

# A Westerner's Guide to Korean Culture

A tool for dealing with cultural differences

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## Cultural Differences

There are many different types of people teaching English in Korea. Some are professionally trained; some hold degrees in other disciplines and are teaching in Korea because they want to experience another culture; some are teaching English while doing other work, such as research; some are teaching English while looking for other jobs; and some are merely passing through.

Most of these people bring their own unique expectations to their jobs, as well as their own individual reactions to the circumstances in which they find themselves. Being aware of cultural differences before you start employment as a teacher in Korea will help you prepare for any disappointments you may encounter.

Some people seem to be convinced that their culture and their country is the absolute best in the world, and that Korea can't have anything worthwhile to offer. Nothing can change their minds. They don't have much interest in either learning or practicing Korea's cultural rules. I've literally *heard* them say, "I'm a foreigner -- they shouldn't expect me to act like a Korean." Koreans read this attitude as condescending. They're right -- it is.

Koreans are pretty tolerant of foreigners who don't know their social codes. What Koreans *don't* tolerate well is foreigners who *won't learn* those codes. This usually surprises these westerners, even though they'd probably be some of the first to raise a fuss if a foreigner came to *their* country and refused to adapt to *their* culture.

Korea is a very tight knit society. People tend to think in groups or as a group. Much less individualistic as American culture. So, if you constantly try to keep a group mindset and try to think in the other person's shoes...you can avoid such cultural clashes. This is a totally different concept of trying to do the "right" thing or being a "nice" person. This is about Korean culture. You can be a "nice" guy, trying to do the "right" thing...but your words and actions reflect a different culture.

**In order to succeed in a different culture, you have to at least *try* to live by its rules, even if you think yours are better.**

Korea definitely doesn't need or want people who'll look down on the country, its culture, or its people. But if:

- You can accept the idea that, at least in some ways, Korea might be as good as or better than your own country
- You like the idea of learning about a different culture
- You're willing to behave in ways you wouldn't at home, even if they're not as much fun
- You're OK with letting your Korean friends tell you when you've made a mistake

I think you'll see that Korea has a lot to offer.

### **Codes of Behavior**

In western society we have rules for getting along that we all learn as kids (or at least we're supposed to).

- Age. We learn to respect our parents and other older people. We also learn how this changes as we grow into adults ourselves.
- Economic relationship. We treat the auto mechanic and the restaurant waiter differently from the way they treat us. In a job, we're usually on the other side of this formula when dealing with the boss.
- Authority. We're expected to show respect to government officials (even those we didn't vote for). We don't talk back to traffic cops.

These western conventions are still important, but maybe not quite as rigid as they were 50 years ago. The rules of behavior in Korea and other Asian nations have also softened in recent years. And since they share some common ground with ours -- like the points I named above -- it's tempting to think the rules are more similar than they really are.

OK, to some extent the differences *are* less than they used to be. Korea *is* becoming more westernized. But you're going to see the effects of that mostly in younger people -- in their teens and twenties. And probably your boss will be older. He will *not* be thrilled if you treat him like a western boss. So listen up and take notes, because the final's coming up -- it's your job.

### **Status in Korea**

Koreans will sometimes introduce themselves to you by not just their names, but their job titles and employers. If they're students, they'll be sure to tell you the names of their universities, the departments, and their years. What you're seeing is the Confucian emphasis on status and order, or *jang yu yuseo*.

There are all kinds of rules of order:

- At the table, wait for the oldest person present to begin eating first. You also shouldn't eat faster than he does, because he's supposed to finish first too.
- Don't smoke in front of a person of higher status, like your boss (this must be tough, since so many Koreans are smokers).
- Don't drink in front of a higher-status person. At least turn your head to one side and shield your mouth with a hand, so he doesn't literally see you drinking.
- You can't be friends with a person too many years older or younger.
- You don't argue with the boss, period. This one can be really tough for westerners. (This does *not* mean you can't *negotiate*, however. More on this later.)
- You show respect for teachers. As a hagwon English teacher, you aren't *quite* a teacher, so this means that *you* have to act properly around public school teachers and university instructors.

The list goes on -- that's just a sample.

