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KOREAN CHILD-REARING PRACTICES IN THE UNITED STATES:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF KOREAN IMMIGRANTS
IN THE CULTURAL TRANSITION

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Education

International and Multicultural Education Program

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Education

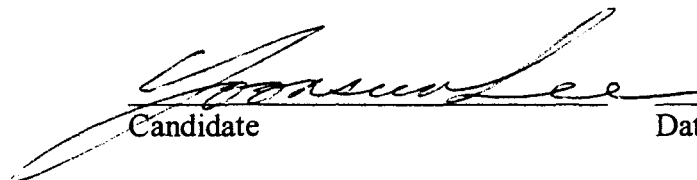
by
Yoon Sun Lee

San Francisco
December, 1999

To My Mother and Father (*Uh-muh-nee* and *Ah-buh-jee*)

and My Two Sons, Sammy and Chris

The dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the members of the committee, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of the School of Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education. The content and research methodologies presented in this work represent the work of the candidate alone.


Candidate _____ Date 11/18/99

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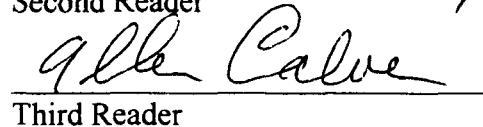

Third Reader _____ 11/18/99

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CHAPTER I
THE PROBLEM

I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any.

by Mahatma Gandhi

Background of the Problem

Scenario

Scene 1 : Mother/son dialogue

Mother : What happened to your ears?

Son : Nothing! Don't worry. I just had my ears pierced. So what?

Mother : "So what?" Are you crazy? Did you say "don't worry"? I am your mother and we care for you. How dare you say that rude and ill-mannered word! Who taught you that behavior? Do you hang out with bad boys?

Son : Mom! I am not a baby. Nobody taught me anything. I know what I have to do. Never mention other guys.

Mother : Don't tell me you know what to do. So you had your ears pierced! You're a boy, not a girl. How can a boy wear earrings? What a shame! Don't you remember that our church meeting will be held this Friday at our house? How can I introduce my ear-pierced son? I can't imagine what our church members will think about you. Oh, No! Not about you! About me! It's a terrible disgrace for our whole family! Look at your outfit. Your hair dyed red, wearing baggy jeans and a white tank top; in Korea that tank

top is worn only as underwear. Furthermore, your beautiful gold earrings! How about your grades? Can you go to U.C. with only a few As and Bs? What a hopeless boy! Why must I endure such hardships in a foreign country? For what do I work hard and save money? Why did we come to this country?

Son : Hey, mom! that's enough. It's none of their business, it's my own business, not even yours. This is the United States, not Korea! I am not a Korean like you. I can do anything I please because I am an American. O.K.?

Scene 2 : Daniel *Min-Soo Kim's* monologue

" I hate myself. I hate that I was born a Korean. Whenever I meet my parents, they tell me, 'You know why we came to this country? You are our last hope so you have to graduate from a famous college and get a good job for our family. We can endure any suffering until that glory becomes a reality.' Everyday my parents come home exhausted. I don't like to see my father's dirty working clothes and mother's chapped hands. I don't like to listen to them speaking in Korean. I feel ashamed whenever they speak Korean loudly in front of my friends and even I feel embarrassed by the smell of *Kim-chee*. Whenever my father speaks broken English to a white person I want to die. I use the language of my parents only at home. It is not of much value and I do not see any necessity for it. Sometimes I don't know what they mean when they speak Korean but I never ask them to repeat or explain anything because I know that they'll take on and on about their past in Korea and my glorious future. I never go to my parents for advice not because of the language barrier but because they are empty-headed about life in this country. I wish that I was born a real American. I hate that I was born their child."

Daniel *Min-Soo* Kim's monologue is not unique. Such conversations, filled with ignorance and misunderstanding between parents and children, can be commonly heard in the homes of one million Koreans in the United States.

Korean immigration history in the United States began with the arrival of Korean laborers at Hawaii sugar plantations in 1903. Since then, the Korean immigrant population has tended to be extremely heterogeneous in its economic, educational, and social backgrounds, making it inevitable that cliques and factions would form within their community associations and church congregations based on shared interests and background (Parrilio, 1990). Over ninety percent of all Korean immigrants came to the United States after the immigration reforms of 1965 (Barringer & Cho, 1989). As a result of the 1965 Immigration Reform Act, the population of Koreans rose from 70,000 to 357,393 between 1970 and 1980 and to 797,304 in 1990 and 72.7 % of Korean Americans were Korean born (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990). Koreans were counted as a distinct ethnic group for the first time in the 1970 United States Census and Korea is still one of the ten major source countries of United States immigrants (Park, 1997; Min, 1995).

The degree of Koreans' acculturation to the United States and their retention of traditional culture varies greatly depending on length of residence, circumstances of their immigration and the time of their departure from Korea for immigration to America (W. Kim, L. Kim & D. Rue, 1997). The diversity of recent Korean immigrants is more complicated. Reasons for immigration include better employment, educational opportunities and family reunification. However, the commonality among these

heterogeneous Korean immigrants is, that they list as the first reason for immigration to the United States, the desire to seek higher quality education for their children. In the 1980s when a more intensified immigration wave was apparent, the two largest age groups among Koreatown residents in Los Angeles were those 25-44 years of age and under 12 years old. It indicates that the majority of Korean immigrants was composed of young couples with children (Yu, 1994).

Korean immigrant parents believe that the United States (called *Mee-gook* in Korean, which means "beautiful country") is an educational paradise with freedom and equality where anybody can be what he/she wants to be through education. This age-old passionate desire for education stems from the Confucian tradition that honored the educated class and saw education as a critical role in social mobility. High expectations for their children's education are one of the common factors to constitute most Korean communities in the United States as well as the preservation of ethnic culture through ethnic churches and various ethnic organizations (Min, 1988). However, Koreans' strong attachment to their ethnic culture can significantly limit exposure and access to mainstream American life (Lien, 1997). In 1990, the percentage of Koreans who did not speak English well was 24 %. The rate of low English fluency was comparatively higher than Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Asian Indian because the rate of foreign born Korean Americans (72.7%) was much higher than people from the above noted countries (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990). Other Asian families bridge two cultures, and often struggle with two languages while they undergo acculturation to the United States.

Statement of the Problem

A person who migrates has to tackle the conflicting cultural norms of his/her country of origin and those of a new country. Emigrants must build their new cultural identity through facility with the new language, economic and political situation, flexibility in making new connections with work, friends, and organizations such as church, schools, government bureaucracies, and the healthcare system, while maintaining connections to their country of origin (McGoldrick, 1989). Korean immigrants, however, exhibit strong ethnic attachment to their original cultural group and show a low level of acculturation despite their growing numbers and length of residence in the United States. This tendency is explained by their respect to filial piety, conservative gender ideology, affiliation with Korean immigrant churches, and perpetuation of Korean cultural heritage (Min, 1995; Hurh & Kim, 1984; Hurh, 1998).

Koreans' high ethnic solidarity impedes their exposure to the American multicultural environment and limits their opportunities to participate in mainstream society. Moreover, it limits Korean immigrant parents' awareness and appreciation of the wide differences between American and Korean cultures and creates discomfort in the traditional Korean parent-child relationship. The Korean family, influenced by Confucianism, is hierarchical and patriarchal. Methods of child-rearing flow from a collectivism that admires relations and interdependence in social structure. The Korean language itself, built on a code of hierarchy in mutual relationships, encourages hierarchical thinking (Weiming, Hejtmanek & Wachman, 1992). Korean immigrant parents who were born and raised in the context of collective Korean culture with its

hierarchical human relationships have difficulty in accepting the new American culture that emphasizes individualism.

In reviewing the relationships between Korean immigrant parents and their children, Lee and Cynn (1991) note three major issues by the 1.5 generation Korean Americans: (a) as pressures from their parents to succeed, (b) communication barriers with their parents, and, (c) ethnic identity development conflicts. Korean American youth who live between the extreme of both Korean and American cultures are concerned with how strange and differently they appear in the eyes of other Americans when they follow their parents' intellectual, social and vocational demands. The beliefs, values, morals and behaviors that are learned in their ethnic community may not be ones that are accepted by mainstream society (Garbarino, 1985). Korean immigrant parents feeling they are losing their children to the "selfish" American culture never appreciate their children's wishes while their children, feeling stressed by the Korean hierarchical relationships, wish to have their feelings and opinions heard and respected (B. Kim, 1995).

The process of Korean American children's search for identity becomes diffused as they confront both their parents' messages and the deviant cultural pressure arising from American mainstream values. They are expected by their parents to retain allegiance to their native cultural feelings and behavior while simultaneously participating in their adopted culture at school and from other sources (Baumeister, 1986). They experience fear, failure, and frustration which infuses them with excessive negative information about themselves (Yu & Kim, 1983). These conflicts are more

intensified due to the language barrier between the generations.

