cultures. However, in the present study, unattachment also contains an existential, non-ethnically defined element (e.g., “resident of the earth”), and so we treat unattachment as a separate concept from the four types of acculturation. Since the unattached acculturation attitude is a new concept adopted by the present study, it needs to be situated within previous research in terms of the four categories of acculturation attitudes. Specifically, we expect that unattachment, which rejects engagement in both the ethnic and host categories, will be related to marginalization, which involves a rejection of both the ethnic and the host identities (Ben-Shalom & Horenczyk, 2004). We try to flesh out the concept of unattachment and its relation to the four traditional types of acculturation in this

study.

1.2 Objective and hypothesis

The current study aims to shed light on the relationships between the four traditional types of acculturation (assimilation, integration, marginalization, and separation) and unattachment. By examining the relationships among these ideas, this study could help explain the actual prevalence of unattachment in modern Japan; In other words, it will reveal that unattachment has a strong tendency toward an ethnic orientation or a host orientation; or, it could have an engagement with both or be non-involved with both. Unattachment is not a concept existing only on paper, but an actual phenomenon observed in Zainichi Koreans' daily life.

We hypothesized that the unattached attitude would be most prevalent in the marginalization category out of the four acculturation categories.

2. Methodology

2.1 Sample and data collection

The participants included 106 Zainichi Koreans, almost all of whom (94.9%) were not first generation. It was difficult to recruit Zainichi Korean participants because many Zainichi Koreans have two names, one Japanese and one Korean, and mainly use their Japanese name in public life, seemingly hiding their Korean ethnicity to protect themselves from discrimination due to Japanese opinions on heterogeneity (Kurosaka & Fukuoka, 2008). In the present study, participants were enlisted with the assistance of a South Korean-oriented association, called a *Mindan*. There are two Zainichi Korean ethnic unions in Japan: one is designated as Mindan (Southern origin ethnic institution in Japan); the other is *Soren* (Northern origin ethnic association in Japan). The participants were sourced from a western area of Japan, Okayama, where the first author had previously taught the Korean language and had built trusting relationships with the staff of the Okayama Mindan. This organization provides Zainichi Koreans with a passport renewal service once a month; taking advantage of this, the first in-

vestigator visited the association's facility on three occasions and distributed 85 questionnaires to people waiting in line for their renewal; 76 (89%) of these were completed and returned. In addition, the first author distributed 35 surveys to her Zainichi Korean friends and to acquaintances who are members of the local ethnic-Korean church that she attends. Of these 35 surveys, 30 (86%) were completed and returned.

The purpose of this study was explained, and written informed consent was obtained from all respondents, who were assured of the confidentiality of their personal information and responses. Participation in the research was anonymous and voluntary. The questionnaire was administered in Japanese. Two respondents could not read and write Japanese but were able to understand spoken Japanese and to speak the language themselves; both responded orally to questions read aloud in Japanese by the first investigator, who used their responses to complete the form on their behalf.

2.2 Measures

The questionnaire contained items measuring acculturation and the unattached acculturation attitude. All of the items were measured using a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 4 = *strongly agree*.

Acculturation. Twenty-six question items were prepared in pairs for the ethnic and host orientation subscales, regarding ethnic and host daily culture and social relations. The items were based on the Acculturation Index (Ward & Kennedy, 1994), a psychological study on Zainichi Koreans (Lee & Tanaka, 2010), and important issues highlighted in previous sociological studies regarding, for example, Japanese naturalization and attachment to ethnic and/or host groups (Fukuoka, 1997). Sample items included: "I celebrate Korean holidays and anniversaries" (ethnic dimension) and "I celebrate Japanese holidays and anniversaries" (host dimension).

Unattached acculturation attitude. Nine items were used to measure unattachment. The choice of items

Table 1 Sample Characteristics ($n = 106$)

Variables	Category	%
Gender	Male	56.3
	Female	43.7
Generation	First Generation	5.1
	Second Generation	42.8
	Third Generation	48.0
	Fourth Generation	4.1
Nationality	Korean	85.3
	Japanese	13.7
	Other	1.0
Marital Status	Married	55.3
	Not married	44.7
Education	High school or lower	57.7
	Some college	11.3
	College graduate	31.0
	or higher	

was based on previous sociological research and Lee and Tanaka's (2010) psychological study of *Zainichi* Koreans. Bearing in mind the context-specific milieu for *Zainichi* Koreans' resettlement into Japanese society, the questions focused on the extent to which the respondents rejected fixed Korean or Japanese cultural characteristics and professed an attitude of supporting lifestyles and identities that were those of neither ethnic Koreans nor Japanese in the host society. Sample items included: "I want people to see me as an individual regardless of my ethnicity."