The rules of social conduct are related to status, and the respect that people of lower status have to pay to those of higher status. In the west, status doesn't mean such rigorous rules. Also, to be blunt, western status is mostly related to *things* -- what you own, where you live, how big your house is, what kind of car you drive, how you dress, how much money you throw around. Well, those are also important in Korea -- but age, marriage, number of children, and job authority are at least as important.

Women have made tremendous progress in Korea in recent years, but men *still* have higher status. The glass ceiling is very thick in Korea, and women don't often rise above middle management in the professions. They're still seen mainly as wives and mothers, although nowadays their husbands think they ought to get a job *in addition* to their chores at home (sound familiar?).

### **How This Affects You as a Teacher**

Teachers are highly regarded (because education is). But hagwon teaching is thought of more as a *profession*, so it carries lower status. That status hit is one reason that so many Korean hagwon instructors are women. On the other hand, if you're old enough, you may be able to score "status points" on your age. (Not that your first grade kids will behave any better for this.) Also, if you're American,

you're automatically bumped up a few notches because your home nation is wealthy and influential.

Within a few days of your arrival in Korea, you're pretty likely to be surprised -- make that shocked -- when a new Korean acquaintance begins asking questions that you might consider pretty personal. What's your job? How much money do you make? Are you married? If not, why not? Do you have children? If not, why not? How many are boys?

Personal questions? Not in Korea. The grilling is part of the way your new friend figures out how to behave toward you. You're expected to ask the same questions of him or her. If you don't, how will you know how *you're* supposed to act? You may actually make your friend uncomfortable by *not* asking.

Of course your relationship with your hagwon director will be different from what you'd expect with a boss at home. More on that later.

### **Basic Manners**

This isn't an exhaustive list by any means, but let's make a start:

**Bowing:** Learn to bow. Koreans bow when they meet and when they part. They also bow when they conduct business. (One morning we saw two rows of employees outside an insurance building, bowing customers inside -- a Korean version of the Wal-Mart greeter, I guess.)

A Korean bow is sometimes not much more than a bob of the head, but how deeply you should bow depends on the status of the other person (this is one reason Koreans ask so many questions when they first meet you). When it's a shopkeeper, taxi driver, or other service provider, just duck your head and shoulders a little. Bow more from the waist for older people and rich business people. Elderly men get the deepest bows -- if you ever meet a Korean friend's grandfather, you might want to hit the floor. Seriously.

I know, "all men are created equal." That's not even really true in America, and this is Confucian Korea. Deal with it.

**Names:** *Don't call anyone by his or her first name* unless you're long-time friends (as in *years*). Here are some rules for addressing people in social situations:

- Address your hagwon director by his or her title (ask what he or she prefers). The usual is *wonjang nim* ("director").
- Call all the Korean teachers in your hagwon *sonsang nim* ("teacher"), except the ones who ask you to use their names.
- Address friends and acquaintances as Mr. Lee or Mrs. Kim unless they say otherwise. The titles Mr. and Mrs. have made their way into the Korean language, so you can use them when speaking either English or Korean.
- But: you *don't* use Mr. or Mrs. when meeting your Korean friends' or students' parents and other relatives. You usually address them by making reference to the person you already know: "mother of Lee Han-so," "father of Kim Sang-hee," or "aunt of Park Il-jung." When you're about to meet a student's or friend's relatives, ask him or her to teach you how to address them. If that's not possible, ask your hagwon director or a Korean teacher.
- A generic term of address for a adult woman you don't know is *ajomma* ("auntie"). In the US you might hail the waitress with "Excuse me, ma'am?" but in Korea you'd say "Ajomma?"

For a man, use *ajosshi* ("uncle"). The term for a young, unmarried woman is *agasshi*. You can call young kids *komaya*. An elderly man is a *halabaji* (grandfather) and an elderly woman is a *halmoni* (grandmother). Curiously, the word *sonsang nim* (teacher) also works as a generic respectful title for someone with authority -- a policeman, for example.

- Brothers and sisters never call one another by their given names. They say "older brother" or "younger sister." There's a long list of [Korean words](#) for these relationships, depending on the relative age and sex of the siblings.

You're probably thinking, "Why are you telling me this? I don't have any Korean relatives." Well, at some point you're going to meet a Korean who's a fair bit younger or older than you. Confucian custom makes friendships between people of different ages just about impossible. The way they get around this is to call a friend "older brother" or "younger sister." Don't worry about the terminology; they'll either have you use the English, or they'll tell you what to call them.