It is dangerous to generalize that every Korean American youth feels diffused and has low self-esteem due to value conflicts between the American mainstream and their ethnic group. Social and psychological individuality promotes different reactions in their distinct environment. However, ethnic minority children, especially children of first generation immigrants, undergo a more complicated process of identity formation than majority children because they receive mixed messages from their environment (Elderberg, 1998). Korean parents from the distinct we's-collective culture may cause their children's identity confusion in the United States as they encounter the me's-individualistic culture (Thoits & Virshup, 1997). Smith's reprinted paper (1971) titled "The Second Generation Oriental in America" (1927) still gives a good picture of Korean American youth's struggle for identity.

What challenges, obstacles, and impediments do Korean immigrant parents confront when encountering their struggling children? How can they accomplish their child-rearing task successfully in a new cultural context? It is not only an immediate issue for first and second generation Korean Americans but also an ethnic task for Korean heritage in the United States.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the child-rearing practices of Koreans in the United States. The objectives were (a) to map Korean child-rearing in the United States through the mission, methods and goals, (b) to find their challenges, obstacles and impediment in the cultural transition, and (c) to yield a new paradigm of child-rearing

towards their ethnic succession.

This process included an ethnographic methodology, storytelling about Korean immigrant parents' life histories. Based on the following research questions, a profile of Korean immigrants' child-rearing practices was mapped through the mission, methods and developmental goals in the cultural transition. This ethnic map showed where Korean Americans came from, where they are going and where they will go, by exploring their life journey.

Research Categories and Research Questions

The research categories were created to explore child-rearing practices of Koreans in the United States. Based on Freire's (1994) theory of dialogic processes, to name the world, reflect on it, and transform the world as a foundation, the following research categories and questions were developed for this ethnographic research. These questions examined what cultural factors contribute to being a Korean and how these factors operate in the United States through child-rearing. Furthermore, they were utilized to raise the consciousness of Korean immigrants towards a new paradigm.

According to McGoldrick (1989), there will be cultural cutoff and discontinuity with the culture of origin which enriches a sense of identity and broadens the potential for dealing with the present. This occurs when families bury the past under pressure to accommodate to a new situation. Ricoeur (1988) asserts that a problem solution based on the present alone has to collapse because it fails to refine the notion of the present without existential extension to the past and the future. This historical review of Korean immigrants' lives, therefore, might yield a new paradigm, connecting the past and future

in the context of the present.

The research categories and questions are:

1. Korean ethnic identity transmitted through child-rearing practices - from the past:
 - 1.1: Do Korean and Korean Americans differ in their child-rearing practices through the mission, methods, and child developmental goals?
2. Korean child-rearing within cultural transition - through the present:
 - 2.1: Do Korean Americans encounter any cultural clash through child-rearing processes in the United States?
3. Challenges to Koreans in the United States towards ethnic survival - towards their future:
 - 3.1: What new child-rearing strategies can be manifested by Koreans in order to raise 'the ideal person' in the United States?

Theoretical Framework

Through what strategies do people perpetuate themselves in child-rearing practices? The way to transmit culture to the younger generation is value education on how to think, act and feel. In Harkness and Super's (1980) model of the developmental niche, parental belief systems play a vital role in structuring the customs and practices of childcare and childrearing and the settings in which children live.

Children's home environments provide different experiences in which to learn the nature of the world through interactions between the parents and the child. This learning process is integrated with social-psychological perspectives and linked to other social

systems outside the family (Grotevant & Carlson, 1989). People experience their environment as mediated by the local beliefs and customs that reflect their cultural traditions and guide the design of the man-made environments in which offspring are raised (LeVine, 1989). In conclusion, environmental variations affect an individual's development. Cultural factors control an individual's interpretation of environment and strongly influence our subjective reality (Samovar & Porter, 1995).

Each society selects particular child training practices which produce a functional personality for adult life in society (Berry et al., 1992). The development of the ideal self appears through culturally various methods of child-rearing and it evolves a different view of the child-development across cultures (Kagitcibasi, 1987). Whereas the universal consciousness of child-rearing is to raise children into moral beings, there are cross-cultural differences regarding how to train and socialize in the moral area (Edwards, 1982). LeVine (1982) states, "Cultures vary in the attributes of the ideal self over the life course, in the actions with which pride and shame are associated, and in expectancies for autonomy or interdependence in the domains of social action." (p.295)

Children begin to form their identity from childhood in the context of family experiences and parenting style. Children first see themselves within the context of their families. Cole and Scribner (1974) state that "[the child's] every experience has been shaped by the culture of which he (she) is a member and is infused with socially defined meanings and emotions." (p.8) Ethnicity influences the role of children in their family, school, community and outlines their experiences of life. According to Geertz (1963), ethnicity is a primordial condition of the assumed 'givens' of social existence that stems

from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or following particular social practices. It is a subjective belief that a group holds regarding its common membership on the basis of shared descent or historical background and similarities of customs, language, and sometimes of physical type (Heath & McLaughlin, 1993). Ethnicity describes a sense of commonality transmitted over generations by the family and reinforced by the surrounding community. Garbarino and Kostelny (1992) note that "ethnicity enables children to form a map of how they perceive themselves and their world, and bestows meaning on their experiences" (p. 187).

According to Phinney and Rosental (1992), ethnic identity is a critical developmental issue for ethnic minority adolescents to establish, requiring the resolving of conflicts between their particular life experiences and ethnic resources and those of mainstream. The conceptualization and acceptance of one's own identity which is rooted in his/her ethnicity, often clash with values in this country and impact access to opportunities in life, feelings of well-being, and mastery over the future of one's children (Mindel, Habenstein & Wright, Jr. 1988; Heath & McLaughlin, 1993). The task of the ethnic minority youth's is to integrate the contrasting elements of their own ethnicity, such as supportive roots and limiting stereotypes, and to achieve a unified sense of self as an ethnic group member. Accordingly, the positive sense of ethnic identity including the feeling of ethnic pride and strong membership can contribute to high self-esteem.

Markstrom-Adams (1992) defines the characteristics of a healthy identity as; first, an understanding of the sameness and continuity of the self over space and time; second, having direction and purpose for one's life as shown through identifiable values and

goals; third, a self that is integrated and characterized by a sense of wholeness; and fourth, a self that is defined and valued by significant others. Erikson (1968) asserts that if an adolescent fails to achieve the integration and continuity of self-images, he/she feels impaired owing to identity confusion or identity diffusion. He also emphasizes that one's sense of identity is perceived as consistent, integrated and continuous with social reality, and societal or individual rejection can seriously impair a child's or adolescent's chances of establishing a strong, secure sense of personal identity. If ethnic minority youth adopt an identity consistent with the values of the dominant culture, they may be ostracized and are isolated from their own ethnic group. On the contrary, if they reject the dominant culture's values and accept the values of their own culture, they have limited options for interaction in the larger society. Besides these two extreme cases, individuals who are unable to sort through the two sets of values and select those to incorporate into their identity may exhibit identity confusion between mainstream and their own ethnic group (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990).

This study explored Korean child-rearing practices in the United States through mission, methods and developmental goals. It illustrated how Korean ethnicity acted upon their child-rearing practices through mission, methods and developmental goals and how divergently the ethnic value of child-rearing was interpreted within a different cultural context. Through this study, it was found that ethnic cultural factors might be interpreted differently or negatively within a different social, psychological and cultural context.

Significance of the Study

Shrake (1998) exclaims that it will not be surprising to see increasing problems among Korean American youth in the future if there is no deliberate attention and effort to examine Korean parenting practices. This study may provide evidence that Korean parenting offers a possible cause for their children's identity conflict within a new cultural context. Accordingly, this study may encourage Korean immigrant parents to realize the cultural differences between Korea and the United States and thereby to change their parenting skills based on a new paradigm. Using this study as a guide on their journey in the new country, Korean Americans may hopefully find the direction towards their adaptation to a new culture. It may shed light on Koreans' cultural influences on their children's education and assist them in adjusting to the new culture. This process may contribute to the survival of Korean ethnic groups in the United States.

Furthermore, this study may become a resource for educators and policy makers responsible for the teaching and learning of culture in order to increase intercultural awareness. The research based on European American families, ignoring systemic and contextual differences, labels ethnic minority families and children as deficient and maladjusted (Taylor & Wang, 1997). Moreover, Koreans are often regarded as a homogeneous group with the Chinese or Japanese as a result of their Mongolian racial origin and Confucian social structure because the bulk of Korean immigration to the United States has occurred only in the past two decades (Takaki, 1989; Min, 1995). This assumption has brought about misunderstanding and confusion because Korean Americans differ distinctly in religious background, native language, socioeconomic

status and generational diversity.