2.3 Data analysis

SPSS databases were used to conduct a descriptive analysis, a factor analysis, correlation analyses, and analysis of variance (ANOVA). The ANOVA test was conducted to examine possible differences in unattachment scores between the four acculturation categories, established by the median points of each scale.

3. Results

3.1 Descriptive statistics

The descriptive statistics are presented in Table 1. Slightly over half of the participants were male

(56.3%), and over half were married (55.3%). The age range was from 20 to 83 years, with a mean age of 44.6 years ($SD = 16.6$ years). Almost all of the participants (95.9%) were second-, third-, or fourth-generation immigrants, and the majority of the participants (85.3%) had maintained their ethnic Korean nationality. Slightly less than half of the sample (42.3%) possessed an above-college level of education.

In addition, t-tests and a one-way ANOVA test revealed the demographic variable differences shown above for unattached, ethnic orientation, and host orientation employed in the present analyses (Table 2). Significant differences in the unattached score and host orientation score were found between Korean nationality and Japanese nationality. Those who have Japanese nationality returned a significantly higher unattached score ($t(95) = -2.982, p < .01$), and a higher host orientation score ($t(93) = -3.329, p < .001$).

3.2 Exploratory factor analysis: Acculturation

An exploratory factor analysis was performed on the responses to the 26 items on acculturation. Twelve items were excluded because of ceiling or floor effects.

For instance, the item "I am fluent in the Korean language" from the ethnic dimension, was eliminated by a floor effect, whereas the host dimension item "I am fluent in the Japanese language" was removed due to a ceiling effect.

Three items with low factor loadings and two items that loaded highly on both factors simultaneously were also deleted. One was "I can really be myself when I am with Japanese people," which loaded positively onto both factors. The other item was "I actively participate in the gatherings of fellow Koreans," which loaded positively onto the ethnic dimension and simultaneously loaded negatively onto the host dimension.

The remaining nine items were retained under the two factors (Table 3); the paired structure between each of the initial items was not maintained. Five items pertaining to the host category (e.g.,

Table 2 Means, standard deviations, and test comparison (t-tests/a one-way ANOVA) for unattached, ethnic orientation and host orientation

	Gender		Generation					Nationality				Marital status			Education		
	male	female	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Korean	Japanese	p	not-married	married	p	high school or lower	college	some college	college graduate or higher	p
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)		M (SD)	M (SD)		M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	
Unattached	3.04 (0.52)	3.07 (0.66)	3.29 (0.23)	2.99 (0.58)	3.05 (0.62)	3.36 (0.34)	3.01 (0.54)	3.47 (0.54)	**	3.05 (0.62)	3.06 (0.56)	n.s.	3.06 (0.60)	3.17 (0.43)	3.17 (0.43)	3.05 (0.56)	n.s.
Ethnic orientation	2.63 (0.53)	2.80 (0.54)	3.20 (0.62)	2.70 (0.49)	2.71 (0.56)	2.44 (0.63)	2.73 (0.56)	2.55 (0.42)	n.s.	2.61 (0.57)	2.79 (0.51)	n.s.	2.69 (0.52)	2.89 (0.66)	2.89 (0.66)	2.60 (0.53)	n.s.
Host orientation	2.76 (0.56)	2.83 (0.58)	2.80 (0.59)	2.68 (0.59)	2.87 (0.52)	2.55 (0.55)	2.73 (0.56)	3.24 (0.32)	***	2.84 (0.58)	2.75 (0.55)	n.s.	2.83 (0.59)	2.87 (0.46)	2.87 (0.46)	2.73 (0.59)	n.s.

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$.

Japanese citizenship, Japanese spouse) were loaded onto the host orientation scale, while four items related to the Korean cultural lifestyle (e.g., celebrating Korean holidays, following Korean customs) were loaded onto the ethnic orientation scale. Cronbach's alphas were 0.62, and 0.59, respectively—both factors weak but showing internal consistency.