The exception to all these naming rules is English nicknames. Most of your students will already have them. If any don't, help them pick their nicknames *now*. If you have to, assign them, because English nicknames are a Very Good Thing. For your students, they're a way to practice English pronunciation. For everybody, English nicknames let you address Koreans in a way that's comfortable and

familiar to you, without making *them* uncomfortable by using their given names.

**Excuse me (not):** We westerners seem to have bubbles around us, the way strangers stay away. You always see people in lines standing a few (or several) feet apart. Put us in a situation where we can't keep our distance and we get oddly quiet (witness standard elevator behavior). We don't even have to bump into someone to say "excuse me." Just pass someone too closely and you mumble it automatically.

Not in Korea. Koreans elbow their way through crowds and cut in line without a word. In fact they usually don't bother to form lines at all. You *never* hear "excuse me" (*chaesong hahmnidah*).

So why don't they apologize? Ask a Korean, and he'll probably say that Korea is crowded, and nobody wants to have to excuse himself every few seconds. He might also point out that Koreans, like Japanese, are taught not to reveal their emotions to strangers. Ask a western behavioral psychologist and he'll probably tell you that it's because strangers don't fit into any of the five [oryun](#), so effectively they don't exist and don't have to be acknowledged. None of these reasons quite rings true for me, but I don't have a better one, so take your choice.

The good news is that Koreans don't expect anything different from us. After a while you'll learn to push and jostle as well as they do. You may even get used to not apologizing.

That doesn't mean that anything goes, though. You'll run into some Koreans (almost always men) who sneeze or belch or fart in public without a word. I do *not* recommend that you imitate them.

**Closeness:** Be ready to accept less "personal space." It's pretty common for Koreans of the same sex to stand close together when talking or walking. Koreans aren't comfortable with PDAs (public displays of affection) between men and women, so you'll seldom see husbands and wives kiss or even hold hands in public. (Yes, this applies to you and your girl/boy friend, if any. Save it for the *bideo bang* [video parlor], Romeo.) But Koreans are pretty uninhibited about touching other people of the *same* sex. [Holding hands](#) is normal for friends. If you're a woman, don't be too surprised if one of your adult female students, or one of your Korean friends, takes your hand when the two of you are walking down the street.

It's also not that uncommon for Koreans of the same sex to compliment you on your skin or hair, maybe even stroke them or marvel at them. They're not gay, and

they're not hitting on you. They're just curious and uninhibited. Especially in smaller towns and rural areas, where there aren't all that many tourists, Koreans are fascinated by us and the ways we look different from them. Add in poor English skills, and, well, you might get the wrong impression. Please don't over-react to this.

Speaking of such things: most Koreans, especially older ones, declare flatly that there are *no* gay people in Korea. In think that, ironically, this belief frees them to behave in ways that relatively uptight Americans never do (see above).

But attitudes are gradually changing. Since 2000 a few prominent Korean entertainers have "come out," notably comedian Hong Suk-chon. And Korean films are starting to deal with the subject. From 2001, [\*Bungee Jumping of Their Own\*](#) (a title which should dispel any remaining doubt that Korea needs English teachers ;-)) dared to look at a gay relationship and Korean society's reactions to it. And 2002's [\*Road Movie\*](#) is even more explicit and daring in its depiction of gays. I hope that increasing acceptance in popular culture means that Korea is taking its first steps toward a more positive attitude toward gays. And I also hope it *doesn't* lead them to become more inhibited or lose their innocence.

**Giggles:** If a Korean friend laughs or giggles and seems embarrassed, smile and gently laugh along. This is your friend's way of apologizing for his social faux pas, and by joining him you're in effect accepting his apology.

**Gestures:** Don't point at anyone; this is considered impolite. If you want to beckon someone to come to you, don't use the usual western gesture. That's the way they call their dogs. Instead, hold your hand palm down with the fingers bent downward, and sort of flap your fingers toward you. I know this sounds weird, but trust me, after you see someone do it, it'll make sense.

Speaking of gestures, some Koreans habitually point (at objects) with the digit that Westerners usually reserve for a rude one. Repeat after me: "Cultural difference. " If you're interested, your students will no doubt be quite willing to demonstrate Korea's equivalent rude gesture for you.