Since the 1970 Census which first classified Koreans as a distinct group, the Korean population has grown from 70,000 to 797,304 and Korean is ranked as the eighth among the fifty most common languages that are spoken at home in 1990 (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990). With the rapidly growing number of Koreans in the United States, this study may become a reference for Korean American families, educators, counselors, and policy makers. It may provide a reference, not based on a stereotypic, pathological, and deficit typecasting of ethnic minority but on a contextual frame for positive child-rearing practices.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A man who is dutiful to his parents can be loyal to his country and a man who respects his elder brother can be attentive to other elders. Therefore, a man who manages his household can be well in government service.

from *Myung-sim Bo-gahm*, a handbook that purifies one's mind

Introduction

This chapter reviews literature that yields the context of this study. The literature review covers research on Korean immigrants' child-rearing practices in the United States within three sub-categories. First, Korean ethnic identity transmitted through their ethnic value system, human relationship, communication style and child-rearing practices to show the ethnic root of Korean immigrants. Second, the historical background of Korean immigration in the United States in accordance with the three traditional stages; the pioneer period, the intermediate period, and the new immigration period. Third, the profile of Korean immigrants in the cultural transition stage through family structure, ethnic network and collectivistic parenting in U.S. individualism.

Tracing Koreans' ethnicity from their mother country to the United States can help Korean Americans to make decisions regarding cultural, linguistic, and national identification and, furthermore, to develop a new paradigm of child-rearing towards their ethnic succession.

Korean Ethnic Identity

East Asian cultures that have been most influenced by Confucian philosophical

principles include China, Japan and Korea. Confucian tradition is strongly ingrained in the national character. Yum (1997) states that Confucianism has had such a profound impact in East Asia for over 1,000 years since it was adapted as the basic social and political value system.

Korean culture is characterized by three characteristics; There are family-oriented collectivism, We-ness and authoritarianism (J.Choi, 1998). It is based on Confucianism as a philosophy of life that emphasizes virtues and cultural values, in particular filial piety, family oriented relationships, respect for elders and desire for higher education since Confucianism was transmitted during the first three centuries. The basic Confucian idea is that the institutions and practices of the ideal human community are an expression of immutable principles or laws that govern the movements of the cosmos. Its view of social relations accepts only the harmonious integration of individuals into a collective whole regardless of the happiness or satisfaction of the individuals involved (Seekins, 1992). Neo-Confucianism is of critical importance to the history of Korea since the writings of the great twelfth-century scholar and philosopher Chu His were introduced (de Bary & Chaffee, 1989). The trend of neo-Confucianism in fostering a spirit of self-discipline, family solidarity, public morality, and scholar learning has been practiced to the present time in Korea and has enabled the rapid growth of Korea during the last thirty years.

The five relationships of Confucianism (*o ryun* in Korean), as both political ideology and a philosophy of life still prevail in Korea. They cover the following areas of life; between father and son there should be affection; between ruler and minister there

should be righteousness; between husband and wife there should be attention to their separate roles; between old and young there should be proper order; and between friends there should be faithfulness (Covell, 1982; Seekins, 1992; B. Kim, 1983; B. Y. Choi, 1997).

Although the Korean social structure has significantly changed in the last few decades due to rapid industrialization, the Korean family system still transmits these values. They still bring up their children in the context of external binding forces such as status distinction, hierarchical relationship, filial piety, maternal and paternal sacrifice and devotion and internal binding forces such as strong emotional ties and intimacy between parents and children (U. Kim & S. Choi, 1994). Confucian cultural context emphasizing hierarchical relationship, family system, Jen (benevolence) and education contributes to Korea's economic development although it displays certain weak spots, for example, the in-group/out-group distinction and a falling-off in creativity (Chan & Chung, 1997).

Value System

The concept of self in Korean culture is explained in the context of collectivism grounded in Confucianism. The meaning of self is directly related to the different patterns of interpersonal relationships. Where individuals are involved is through the practice of the premise to 'composing oneself'. Koreans' interpersonal relationship patterns are characterized as particularistic relationship, long-term asymmetrical reciprocity, in-group/out-group distinction, informal intermediaries, and overlap of personal and public relationships (J. Choi, 1998).

'Myung-sim Bo-gahm' (K. B. Lee, 1985), published in the *Koryo* dynasty over six hundred years ago, has been one of the most popular texts about Korean ethics, social norms, human relationship and child-rearing. The ideal self in *'Myung-sim Bo-gahm'* is defined as "a man of honor", who strives to cultivate one's morals, rule his family, govern the nation and then devote himself to world peace. This concept of self means the overlapping roles in hierarchical human relationships; from a member of a family, a citizen of a country to a human being in the universe. To attain this goal of life, individuals have to overcome difficulties and cope with situations through self-discipline. Wei-ming (1985) explains that the Confucian sense of self requires a lifelong commitment to acquiring a taste for life as an active participant in a living community. This taste can be achieved through "ritualization" which implies a dynamic process of self-cultivation in the spirit of filiality, brotherhood, friendship, discipleship and loyalty. Therefore, all individuals in the context of Korean culture are desired to be people that the cultural norms can accept. These cultural norms include not only behavioral principles but also dress codes, posture and other habits.

Within the Confucian concept of the ideal self, a Korean's life philosophy is the synthesis and development of foreign and indigenous values. Koreans are tolerant of all faiths and beliefs as long as they do not disrupt the existing socio-political order. Foreign religions and thoughts have been accepted and incorporated into their own culture and their cultural roots have spread out from neo-Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shamanism to Christianity (Hyun, 1979). This tendency is deeply understood by the current religious broadcasting systems. In Korea, there are three religious radio broadcasting systems and

TV networks operated by Protestants, Catholics, and Buddhists (Yoon et al. 1995).

Seekins (1992) plainly describes the multireligious aspect in Korea as follows:

---- there is no exact or exclusive criterion by which Buddhists or Confucianists can be identified. Many people outside of formal groups have been deeply influenced by these traditions. Moreover, there is nothing contradictory in one person's visiting and praying at Buddhist temples, participating in Confucian ancestor rites, and even consulting a shaman and sponsoring a *kut* (p.128)

According to Savada and Shaw (1992), Koreans' religious commitment was so strong that nearly half the population of Korea were affiliated with an organized religious community in the 1980s.

Buddhism is Korea's largest single religion with some 12 to 15 million lay adherents. Since introduced to Korea in the 4th century, it underwent a rise and fall with the propounded neo-Confucianism and became a monastic religion centered away from the people. However, Buddhism began its renaissance with an opportunity to be reborn as a native religion through the national reconstruction movement against Japan's Korean culture elimination policy (Korean Overseas Information Service, 1994). Buddhism in Korea absorbed many shamanistic rituals and developed a new sect which appealed to the people. It has played a distinctly active role in Korean art as reflected in the expression of harmonized and symmetrical beauty (Korean Ministry of Education, 1998).

Shamanism in Korea is traced to the Korean foundation myth, *Tahn-goon*, the first great father of Korea, who is seen as a shaman. Through this national founding myth, Korean's value system and world view are portrayed as follows; first, humanism (*Hong-ik In-gahn* in Korean) infused with altruism, equal rights and philanthropy; second, the idea of creating an utopia; and third, exaltation of national consciousness and

unification into a single entity (Korean Ministry of Education, 1992). Modern Koreans recognize that Shamanism is an unique ethnic religious and artistic expression in spite of ambivalent feelings caused by science (Korean Overseas Information Service, 1994). Shamanism is still practiced in Korea when one asks for a solution of family conflicts, to get a secret prescription for college entrance exams and good jobs, to confirm the right choice of prospective daughter-in-law or son-in-law, to obtain counsel for private problems, and even to cure mental or physical illness (Young, 1983). Osgood (1951) mentions that "it seems safe to say that in no other country [except Korea] has Shamanism reached such high development." (p.245)

Although Koreans' cultural roots are spread out from Neo-Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shamanism for almost two thousand years, the introduction to Christianity from Western is a meaningful factor in the formative stage of modern Korea. Since their arrival in Korea, Catholicism and Protestantism have devoted their mission to the development of science, technology and education. These new religions have been a strong stimulus for the establishment of modernized social systems such as political institutions and the welfare system. Also, they advocated equality of men and women, the simplification of ancestor worship and the breakdown of the rigid social structure (Nahm, 1983). Only in Korea, unlike Chinese and Japanese attempts to revoke nationalism, has Christianity worked successfully to foster continuity with tradition (Palmer, 1968).