After confirming that the two scales of acculturation were orthogonal ($r = -.09$), the respondents were classified into one of the four traditional acculturation categories depending on their position relative to the median point of each scale, following the process described by Ward and Rana-Deuba (1999). Overall, 29 of the respondents were classified as assimilated, 29 were integrated, 14 were marginalized, and 22 were in the separated category.

3.3 Exploratory factor analysis: Unattached acculturation attitude

Factor analysis of the nine items found that seven of them loaded onto one factor (Table 4). This factor accounted for 34.6% of the explained variance, and the Cronbach's alpha coefficient was 0.78. All items loaded onto this factor related to a lifestyle unconnected to Korean or Japanese identities but linked to a lifestyle outside the pre-determined group categories. This factor was named "Unattached" and defined as a lifestyle not guided by Korean or Japanese cultural norms, resistant to group categorization, and related to alternative identification.

3.4 Relationships between acculturation attitudes and unattached acculturation attitude

Means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlation coefficients of the three scales employed in the analyses are shown in Table 5. Unattached was positively correlated with host orientation ($r = .46$, $p < .01$).

To test the hypothesis that unattached attitude would be represented most highly in the marginalization category, a one-way ANOVA was performed to assess the relationships between each of the four acculturation attitudes and unattachment. Tukey's post-hoc test was performed to create multiple comparisons among the four modes. The results in Ta-

Table 3 Factor structure of acculturation (Varimax rotation)

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2
I think it desirable for <i>Zainichi</i> Koreans to marry Japanese people (同胞が日本人と結婚するのは、望ましいと思う)	.643	-.068
I think of myself almost as a Japanese person (自分は日本人とほとんど変わらないと感じる)	.602	-.105
I do not have strong feelings about becoming a naturalized Japanese citizen (日本に住んでいるので、日本に帰化してもかまわないと思う)	.553	.154
I eat many kinds of food other than Korean food when I eat out by myself (一人で外食する時は、韓国食以外の様々な食事がしたい)	.379	-.068
I actively participate in gatherings with Japanese (日本人との集まりに、積極的に参加している)	.343	-.003
I live in preserved Korean customs (韓国風の生活習慣を守って暮らしている)	-.052	.793
I know Korean politics and society well (テレビや同胞からの情報などで、母国の政治や社会のことをよく知っている)	-.077	.520
I celebrate Korean holidays and anniversaries (韓国の祝日や記念日を祝っている)	-.121	.442
I can really be myself when I am with my fellow Koreans (同胞と付き合う時、ありのままの自分でいられる)	.160	.379
Variance explained	15.5%	14.2%

Note. $n = 98$.

Table 4 Factor structure of unattached acculturation attitude (Varimax rotation)

Item	Factor 1
I think of myself as a resident of the Earth rather than as a Korean or a Japanese (自分は日本人でもなく韓国人でもなく、地球人だと思っている)	.706
I attach importance to living as a human being rather than as a Korean or a Japanese (日本人あるいは韓国人としてよりも、人間としての生きかたを大事にしている)	.666
I want people to see me as an individual regardless of my ethnicity (在日韓国人としての私ではなく、単なる一個人としての私をみてほしい)	.624
I place value on a sense of myself rather than as a Korean or a Japanese (韓国人らしさや日本人らしさよりも、自分らしさを大事にしている)	.620
I want to desire a global sense of values beyond Korean or Japanese values (韓国や日本の価値観を越えて、地球上で通用するグローバルな価値を求めたい)	.506
I live my life without being aware of what is regarded as Korean or Japanese (韓国文化も日本文化も、特に意識せずに暮らしている)	.491
I want to become a global citizen rather than a Korean or a Japanese (日本人か韓国人になるのではなく、世界に対応する国際人になりたい)	.454
Variance explained	34.6%

Note. $n = 102$.