**Offering:** When handing something to a Korean, offer it with *both* hands. Never offer anything with the left hand (even if you're left-handed); it's considered rude. This includes payment at shops and restaurants. When offered something by an older person or one of higher status, such as your hagwon director, always accept it with both hands. (Someday I'm going to research the origins of this custom.)

**Hosting:** Koreans are gradually getting the idea of "going Dutch," but it's still pretty rare. Usually you'll be either host or guest, especially with Koreans older than their 20s. Your Korean friends will be downright eager to treat you for the first month or two. You're expected to return the favor later.

**Status:** When you're in a group entering a room or a building, the person of highest status (probably the eldest) should enter first. The oldest person present at a meal gets to start first (and finish first). Don't drink around an older person, or your boss, unless you turn your head and shield your mouth with a hand (watch your Korean friends to see how this is done). Don't smoke or wear sunglasses around an older person or your boss. (I have no idea why wearing sunglasses is a big deal.)

**Introductions:** If a friend arrives while you're with a group, you're obliged to introduce him to everyone present unless he's already known to them. But after you introduce him, don't be too surprised if you're the only person he talks to. The rules about who can talk with whom are complex, and some people will ignore other people in a group situation. They're not being rude; they just don't know each other well enough for conversation to be socially acceptable.

**Compliments:** If someone pays you a compliment, refute it. As in Japan, modesty and self-deprecation score politeness points.

**Colds:** Don't blow your nose in front of anyone else. This is considered terribly rude. Excuse yourself and find a restroom, or at least a private corner. Like the Japanese, some Koreans wear paper face masks when they have colds. This is supposed to protect others from catching the cold.

**Pens:** Don't write anyone's name in red ink. That would mean the person is dead. Death is a highly emotional issue in Korea. It's probably best to just avoid red pens entirely.

**Numbers:** The number four sounds like the word for death. Younger Koreans don't make such a big deal of it, but some buildings still don't have fourth floors. (Before you sneer at this, remember that some US buildings don't have thirteenth floors.) Also, nothing comes in fours. The sets of four place settings of dishes or silverware that we expect in the west just don't exist in Korea.

## **Visiting**

**Invitations:** Don't enter anyone's home or office (including your supervisor's) until you've been invited in. Don't sit down until you're invited to do so.

**Gifts:** When visiting, you're expected to bring a small gift. A few pieces of fruit or flowers will be fine. Little trinkets or household items from your homeland usually make a hit. Remember to present your gift to the host with both hands, never the left.

Don't go overboard. If you give too valuable a gift, you'll create an obligation in your host to repay you. That makes him or her uncomfortable.

Don't be too surprised if your host puts your gift away or sets it aside without opening it. This is a polite way to spare you embarrassment in case your gift is *too* small. You should do the same if someone gives you a gift.

**Compliments:** It's all right to remark casually on your host's belongings, but don't admire them too much -- he or she may feel obliged to give them to you.

**Cards:** Koreans like to exchange business cards. If your hagwon doesn't give you any, have a hundred or two printed by a local printer. Don't keep your business cards in your back pocket (that is, don't sit on them). When you exchange cards with someone, offer your card with both hands, just like anything else. Accept the other person's card with both hands, just like anything else. Study it for a few moments (even if you have no idea what it says). Don't write on it. Don't put it in your back pocket, and don't put it in your wallet if you will put the wallet in your back pocket.

### **An Introduction to Table Manners**

**Seating:** Western tables are becoming more common, but you're likely to still encounter the short tables which require you to sit on the floor. Most people sit with their legs crossed, but sitting on your knees with your legs under you and your feet behind you is apparently considered more formal. Women may sit with their legs to the side, and men can sit that way for a break from cramping. Don't stretch your legs out under the table, unless the Koreans with you do so.

**Tableware:** You'll get a metal spoon and metal chopsticks (some restaurants use disposable wooden ones like those in US Chinese restaurants). The spoon is for your soup or stew. Korea's custom differs from Japan's -- Koreans sometimes use the spoon for their rice, and they *don't* pick up their rice bowls while eating from

them. If you find that you can't get the rice to your mouth with chopsticks, use the spoon.

You may also want to carry a pair of wooden chopsticks with you: they're easier for most westerners to use. These will be all right in restaurants, but you should probably use the metal ones provided if you are in someone's home. Be careful not to remark that wooden ones are easier for you to use, or your host will be obligated to find some for you, regardless of how long it takes.