Besides multi-religious aspects diffused in Korean life philosophy, the Japanese occupation (1910-1945), the existence of U.S. military bases (1945-present) and rapid

industrialization have affected Koreans' value system (Korean Ministry of Education, 1998). During the Japanese colonial period, the national identity was enforced through the popular culture reconstruction movements to induce cultural resistance against Japanese cultural liquidation. After liberation from Japanese imperialism, Korean government accepted capitalism as an ideology along with Western democracy. Although capitalism and democracy gave influences on development of Korean popular culture, their negative impacts through social, economic, political and educational aspects composed the dark side of contemporary Korea. Since Korea was reestablished as the republic in 1948, the people's consciousness has been more developed by the student demonstrations for guaranteed freedom against dictatorial and military government.

Human Relationships

Koreans regard their bloodline and clan connections as extremely important. The Korean Nationality Act claims *jus sanguinis* (blood lineage) to acquire citizenship. Traditionally respect for the blood lineage concept was tied to status consciousness and has been reinforced through ancestor worship. The written genealogies (*chok-po* in Korean) or ancestral group charts have been carefully developed in Korea. Korean names often contain a special cyclical character to represent subclan membership and generational placement. Each clan has a clan association to conduct ancestral rites for the clan's progenitor, to maintain important ancestral tombs and shrines, and to keep clan records (Yoon et al. 1995).

Korean's social network is broad enough to include kin groups and neighbors and

members of these groups provide emotional, social and functional support. Children are taught to perceive a hierarchical structure in all social groups including informal subgroups.

An old Korean saying expresses the word 'neighbor' as a cousin (*yee-oot sa-chon* in Korean) to reflect the meaning of closeness and familiarity (Y. Kim, 1991). This tradition stemmed from an agricultural background which developed various cooperative labor associations. The value placed on filial piety is also applied to any interpersonal relationship as a decisive factor in shaping social behavior (B.Y. Choi, 1997). Young people respect older people and, in turn, older people voluntarily discipline younger people as indigenous child-rearing agents to exhibit model behavior. It also affects the language. Koreans are conscious of a commonality in their daily conversation with the words "we", "our" and "us" used in situations where other people use "I", "my", and "me". The expression "our wife", "our school", and "our father" are used instead of the first person possessive case of "my" (Yoon et al. 1995). In informal and personal situations everyone is called by family related titles based on the age hierarchy. Koreans address older people they encounter on the street as "*Hyung / O-bbah, Noo-Nah / Un-Nee* (Brother or Sister)", "*Ah-juh-ssee or Ah-joo-muh-nee* (Uncle or Aunt)", or "*Hahl-muh-nee or Hahl-ah-buh-jee* (Grandmother or Grandfather)" (Korean Ministry of Education , 1992).

The family is the foundation of Korean society. The expression "Living on meals cooked in the same pot" or "living under one roof" usually refers to the concept of Korean family. The head of the family is traditionally regarded as the source of authority

who issues strict instructions which others have to obey without question. Obedience to the superior is considered as a natural and admirable virtue in the patriarchal family system (Korea Overseas Information Service, 1993). This system does not stress the independence and autonomy of the individual but rather the individual is superseded by the family (Shon & Ja, 1982). It values the head of the family who produces children, especially sons, to continue the family line and perform the rituals of ancestor worship (Kim, Choi & Park, 1994).

The vertical generational relationships seem traditionally to be more important than the lateral ones between husband and wife (Pares, 1985). Since it was regarded as the duty of each successive generation to ensure that the family, and specifically the male line, was continued, it is not surprising that the lineal aspect of the family should have been emphasized. Based on the traditional duty of family continuity through father and son dyad, children have been socialized to endure gender inequality, which places a son higher than a daughter. Koreans believe that only men have the responsibility of representing, supporting and protecting the family before they can govern the nation. These traditional characteristics create sexual inequality. Song (1998) insists that within patriarchal society the dynamics of control and acquisition affect not only the economic system but also relationships between the sexes. She explains that women in Korea are defined as wives, mothers, caregivers, or simply as "girls", always with regard to their sexual role rather than to their individuality as persons.

The traditional extended-family structure is weakening following Western industrialization, and the average number of household members has dropped from 5.01

in 1975 to 3.7 in 1990. Koreans, however, still keep the tradition of the eldest son's responsibility for supporting his parents, the extended concept of family, and the family elder's duty of nurturing the family (Yonhap News Agency, 1993).

Communication Style

The distinguished difference between Western and East Asian perspectives on communication is that it would be the East Asian emphasis on social relationships as opposed to the Western, specially North American emphasis on individualism (Samovar & Porter, 1995). According to Hall (1995), communication style of Asian is high-context in which most of the information is already in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicitly transmitted part of the message. Also, they restrain their expression of emotion so as not to bring about conflict and misunderstanding because they respect a harmonious life among society members.

The Korean's relationship oriented social structure is reflected in their language itself. An individual has to determine the status of one's relationship with another person before beginning a conversation because the Korean language reflects a code of hierarchy. Age and position determine choice of greetings and names according to the Confucian notion of right relationship (J. Choi, 1997). Once the relationships between people are defined, they enjoy the one-way communication from authority figures. Particularly, in Confucian morality, there is a fundamental distinction between right and wrong within the cosmic principle: children must be taught correct knowledge as eternal truth without questioning. Any form of communication, expression, and behavior undermining harmony in relationships is viewed as undesirable (Lee & Cynn, 1991).

Face saving is crucial in Korea because language behavior is affected by a consideration of others. In this instance the communication style restricts verbal and emotional expression. Korean verbal communication is conducted by speaking softly, avoiding eye contact when listening or speaking to someone of higher status, using a low-keyed voice with indirect expressions (Sue & Sue, 1990). Koreans respond with vague expressions or silence and say "yes" when they mean "no". They do not approach subjects directly when negotiations are needed to maintain harmony. The phrase "it would be very helpful for us to have" or "I understand your position, and I'll do my best" would be preferred to "We must have" or "I cannot do it".

Child-rearing Practices

Goal of child-rearing. Traditionally, the goal of child-rearing in Korea is to produce a whole person through nurturing. This was well expressed in the traditional curriculum for Confucian education which embraced six arts (*yook-yeh* in Korean): the development of good manners, artistic and physical skills, human relationship, literature and scientific knowledge, and five personality traits (*oh-sahng* in Korean): honesty, justice, courtesy, intelligence, and confidence (K. B. Lee, 1985).

The scholar (*Sun-bee* in Korean) was regarded as the ideal man. A scholarly life cycle, written in one of Confucian classics, *So-Hack*, consisted of internalization and enrichment of meaningful life. It was divided into four developmental periods: discipline, pursuing knowledge, entering government service, and retirement. During the discipline period from birth to 9-10 years old, they were disciplined by their parents about right behaviors such as eating with a right hand, answering instantly to the older,

counting numbers, and figuring direction. At age seven, they learned gender differences. During the period of pursuing knowledge from ten to thirty nine years old, they enriched and completed their scholarships. During the period of entering government service from forty to sixty nine years old, they technically practiced their learning at government organizations. After they were regarded as men of virtue, they retired into their home as the symbolical place of the origin of life to prepare for death (B. Y. Choi, 1997).

To be "honorable men" defined by Confucianism, children need stern self-discipline, observing the relational harmony and favoring group than individual self. "Treat the child you love with a rod; treat the child you hate with another cake" (Y. Kim, 1991) is a folk lesson about discipline. Parents often use corporal punishment as a tool of caring and concern if they need children's behavioral correction. Respecting harmony in relationships, Korea has generated face-saving behavior that attends to consideration of others (Park & Cho, 1995). Children, called "anti-ethic kids", who bring shame to their family are disciplined more severely. They are often expelled physically and emotionally from their clans and their social behaviors are restricted.

Traditionally the Korean education starts even before children are born. Expectant mothers observe the traditional prenatal care guidelines (*tae-gyo* in Korean) to regulate their life style during pregnancy to form their child's personality inside the womb (U. Kim & S. Choi, 1994). After birth, Korean children were always part of the everyday environment as adults conducted their daily affairs. Children were acquainted with what adult life was through helping and participating in adult activities (Broude, 1995). However, along with the advent of industrial development, Korean children are

segregated from adults and forced to do specific performance-oriented developmental tasks.

Parent-child relationship. Korean parents regard their children as extensions of themselves and children's accomplishments become their own (U. Kim & Choi, 1994). Parents are supposed to prepare the world for children and children are taught to be cooperative and obedient, just following the direction that parents offer. Parent's opinions are always decisive in determining from trivial daily activities to marriage partners or occupations and planning life path. Although arranged marriages have decreased considerably, children still have to get approval from their parents in blessing their marriage partner.