Table 5 Means, standard deviations, and their correlations with the study variables

	Mean	Standard deviation	Host orientation	Ethnic orientation
Host orientation (<i>n</i> = 100)	2.79	0.56		
Ethnic orientation (<i>n</i> = 101)	2.72	0.55	-.07	
Unattached (<i>n</i> = 102)	3.07	0.59	.46**	.07

** $p < .01$.**Table 6** Results of multiple comparisons (one-way ANOVA) (*n* = 94)

	Assimilation	Integration	Marginalization	Separation	<i>F</i> (<i>df</i>)	Multiple group
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)		
Unattached	3.17 (0.63)	3.25 (0.57)	2.94 (0.36)	2.78 (0.60)	3.64* (3)	Integration > Separation

* $p < .05$.

ble 6 show that there were significant differences: unattached scores were significantly higher in the integration group than in the separation group ($F(3, 90) = 3.64, p < .05$). Therefore, the hypothesis regarding unattached acculturation attitude was not supported.

4. Discussion

This study aimed to clarify the relationships between the four categories of acculturation (assimilation, integration, marginalization, and separation) and the unattached attitude.

The major results were that: (1) differences in ethnic and host orientations were evident on the acculturation scale; and (2) the hypothesis that unattached scores would be highest for those with a marginalization group was not supported, but unattached scores were highest for those with an integration group.

4.1 Acculturation attitudes of Zainichi Koreans in Japan

As noted, we prepared parallel questions for each acculturation subscale (ethnic and host orientation),

but the results did not achieve a paired structure between the items. Instead, the host orientation scale comprised such items as citizenship in the host country or a sense of belonging to the host society, whereas the ethnic orientation scale comprised items related to Korean customs in daily life. This suggests variation between ethnic and host concepts of what was perceived as meaningful in this sample of Zainichi Koreans. Specifically, an attachment to an identification toward a host society, as perceived in the host orientation, is an important element in Zainichi Koreans' acculturation attitudes. That can be explained by the fact that Zainichi Koreans sacrifice their Korean nationality when acquiring Japanese citizenship through naturalization. In spite of this sacrifice, the reason Zainichi Koreans naturalize as Japanese citizens could be related to the Japanese sociocultural context that excludes non-Japanese citizens due to their differences (Harajiri, 1989). We infer that immigrants' acculturation attitudes are influenced by government policies as well as by the characteristics of the host-majority society in which they re-

side.

4.2 Unattached attitudes

The unattachment scale covers a range of self-descriptions from individual level to the level of humankind, which generated a uni-factorial structure through the factor analysis. An “individual” is a micro unit, which respondents self-identified as isolated, whereas “human being” and “resident of the earth” are macro units self-identified as belonging to humankind. However, although “individual,” “human being,” and “resident of the earth” appear heterogeneous in this way, these three terms do represent the same idea of not needing to belong to the oppressive group categories of Korean or Japanese, that is, of freedom from the constraints of these contexts. This study’s contribution lies in finding that the concept of unattachment as a context-specific acculturation attitude can unite this wide range of modes of existence, from the micro to the macro levels.

Similar to the concept of unattachment is the idea of the “cosmopolitan” person in a previous study on *Zainichi* Koreans. Fukuoka (1997) defines a cosmopolitan as someone who wishes to be seen as a global citizen rather than an ethnic Korean or a member of a specific social group in the host society.

The notions of unattachment and the cosmopolitan person are similar in that they encompass a sense of self that extends beyond ethnicity. However, they differ in a “number” of ways. Cosmopolitan represents a global citizen that merely corresponds to a concept at the macro level. On the other hand, unattachment, as discussed in this study, includes both the individual and global perspectives.

Among the four traditional acculturation categories and the view of unattached (as a context-specific acculturation attitude), the unattached score was highest in the integrated group, contrary to our hypothesis that it would be highest in the marginalized group. This result implies an inconsistency between the “concept” of unattachment and the “real lives” of people who uphold it. That is,

though unattached seems conceptually marginalized in terms of refusing both identities and distancing from them, the actual lives of unattached respondents in fact have an integrative tendency.

There is also earlier research supporting this relationship between unattachment and integration. Yampolsky, Amiot and de la Sablonnière (2016) point out that superordinate identity (e.g., as a human), which is conceptually similar to unattachment in the present study, represents a state of integration that bridges multicultural subordinate identities.

Applying this perspective to the unattached acculturation attitude could help *Zainichi* Koreans bond with the host society in terms of an equal social existence, far from the historical hierarchical relationship between the ethnic and host populations. Furthermore, future research will need to address specific behavioral attributes in the lives of those who possess an unattached attitude; such persons follow the behavioral patterns of a global individual, or patterns that involve an individual simply distancing oneself from the constraints of a fixed ethnic or host culture or identity.