**On the table:** There's generally a main dish and several side dishes. Except for rice and soup or stew, which are served in bowls to each diner, the dishes are used communally. Consequently you should be aware of how you use those chopsticks. Just as you were taught when you were a kid, if you touch it, you eat it.

**Chopsticks, spoons and fingers:** When you're not using your chopsticks, place them across a dish. When you've had your fill, placing them on the table indicates that you are finished. Never stick them in the rice -- that's the way rice is served when making symbolic offerings to one's dead ancestors. (Koreans are very touchy about anything suggesting death.) Once you've picked up your spoon, don't lay it back on the table until you're finished with the meal.

Koreans seldom eat with their hands. Even when they dine on Western-style burgers, they hold the sandwich by its paper wrapper. This means you use chopsticks for everything except soup or stew and possibly rice, for which the spoon is acceptable. (It's OK to use your chopsticks to pick the solid stuff out of your soup.) Watch your Korean companions for cues. You'll be absolutely amazed at what they can do with those chopsticks (and at what *you* can do with them, after some practice).

One of the advantages of Korean metal chopsticks over Japanese and Chinese wooden ones is that they have a narrow edge. Although they're not exactly knives, it's actually possible to hack at things with them. However, kitchen scissors, usually wielded by a waiter or your host, are much more effective for processing excessively large hunks of meat or whatnot. Otherwise, if you find yourself struggling with the quantity you've seized in your chopsticks, lay it on top of your rice or noodles and deal with it there.

#### **During the meal:**

Don't force too much conversation; let things proceed naturally. The guidebooks say that Koreans eat faster and talk less than westerners during a meal. Maybe our

Korean friends are unusually chatty, but we found they were about as conversational as anyone we know anywhere. Remember that speaking English is extra effort for them, so don't be offended if much of the table talk is in Korean.

**Surprises:** Your Korean companion will slurp his noodles or suck the meat off the stew bones and spit them on the table. He'll probably pick up his soup bowl and drink from it, too. These aren't considered bad manners in Korea. Go ahead, you can do it too. Have fun.

Koreans don't eat as much meat as most westerners (though their consumption is increasing), but when they do eat an animal, they generally don't waste any part. You'll see chickens [fried whole](#), head and all. They serve chicken feet the way we serve chicken wings. You may get a whole fish or other creature, again complete with [head](#). Your Korean friends will tell you that the head and eyes are the best parts. Hard to tell whether they really mean it, or they're just saying that to see how you'll react, but *they* sure don't hesitate to eat them.

This may not sound too appetizing, but Koreans don't suffer any ill effects, so I doubt that it will hurt you. As mom used to say, just eat a bit to be polite. Then you can pass it over. No one is going to force you to eat anything. Korean meals usually have such a variety of dishes that you can't possibly go hungry.

**Miss Manners:** Korean meal etiquette is probably a product of times during and after the war when few Koreans had enough to eat. The objective is to stuff the guest to the gills -- it's standard for your host to invite you to *manhi duseyo* (eat much). He means it.

Warning! If you finish something, your host almost *has* to refill it. Scraping the bottom of the dish may be a compliment some places in the west, but in Korea, it's almost an insult. You're implying that your host didn't give you enough to eat. Always "leave a bit for Miss Manners." And be sure to tell your host *jal mogoss, sumnidah* (thank you, I've eaten well).

**Drinks:** Often you'll get barley tea (*pohri-cha*) right at the start of a meal. Black tea or coffee, if you get it, comes at the end -- that's dessert. Some Koreans, particularly men, drink [soju](#) (rice liquor) or *makkoli* (rice wine), with their meals.

When someone offers you a drink, take it with both hands (do you see a pattern emerging here?). The Korean way with booze is much like their way with food: never allow your companion's glass to be empty. You fill the other person's soju or makkoli glass by holding the bottle with your right hand, with the left hand

grasping the right forearm or wrist. He'll fill yours. You don't fill your own glass. That would be considered rude.