The parental concern evaluates emotional, physical and financial factors related with their children. Korean parents feel obligated to pay for their children's college education or wedding expenses, to pay off children's debts, to live together with unmarried adult children, to financially support for married children when buying a house, and provide child care for their grandchildren. Children comply with a minimum of protest through the interconnectedness of individuals and deference to authority because it is beneficial to be integrated into society through life (Grusec, Rudy & Martini, 1997). In keeping with the Korean proverb, "A sixty old year man is still a baby in front of his mother", Korean children cannot be individualized apart from their parents regardless of their age or marriage (J. Choi, 1997).

Traditionally, the roles of a mother and a father have been defined as the strict father and the generous mother (*um-boo jah-mo* in Korean). Generally a father avoids

any expression of affection to his children while child care and education are largely the responsibilities of a mother. It is believed that a father never expresses the emotions of happiness, anger, love and pleasure (*hee-no ae-rak* in Korean) in order to be considered an honorable man and a mother takes charge of child-rearing and home management in order to fulfill her women's duties. Korean mothers are expected to provide full-time care for their children from their infancy by continuous bonding and nurturing (W. Kim, L. Kim & D. Rue, 1997). K. Lee (1992) finds that 90 % of Korean infants sleep with their mothers. The intrinsic bond between a mother and a child is highly valued because a child's psychological and physical well-being is considered as the prime responsibility of the mother (U. Kim & S. Choi, 1994).

Koreans still place great emphasis on filial piety to parents and ancestors. Korean filial piety implies subordinating oneself to ones' parents as the origin of life and heeding their teachings and words with utmost attention. They recognize it as a moral duty to repay the benefits given to them by their parents both during their lives and after they have passed away (Sue & Sue, 1990). There is a Korean proverb that emphasizes filial piety: "treat your own parents with full filial respect, and you can expect half that from your children" (Y. Kim, 1991).

Korean child-rearing is handed down through intergenerational contacts. One of the fondest childhood memories that many Koreans share is that of being told folk tales by their grandparents. These stories of ghosts and goblins, mountain spirits, and family ties contain lessons of good over evil of right over wrong. They teach children morality and proper values down through generations (Yoon et al. 1995). Through story telling by

grandparents, a deeper learning and teaching situation has developed. Korean children connect their past, present, and future and relate themselves with others. They learn appreciation, understanding and guidance from the inner spirit and wealth of ancestral and cultural traditions (Cajete, 1994).

School education. To many contemporary Koreans, education means only what is taught at schools and a whole person refers to someone who achieves fame and wealth. Koreans' excessive passion for education, called a blind myth, has a long tradition. The tradition of government exams to select people for important posts in the government had been practiced for over six hundred years. It perpetuated the notion of respect for scholars. Selection brought prestige and fame to one's clan. At the end of the 19th century, along with the collapse of the traditional social structure, education became a unique opportunity to enter into a new prestigious group. During the Japanese colonial period, the collective and public educational enthusiasm was more intensified and used to save the nation against Japanese invasion by the empowerment of the people. On the other hand, the uniformity that Japanese imperialism enforced to control and oppress Koreans still remains. Owing to rapid social, political and economic changes since 1960s, diplomas are regarded as the most reliable criterion for evaluating a person in any social situations including employment, marriage, and informal interpersonal relationships and rapid industrialization has strengthened the educational function of social mobility and reputation (Kim, Lee & Park, 1993; S.I. Kim, 1991).

Originally the primary curriculum of contemporary Korean education consists of nine principle subjects in support of Confucian tradition: moral education, Korean

language, social studies, mathematics, science, physical education, music, fine arts and practical arts. Park (1992) states that the major educational objectives of primary schools are to improve basic abilities, skills and attitudes; to develop language ability and civic morality needed to live in society; to increase a spirit of cooperation; to foster basic arithmetic skills and scientific observation skills; and to promote understanding of a healthy life and harmonious development of body and mind. These educational objectives are similar through middle and high school with differences only in school subjects and achievement levels according to student's developmental stages. Schools are expected to instill moral values throughout the educational process and teachers are respected as role models in a moral dimension.

However, these modern educational goals have been distorted and serve a test oriented school environment. Because higher education functions primarily as a filter that screens students for entry into an upper social hierarchy, college entrance examination has impacted on unbalanced school curriculum, exceeding private tutoring expenses, the great number of repeaters who study another year after failing college entrance examination, teen suicide, and bribes (Yonhap News Agency, 1993).

In a typical high school schedule, students go to school in early morning for individual study before school begins at 8:00 am. Classes run for 50 minutes each, with a morning break and 50-minute lunch period. The afternoon session resumes at 1:00 pm, and classes continue until 4:00 or 4:30 pm, followed by the cleaning of classrooms. After school dismissal, most students spend their time in private tutoring or test preparation until late at night. This school schedule is similar in all school levels. Legal school

attendance requirements is 220 days per year for all school levels (Diem, Levy, & Vansickle, 1997).

Korean parents work to provide a good education for their offspring. For better educational opportunities, no sacrifice is too much (Winchester, 1988). To Korean parents, however, a good education means that their children can go to a distinguished college. Although high school tends to be a rigorous preparation for college admission, every school level from primary school focuses on academic achievement for future college entrance (B. Park, 1992). Often, the developmental concerns and conflicts of children are ignored and suppressed for the sake of college entrance which is further enforced by Confucian ethics to emphasize obedience to parents (Yoon et al., 1995).

---- Korean students don't have time to play. They spend the whole day under their parents' continuous need and pressure for study. "Study!", "Did you finish your homework?", "Do your extra work!", and "Go to tutoring". ---- most parents are seriously concerned that their children may refuse to study hard ---- Korean child think their friends are not their playing peer group but their competitors because parents are very sensitive to their children's test score (B. Park, 1992. pp. 87-88).

This educational enthusiasm causes an overexpansion of private education. In 1996, public education expenses were 5.8 % and private education expenses were 6.0 % of total Korean GDP. Also, 51 % of total education expenses was devoted to private education (Korean Central Daily, January 28, 1998).

Historical Background of Korean Immigration in the United States

The history of Koreans in the United States provides a framework for understanding the reality of their lives in a new culture. Kitano and Daniels (1995) divide Korean immigration history in the United States into three traditional stages; the

first wave from 1882 to 1950, the second wave from 1950 to 1964, and the third wave from 1965 to the present. Their chronological distinction closely follows Korea's domestic and international events, such as the Japanese colonial occupation, the Korean war and the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 in the United States. For the last one hundred years, the sequence of immigrating to the United States has ranged from being immoral, to abandoning their ancestors, to finding a paradise in the world to Koreans. However, all of Korean immigrants shared the common factor of looking for life opportunities and a better life for their children.

The Pioneer Period : Struggling Against Colonialism (1882-1950)

Early Korean immigration to Hawaii in the 1890s and 1900s was related to the recruitment of Asian laborers who were sought as low paid foreign workers. Korean laborers were imported to offset the influx of Japanese plantation workers (Brady, 1995).

Diplomatic relations between the United States and Korea started in 1882 with a Korean-American Treaty but very few Koreans came to the United States during this period (Kitano, 1991). Along with the treaty, the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) spurred Korean emigration to the United States, forcing many to move to port cities in search of employment with a possible opportunity of moving to a new land (B. Kim, 1977). Korean immigration was formally acknowledged by the Shufeldt Treaty in 1882, but significant immigration did not take place until 1903. From 1897, Hawaiian planters continued to import Koreans as contract labor regardless of the illegality under the United States Constitution because the Korean government, as a Japanese colony, did not have an efficient system to administer citizens'

emigration laws (Brady, 1995). In 1905, 7,226 Koreans, including 6,048 men, 637 women, and 541 children arrived in Hawaii (Harvey & Chung, 1980).

The first emigration from Korea to the United States, primarily from the lower classes, was triggered by a severe famine, an epidemic of cholera, heavy taxes, and Japanese government occupation (Kitano & Daniels, 1995). There were few peasants because Korean peasants were very conservative, in accordance with Confucian tradition, viewing immigration as an unthinkable and immoral betrayal of their ancestors for the sake of equality and individual liberty which abandoned filial piety, ancestor worship, and obedience to elders (Hurh & Kim, 1984). In the beginning, Korean immigrants were hard to recruit, but the efforts of American missionaries who taught the Korean Christians that they would become better Christians away from home and would have a better opportunity to improve their economic lives and learn Western civilization to overcome any obstacles (Choy, 1979). About 40 % of the first Korean immigrant group were Christians and gradually most of them became church-goers (Kitano, 1991).

The early Korean immigrants were concerned about how to survive by physical labor, to educate their children without losing their Korean heritage, and to help restore their national independence while they were treated not as human beings but as a means of production by the plantation owners (Choy, 1979). Neither integrated nor assimilated, their emotional attachment to Korea was very strong. They started a Korean-language school in 1905 to teach Korean values and culture. The ethnic churches and patriotic societies also participated in the Korean independence movements (Kitano & Daniels, 1995). Between 1905 and 1907, there were more than twenty organizations for the

independence movement and thirty one congregations serving 2,800 Koreans were established. More than fifteen Korean language newspapers were published (Harvey & Chung, 1980).