5. Limitations and conclusions

There are some limitations to this study that can be addressed by future research. First, the acculturation measurement for this *Zainichi* Korean sample had a small alpha coefficient; future research should increase the sample size and number of items in the scale, which should help to produce robust results on *Zainichi* Koreans’ acculturation. Second, as many of the subjects were connected with the Mindan, there might have been sample bias. In order to verify generalizability, future research needs to employ a wide range of *Zainichi* Koreans unconnected to the Mindan.

Regardless of these limitations, this study contributes in several ways. We examined *Zainichi* Koreans’ acculturation attitudes from a psychological standpoint—both the four “traditional” types of acculturation and a context-specific type of accultura-

tion termed “unattached,” which, though it conceptually seemed to relate to marginalized attitudes out of the four categories of acculturation, did not demonstrate any statistical relationship with marginalization. Those who orient to unattached acculturation attitudes tend to exhibit high integration of ethnic and host cultures; this reflects the actual situation of Zainichi Koreans who currently live in Japan.

These results can potentially be applied to other ethnic minorities residing in Japan, and can inform policy for these groups.

References

- Albarelo, F., & Rubini, M. 2012 Reducing dehumanisation outcomes towards Blacks: The role of multiple categorisation and of human identity. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, **42**, 875-882.
- Ben-Shalom, U., & Horenczyk, G. 2004 Cultural identity and adaptation in an assimilative setting: Immigrant soldiers from the former Soviet Union in Israel. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, **28**, 461-479.
- Berry, J. W. 2005 Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, **29**, 697-712.
- Berry, J. W., & Sabatier, C. 2010 Acculturation, discrimination, and adaptation among second generation immigrant youth in Montreal and Paris. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, **34**, 191-207.
- Berry, J. W., & Sam, D. 1997 Acculturation and Adaptation. In Berry, J. W., Segall, M. H., & Kagitcibasi, C. (Eds.), *Handbook of Cross-cultural Psychology*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, pp. 291-325.
- Constant, A., Gataullina, L., & Zimmermann, K. F. 2009 Ethnosizing immigrants. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, **69**, 274-287.
- Fukuoka, Y. 1993 *Zainichi Koreans: Identity of the Young Generation*. Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, (in Japanese)
- Fukuoka, Y. 1997 *Descriptions of Daily Lives and the Awareness of Young Zainichi Koreans*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, (in Japanese)
- Harajiri, H. 1989 *The World of Lifestyles with Zainichi Koreans*. Tokyo: Koubundou, (in Japanese)
- Kim, T. 1999 *Beyond the Politics of Identity: An Ethnicity of Zainichi Koreans*. Kyoto: Sekaishisoya, (in Japanese)
- Kurosaka, A., & Fukuoka, Y. 2008 The Zainichi's distress crosses borders: An interview with a Zainichi Korean who became an American citizen with a Japanese name. *Journal of Japanese and Asian Studies*, **5**, 107-130. (in Japanese)
- Lee, J., & Tanaka, T. 2010 Attitudes toward a bicultural environment and mental health among second- and third-generation Korean-Japanese: Self-cognition of cultural identity from an interview survey. *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences: Okayama University*, **30**, 177-196. (in Japanese)
- Reysen, S., & Katzarska-Miller, I. 2013 A model of global citizenship: Antecedents and outcomes. *International Journal of Psychology*, **48**, 858-870.
- Tsujimoto, H., Lee, C., Un, T., Okamoto, H., Kim, T., Kim, H., Kondo, T., Hong, H., & Moriki, K. 1994 *A White Paper about Zainichi Koreans, as seen by Parents and Children*. Tokyo: Akasisyoten, (in Japanese)
- Yampolsky, M. A., Amiot, C. E., & de la Sablonnière, R. 2016 The multicultural identity integration scale (MULTIIS): Developing a comprehensive measure for configuring one's multiple cultural identities within the self. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, **22**(2), 166-184.
- Ward, C., & Kennedy, A. 1994 Acculturation strategies, psychological adjustment, and socio-cultural competence during cross-cultural transitions. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, **18**, 329-343.
- Ward, C., & Rana-Deuba, A. 1999 Acculturation and adaptation revisited. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, **30**, 422-442.

(Received: June 22, 2017 Accepted: July 3, 2018)