## **How to Dress**

In climate, Korea is a lot like the midwestern US -- hot, humid summers (particularly in the south) and moderately cold winters. Temperatures will sometimes exceed 35 deg Celsius (95 deg F) in the summer and drop below -10 deg Celsius (15 deg F) in the winter. Take clothes you can layer. Air conditioning is more common than it used to be, but it isn't yet universal. You will sweat. Pack deodorant. It tends to be expensive and somewhat hard to find, because Koreans don't sweat as much as we do. You might also want to take along 100% cotton bedsheets -- you'll want them in July and August, and they can be hard to find in Korea.

Koreans tend to dress neatly. Jeans are all right for a hike in the mountains, but chuck the ones with holes in the knees. Sweaters are fine. T-shirts are mostly for kids.

If you're a woman, pack fairly conservative business attire. Tops that expose shoulders are considered racy and unprofessional, so no tank tops at work. Bare midriffs are right out. Very short skirts are thought of as the mark of a "loose" woman, but skin-tight pants seem to be acceptable (no clue why). Wear skirts of modest length for teaching. Pantsuits are probably OK too, but check with your hagwon director.

If you're a man, take dress shirts, neckties, and jackets. Your hagwon may not require you to wear them, but don't be surprised if they do. Korean men wear suits anytime and anywhere, even on the beach. Nice khakis, sport shirts, and sweaters will do for less formal situations.

If you're about average size, you can probably pack lightly. Western clothes are easy to find. At the department stores quality is high and so are prices (for her birthday Margaret got a slip priced at 28,500 won -- about US\$24). But at the traditional markets and street vendors you can get pretty much the same clothes you'd find at Target or K-Mart in the US, at comparable or lower prices. As for fit, younger Koreans are taller these days thanks to more meat in the Korean diet, so it's easier than it used to be to get the right sizes. If you're unusually tall or large, though, you may still have to shop in the expensive boutiques in Itaewon (the Seoul military and foreigner's district).

Men: If you usually wear an earring, leave it at home. If you have a beard or mustache, get rid of it. Koreans aren't used to anyone but old men (and sometimes blue-collar workers) wearing beards. The Korean man who wants to be a success in business will be clean-shaven.

### **How to Deal With Your Boss**

Korea is often called a "we" society. Koreans consider the good of the group more important than that of an individual, and harmony more important than innovation. You might want to keep this in mind if you're considering making a suggestion to your hagwon director.

Personal rapport is more important to a Korean boss than legal agreements. Contracts in Korea are a starting point, not an ending one, and you can fully expect that your director will ask you to do things that aren't in the contract. Some teachers will say "Never give an inch," but this just doesn't fit the Korean way. Unlike western employers, they won't respect you (not even grudgingly) for standing on your contract.

Instead, try to find a way to accept at least part of what your director is asking for. Compile those brownie points. Building up your relationship with the director this way will repay you later, when you have to negotiate something that's much more important.

When you're in those discussions, realize that your director's silence doesn't necessarily mean he or she agrees. Sometimes it means the director doesn't understand, but doesn't want to lose face by admitting it. Prevent this by bringing along a Korean friend with excellent English. It could even be one of the hagwon's Korean teachers. Tell your director that the other person is there to help negotiate, not as a translator, so you don't imply that the boss's English stinks.

Don't forget to bow, even if you're not 100% happy with the outcome. Use all the gestures of respect we've talked about. No smoking! No sunglasses! Your boss's status is higher than yours.

### **Accepting Doesn't Have to Mean Agreeing**

Suggestions can only be made on how to *behave* in Korea. It does not mean that you have to adopt Korea's *values*, or even agree with them. But you need to understand

how those values differ from ours and how they affect your time in Korea. That's the only way you can live and work for any period of time, following their social code, without violating your own principles.

Regardless of the situation -- listen, nod, and remain open minded.

## **CULTURAL DIFFERENCES**

Cultural differences occur in a new country. They should be expected and respected. In order to succeed an open mind is essential. You have to *try* to understand and live by its rules, even if you think yours are better.

Suggestions can only be made on how to *behave* in Korea. It does not mean that you have to adopt Korea's *values*, or even agree with them. But you need to understand how those values differ from yours and how they affect your time in Korea. That's the only way you can live and work for any period of time, following their social code, without violating your own principles.

Regardless of the situation -- listen, nod, and remain open-minded

Cultural differences can make for a positive or negative experience. This can prove to be quite challenging, but overcoming them makes life really worthwhile. The best thing about living in another country is the opportunity to see what you're made of and learn about who you really are.