The first wave of Korean immigrants after 1906 included "picture brides" and political refugees and/or students. The solution to finding marital partners for the large number of unmarried males was found through exchange of "picture brides" photographs (Kitano, 1991). Choy (1979) mentions that " had the picture brides not emigrated to Hawaii, the Korean community today might be quite different from what it is (p. 101)." Second and third generation Korean immigrants in Hawaii made rapid achievement both economically and socially with full family support of first generation.

Many intellectuals who participated in the political reform movement against the Confucian authoritative government came to the United States in search of political freedom from the Japanese occupation. They played an important part in political organizations. However, they failed to unite the community because conditions in Korea were extremely poor and they could not agree on a strategy for their country's independence. Their varied ideologies of military, spiritual, or political movement caused sharp divisions in the Korean American community (Brady, 1995).

The "Korean Emigrant Protection Law" that was established in 1906 by the Japanese government prevented the increase of Koreans abroad and the number of Korean immigrants decreased. By 1910, over 8,000 Koreans had emigrated with 4,533 residing in Hawaii and only 461 on the mainland because a "Gentlemen's Agreement" allowed Koreans and Japanese in Hawaii to remain or return home after they quit their

plantation jobs.

The history of Koreans on the mainland of the United States began with the need for manpower for railway construction as well as job opportunities in agriculture, mining and at various manual labor jobs. One of the first 12 Korean women to move to the mainland describes her suffering as follows:

" ---- Our baby was too young to go to school, so I had to take him along with me to the fields-it was so early when we started that he'd be fast asleep when we left so I couldn't feed him breakfast. Returning home, he'd be asleep again because he was so tired.---- the ground was frozen crisp and it was so cold that the baby's tender ears got frozen and blood oozed from him---- For all this suffering, I was paid fifteen cents an hour----- " (Parrillo, 1990. p.295)

Newcomers from Hawaii not only experienced hardships owing to language and cultural differences but also faced racial discrimination from fear of the "yellow peril". After 1900, hostile American groups, who felt threatened by the hard working Oriental laborers, claimed that Orientals were evil and dirty. This concept gave rise to a public statement that "Puerto Ricans and Koreans were immoral and religious fanatics." (Choy, 1979).

Koreans in America remained a forgotten people and were called 'invisible Americans' until the Korean War (Takaki, 1989). During World War II, Korean Americans in Hawaii were considered enemy aliens while Korean Americans living on the mainland were declared not to be enemy aliens. Technically Koreans were Japanese citizens and most Koreans wore badges stating "I am Korean." to prevent any oppression (Brady, 1995).

Through the first immigration period, the contributions of early immigrant

laborers and their families, and, a devotion for their children established a strong foundation for the Korean community in the United States. Their efforts and ideologies were unified by a patriotism for Korea's independence.

The Intermediate Period : Postwar Korean Emigration (1950-1964)

The immigration policy in the United States loosened slightly in 1952. After World War II, California repealed the alien land laws and in 1954 the Supreme Court ended school segregation (Choy, 1979). Legally, Asian immigrants became naturalized United States citizens. The McCarran-Walter Act permitted increased immigration from what was called the Asian-Pacific Triangle. This allowed Korea to send 100 people to America each year (Takaki, 1993).

In 1953, passage of the Refugee Relief Act allowed Koreans to migrate in substantial numbers (Parrillo, 1990). During this period, a heterogeneous group, including the wives of American servicemen from the 1950 Korean War, war orphans, and students, arrived in the United States. War brides and adopted children represented more than 70 percent of all Korean immigrants during the 1950s and 1960s (Chan, 1991).

These war brides were the first Korean immigrants allowed legally into the United States after 1924 (Cao & Novas, 1996). The number of war brides to immigrate between 1950 and 1975 was 28,205 and the immigration of this group and their families continues today (Kitano, 1991). H. Kim (1975) notes that the Korean wives of American servicemen often suffer from culture shock, lack of education, isolation, communication problems, and alienation. These females fall into the marginal status between their ethnic community and mainstream Americans and they often remain at the beginning

stages of acculturation.

According to Hurh and Kim (1984), over 24 % of Korean War orphans in 1950 were adopted in the United States. A recent study showed that the problems of racial differences became apparent (I. Kim, 1985). Although war orphan adoptions were often evaluated as successful by religious and humanistic concepts (B. Kim, 1977), the negative side of the adoption of Korean children continues even today and includes psychological isolation and social delinquency.

In contrast to research on early immigration and the more recent family immigrations, little research has been conducted on the extraordinary variant groups resulting from the Korean War. Further research needs to be completed.

The New Immigration Period:

After the Immigration and Naturalization Act (1965-present)

From 1924 to 1965, the immigration policy of the United States was based on the National Origins Quota Systems that favored northwestern European immigrants. In 1965, the three countries outside of the western hemisphere that sent the most immigrants were the United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy (Kitano & Daniels, 1995). The passage of the Immigration Act of 1965 led to an influx of new Asian immigrants. The Hart-Celler Act of 1965 allowed more immigrants from the Eastern hemisphere through immediate family members' exemption from the quota system and preferential treatment to Eastern hemisphere professionals, skilled laborers, and refugees (Cao & Novas, 1996). This act triggered a Korean immigration wave. In 1975, Korea was one of the three main countries that sent the most immigrants to the United States, along with

the Philippine and China (Kitano & Daniels, 1995). In 1980 over 90 percent of all Korean Americans were immigrants (Barringer & Cho, 1989).

The Korean immigrants of this period are divided into the two main groups: (a) occupational immigrants with their nuclear family members in the early 1970s and (b) family reunification oriented immigrants in the later 1970s. Their occupational backgrounds are categorized into three areas: first, professional intellectuals such as physicians, lawyers, scientists, teachers, and engineers; second, businessmen; and third, laborers, including farmers (Choy, 1979). The commonality among these diverse immigrants in this period was to seek better opportunities for economic success, children's education and political and social insecurity (Min, 1996). Besides the passage of the Hart-Celler Act, the continued presence of United States troops in Korea after the Korean war and their cultural influence on the people of Korea in the 1970s affected the prevalent American dream. One Korean immigrant described his aspiration to go to America:

" I came into contact with American soldiers when I was young. It seemed to me that they were all able to eat well every day. They ate lots of meat. I remember thinking that if I went to America, I could eat like that too, even if I was a beggar in America." (E. Kim & Yu, 1996, p.37)

Their fascination with America made Koreans fantasize that life in the new land would change their destinies long determined by tradition and history (H. Kim, 1975). The government of Korea encouraged emigration as a part of a population control program to promote economic stability (Chan, 1991). A typical case of a successful immigrant who achieved the American dream is quoted from E. Kim and Yu's (1996)

oral history of Korean American.

"Born in 1967 in the *Kuro-dong* factory district of Seoul, Hyun Yi Kang images that if she had stayed in Korea, she would have been working at 'some multinational factory,' since her parents would not have had enough money to send her, the second girl and third child, to college. Her family immigrated to the United States in 1976, on the day she would have begun fourth grade in Korea. Sponsored by a maternal aunt who was married to an African American serviceman, the family lived at first with an uncle who was a Presbyterian minister in San Diego, moved to various housing projects in Los Angeles, and eventually settled in the nearby suburb of Downey. Kang is completing a Ph.D in the history of consciousness at the University of California, Santa Cruz. (p. 187)

Korea was one of the main countries in Asia that sent the most immigrants to the United States, following Philippines, Vietnam, India, and China in 1991 (Hodgkinson & Obarakpor, 1994). The Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimated that over one million compatriots (*Dong-po* in Korean) resided in the United States in 1998. Currently, the young generation of the post 1965 immigration wave is entering into the adulthood stage and the Korean American community is beginning to bring up its third generation in the United States.

Profile of Korean Immigrants in the Cultural Transition Stage

For last 30 years, while Korean Americans have adapted and acculturated to a new life, they faced crises in their traditional Korean family system. These crises come from drastic value differences between the Korean collectivistic and American individualistic value system (Chang, 1977). Korean immigrants feel frustrated by the conflict to keep a traditional value system while advocating American individual rights, freedom, and democracy outside their family and community.

The relationships between parents and children and between husband and wife bring additional conflicts and contribute to the collapse of traditional Korean family structure. C. Kim (1997) mentions that Korean immigrants are experiencing a variety of adjustment and acculturation difficulties they could never have anticipated. This circumstance affects the structure and function of the family. In Korean immigrant society undergoing a transitional stage, their traditional social structures and norms are breaking down and they have not found a relevant intervention to replace this breakdown (Min & Song, 1998)

Although both the Korean culture and American culture emphasize raising healthy children, the collectivistic culture of Korea clashes with the individualistic culture of America. Korean parenting style in the United States needs to be analyzed. This may lead to a model for resolving family conflicts and increasing the competency of Korean parents.

Family Structure

Traditionally, a Korean family is hierarchically organized with the father as head maintaining the interdependence of family members. In the definition of a family, Koreans include all one's male ancestors and descendants because women's names disappear from the family tree after their marriage (McGoldrick, 1989). Confucianism considers men alone the structurally relevant members of society and relegates women to social dependence. While the family system perceives men as being superior to women, the duty of care within the family falls almost automatically to women, whether it be in times of sickness, injury or senility (Samovar & Porter, 1995).

This structure begins to be challenged by the American orientation of husband and wife relationships in the United States. For economic support, about 60 % of native-born Korean American women and half the Korean women born abroad work in the labor force (Schaefer, 1993). These figures are significant from the Korean cultural perspective with its well-defined Confucian marital roles; a husband takes charge of economic support and a wife does home management. When a wife starts to work out of house and adopt American cultural norms, she openly questions traditional values pertaining to husband-wife relations and the clash between the two cultural patterns causes marital conflict which often leads to violence in the Korean immigrant family. Traditionally, wife abuse has been tolerated in Korea and Korean immigrant husbands legitimize the use of violence in the family (Song, 1996).

The high self-employment rate of Korean Americans, also, has a negative effect on the family because of the long working hours, required by family business (Min, 1995). Moreover, immigration related stress and marital conflicts between parents are the potential factors leading to child abuse (Kim, Kim & Rue, 1997). Most Korean immigrants view child abuse as a family affair and legitimize stern discipline of children through physical punishment. This notion originated from the traditional belief system that there is an order between younger and older based on the five hierarchies of human relationships which considers children as subjects of parents (The Korea Times San Francisco, December 18, 1998).

Ethnic Network

The most important goal of Korean child-rearing in the United States is to

develop their children's ethnic identification. This is supported in practice by ethnic churches, language schools, various associations and kin groups in the Korean community as the extended methods of child-rearing. According to B. Kim (1995), close to three quarters of Korean Americans have relatives or close friends already living in the United States, who assist with their initial adjustment. Most cities in the United States now have Korean resident associations, ethnic churches, Korean language schools and businesses which offer practical help and on-going support for ethnic identification.

The history of Korean immigration in the United States started from the pioneering spirits of the early Christian immigrants. One study shows that almost 70 percent of the Korean American population identifies itself as Christian than the 30 percent Christian in Korea (Parrillo, 1990). The roles of Korean ethnic churches can be found out more than religious purpose. The church as a social organization provides a communal bond and ethnic identity (I. Kim, 1985). This higher number of Christians in the Korean American community can be explained by Korean immigrants' anxiety caused by underemployment, discrimination and marginality (Shin & Han, 1990).

Korean ethnic schools were started by the early immigrants in Hawaii. There are over 500 of these schools in the United States today with the educational goals of tracing their origin and handing their cultural heritage to the next generation (Korean Overseas Education, 1998). Ethnic identity is strongly tied to language retention and Korean community supports it through Korean language schools and churches. Also, at this level, Korean language works as a tool to tie family, kinship and community through emotional attachment.

Long (1988) finds the most important factor for the growth of Korean schools is the Korean American community support for the vision of the next generation. Silicon Valley Korean School, for example, describes its educational goal as "raising Korean-American's capability to become future leaders who have pride and sovereignty through the teaching of Korean language and culture to the children of resident Koreans and Korean-Americans in the Silicon Valley Area (Silicon Valley Korean School, 1999)."

Traditional Korean society is founded on strong kinship oriented relationship (McBrian, 1979). This blood-relationship combined with a cohesiveness to their hometown (*ko-hyang* in Korean) affects Korean Americans' social interaction ability to secure a position within a society. "*Ko-hyang*" by Korean poetry So-wol Kim expresses lively the spirits in one's native place;

You who say, "I have forgotten my home,"
or who say, "My home has forsaken me,"
In death do not wander to Heaven's edge,
Go back, if you have a soul, to your native place! (Goldberg, 1979).

The value attached to the concept of "*ko-hyang*" has preeminence in the Korean American community. Korean Americans organize many groups to connect themselves, to support each other, and to unify themselves through the organizations with the commonalty of hometown, clan, or alumni. At the early stages of Korean immigration, patriotic organizations, such as *Hung Sa Dan*, *Tongji-hoe*, *Taehan Yoja Aekook-Dan*, were established to fight for national independence. However, with the influx of Korean immigrants after 1965, several community based organizations began to provide social services and support for Korean Americans (Choy, 1979). Younger generation Koreans

have established their cultural and ethnic identity through community participation in these associations (Yu, 1994). Koreans also provide startup funds for their ethnic entrepreneurs through the *Kye* as a type of mutual financial aid association. It is very viable force in the Korean American community to aide Koreans in establishing their own businesses through widespread rotating credit association (Parrillo, 1990).

Collectivistic Parenting within U.S. Individualism

Collectivism vs. individualism. People in the United States have historically been preoccupied with themes connected with freedom, anti-authoritarianism, and commitment to the defense of individual rights and values throughout the colonial, revolutionary and immigrant periods. These themes were grounded on the Western approach to reality, accompanying the development of science. It has defined spiritual and immaterial phenomena as potentially superstitious and composed with a materialistic and rationalistic belief system (Johnson, 1985). The U.S. self-concept begins from this belief system and defines a self as not only a separate biological entity, but also a unique psychological being and a singular member of the social order (Stewart & Bennett, 1991). The belief in individualism leans towards increased regard for personal enhancement and fulfillment. It affects both the presentation and the experience of self. Each person's subjective and individual independence in social relations induces the distinction between self and others.

The self in the United States exists to actualize oneself responding to changes. During the industrial development period, a person who could survive in hardships was needed. Male children were expected to be self reliant. During the population growth

period, a self with an inner-directed personality who could cope with rapid change and violent upheaval was desirable. The emergence of high technology called for a self that sought approval of others as an organization man. Since the 1970s, with the civil protest and "me generation" movements, the self has tended to accord with "the culture of narcissism" (Rich, 1993).

Within U.S. individualistic culture, Korean children see themselves from the view points of their parents and its context of collectivism from the beginning of childhood. Their self perception changes as their experiences move from the limited context of family to more various social settings. Moving from a concept of self deeply rooted in Confucian culture which implies that anything that has been done, is done, or will be done by members of the family, to the broader context which focuses on self-actualization, children struggle to integrate two different values. The following table shows how distinctly different Asian/Korean values are from American values.

Asian/Korean Values versus American Values

<u>Asian/Korean Traditional Values</u>	<u>American Mainstream Values</u>
Family Relations	
Family-oriented	Individual-oriented
Interdependence	Independence and autonomy
Respect for parents and elders	Horizontal, democratic structure
Family loyalty and filial piety	Less degree w/thin nuclear family
Duty, obedience, acceptance	Freedom of choices, independence
Family discipline via shame/punishments	School/other agency discipline

Table (continued)

Life Philosophy	
Family/kinship bonds, collectivism	Individualism
Success through self-discipline and will	Pragmatism, fulfilling one's potential
Sense of stoicism and fatalism	Sense of optimism and opportunism
Reciprocity and obligation	Avoidance of obligation("going Dutch")
Status consciousness and face-saving	Self-actualization; do your own thing
Living in harmony with nature	Control and conquer nature
Communication Style	
Subtle, non-verbal body language	Emphasis on verbal language
Control of feelings	Free expression of feelings
Flowery, indirect expression	Direct, explicit expression
No eye-to-eye contact	Eye contact important
Honorific language	Equality in language
Self-effacing	Self-promoting
No hugging or kissing in public	Hugging and kissing in public

Note. From "Searching for and Defining Identity," (P. 123) by L. Kim and G. S. Kim, 1998, In Y. Song and A. Moon (Eds.), Korean American Women: From Tradition to Modern Feminism. CT: Praeger Publishers.

Parent-child relationship. The concept of family differs in each ethnic group. In Western culture, parent-child relationships have changed over time. Parental control of

children has been significantly diminished in the 19th century as it reflected greater emphasis on individuality and freedom for children (Vinovskis, 1987). In the United States, the average family consists of a husband as the provider and a wife as the homemaker, both married for the first time, rearing their biological children (Acock & Demo, 1994). In mainstream American culture, child-rearing is done by the primary husband-wife dyad within a nuclear family.

During the past few decades, the shape and composition of families have changed profoundly. These changes reflect past historical changes such as those of the colonial period, industrial development period, population growth period, and high technology period (Rich, 1993). In accordance with changes in the structure of the family, the perception and treatment of children and parent-child relationships have also changed. The mainstream family has been shifting over time from an authoritarian patriarchal family structure to an egalitarian friendship structure (Mithun, 1983). Parents in the 1950s and 1960s stressed the importance of obedience in their children whereas parents in the 1970s and 1980s emphasized greater personal autonomy and responsibility (Acock & Demo, 1994). Moreover, increasing maternal employment, divorce and single-mother families have resulted in restructuring family relations.

American parents' main tasks are establishing warm emotional relationships with their children and providing opportunities for the development of self-reliance and individualism. American parents make a world for their children in the family, at home, that provides enough satisfaction and pleasures, transmits enough education and sets enough limits so that they won't be drawn elsewhere in search of selfhood (Kramer,

1984). They respect the autonomous reality of their children and engender the development of separated self because they regard children as separate individuals who act on their own from birth (Brooks, 1990). Parents provide freedom when children demonstrate the requisite types of responsibility and children are raised to set their own goals and decide how to pursue them for self-interest (Elkind, 1994; Stewart & Bennett, 1991; MacDonald, 1997). Parental control over the behavior of children has been greatly diminished in areas such as sexual behavior or choice of a career or spouse (Vinovskis, 1987). In addition, they empower children to make decisions. They structure the decision for the children, proposing alternatives or specific examples and inviting negotiation through active, creative and flexible thinking, following rationalism to explain to their children why some actions are approved of while other are not (Goodnow, 1997).

Most young adults find that parents are a continuing source of companionship and support shown through feelings of affection, exchanges of assistance and effective communication between parents and children (Amato & Booth, 1997). Youniss (1989) explains general characteristics of American parent-adolescent relationship with closeness through conversations about life, respect and mutual understanding. The average American's memory of his/her parents is; "My parents have become more my friends. I visit because I want to, not because they're my parents and I should. They give me a lot of support when I need it ---- like any good friend." (Fishel, 1991. p.100)

In contrast, Korean immigrants' parenting style remains traditionally authoritarian and follows one-way communication in a hierarchical structure. Korean children are

expected to enjoy life-long dependency upon parents because an independent person is criticized as not being harmonious with the community. Following Confucian collectivism, Korean children are often raised to obey authority, not to be assertive and creative and to avoid open disagreements in the United States (B. Kim, 1995). U. Kim and Choi (1994) show that parent-child conflicts are more apparent when parental control is imposed by Korean immigrant fathers and those parents who were less acculturated. They also clarify how differently each culture interprets values of child-rearing. For example, although parental control is perceived as parental acceptance and concern in Korea, it is perceived as parental rejection in North America.

Conflicts between Korean immigrant parents and children. In the United States, with a different, broader social climate from Korea, intergenerational cultural conflicts arise between demanding Korean parents and their children who are reaching independence. Korean parenting strategies clash with the American individualistic culture because of the following four factors: (a) hierarchical parent-child relationships; (b) low level of communication style; (c) strong control with limited supervision; and (d) pressure for academic success (Rohner & Pettengill, 1985; Kim, Kim & Rue, 1997; Yu & Kim, 1983; Sharake, 1998). Many Korean American children perceive their parents as highly authoritarian based on their daily interaction with parents, with no back talk, no arguments with parents, and only obedience (Sharake, 1998).

The restrictive and protective authoritarian parenting style not only authorizes conflict between parents and children but effects the developmental issues surrounding dependence, self-control, and alienation. Adolescence is a special period for reshaping

values and ideas and exploring one's relationship to the world (Brake, 1985). During this period a primary issue for adolescents is their confirmed independence (Youniss & Ketterlinus, 1987). The shift to an adult society is highly ambiguous and definitions of adulthood are vague in Western society. Korean parents were raised in an age-graded society where rules regarding what responsibilities and what privileges are accorded to individuals within each age-grade are relatively clear and detailed. They expect the same behavior from their children (Broude, 1995). This expectation often contributes to alienation and conflict between Korean parents and their children living in the United States.

The traditional Korean communication style employs indirect expression, control of feelings and response (Kim, Kim & Rue, 1997). In order to be a noble person, Koreans have been disciplined not to reveal their emotions. However, frequent contact with foreigners through international trade has developed a new industry of "smile" teaching in Korea because Koreans' expressionless faces often cause misunderstanding to outsiders (The Korea Times San Francisco, December 31, 1998). In the United States, the family communication style also follows a unidirectional pattern from parents to children without children's interruptions for questions or feed back (Lee & Cynn, 1991). Although this tradition is considered respectful in maintaining family harmony and a way for children to show respect for their parents and parents' role as the source of authority in the Korean culture, this low level of communication often results in bringing up adolescents who have not learned to assert themselves, or to express different opinions, to deal with anger or aggression appropriately in the United States. Children then

experience difficulties in coping with the sexual, impulsive and aggressive drives of adolescence (Kim, Kim & Rue, 1997).

Moreover, the language gap between Korean immigrant parents and their children further worsens their relationship because each uses a translated language to communicate with each other. Jiobu (1984) found that 86 % of the Koreans in California speak Korean at home and only 64 % indicate that they speak English well or very well. They are likely to conduct most of their public and private lives using the Korean language. Korean American adolescents, who often speak fluent English but poor Korean, seldom communicate meaningfully with their Korean speaking parents (B. Kim, 1995). Just as the parents' English lacks American cultural context and mind set, the children's Korean language skills reflect a limited or complete absence of Korean cultural context and social norms.

The lack of supervision or poor monitoring by Korean immigrant parents reveals the discordance between parents' concern and actual monitoring practices of children's emotional conflicts, antisocial behavior, school activities, or peer relations (Shrake, 1998). This tendency is the result of Korean parents' working long hours to provide economic support for their family (Hurh, Kim & Kim, 1979). Moreover, for Korean parents who were raised under strict family and school rules, parental supervision means the practice of rigid discipline. This understanding of supervision is expressed as parental control over their children's daily lives in such areas as choice of friends, college selection, or participation in extracurricular activities. Dating, for example, is a sensitive issue in the Korean American family (Kim, Kim & Rue, 1997). Most Korean parents

count on their children to date and marry a Korean American. According to Yu (1994)'s survey, only 31 % of Korean youth respondents date Korean partners, and half of them prefer non-Koreans to Korean spouses except for some respondents from a Los Angeles area with a high concentration of Korean (Yu, 1994). Most Korean American teenagers, respecting their freedom, who date without their parents' permission, understand that their behavior will bring crises to their family between the authoritarian values of Korean and the American individual freedom (Chang, 1977).

Korean immigrant parents are not readily available to act as role models and Korean community groups do not provide enough support owing to the short history of Korean immigration. Korean Americans may have attained financial and occupational stability but they do not provide good role models because of their poor command of English and their unconsciousness about acculturation into mainstream society (Kim, Kim & Rue, 1997). Within the limited supervision, Korean American youth are sometimes involved in gang activities. Korean youth in Metropolitan Los Angeles and New York City have organized groups named "Korean Pride" and have turned cultural pride into a self-segregate (San Jose Mercury News, September 18, 1997). Youth gangs, emerging since 1970s, start out for recreational and self-defense purposes but they often engage in juvenile delinquency (Yu, 1994).

One of the most frequent sources of conflict between Korean immigrant parents and their children is the different set of values about education and how success in life is measured. Most Korean immigrant parents pressure their children to attain high academic achievement and direct their choice of career.

I do not see, although I have eyes.
 Then, have I become blind? No, I have not.
 I do not hear, although I have ears.
 Then, have I become deaf? No, I have not.
 I do not speak, although I have a mouth.
 Then, have I lost my speech? No, I have not.
 I have become an old stranger who wants to raise a young tree
 in this wealthy land. (Takaki, 1989. p.444)

This poem reveals Korean immigrants' aspiration to raise good children. This aspiration is often closely related to pressure on academic success. A report of a Korean American who beat his daughter because her grade point average was 3.83 rather than a perfect 4.0 and was sentenced to six months in jail is an obvious example of excessive parental pressure for academic success (Yu & Kim, 1983). Low performance brings parental disapproval, disappointment, and shame among relatives and friends (California Department of Education, 1992). Korean parents regard the success of their children as the highest fulfillment of their own lives and believe that they will be rewarded for their hardship by their children's academic and occupational fame (Lee & Cynn, 1991).

C. Kim (1997) states that the issues of "going to college" and/or "not putting enough effort into schoolwork" are the first causes of intense conflicts between Korean American adolescents and their mothers. Although American students have multiple options for pursuing higher education and an estimated 25 % of students in California are enrolled in college preparatory programs (California Department of Education, 1992), Korean immigrant parents urge their children to go to first-ranked colleges and choose occupations based on Korean prestigious occupational hierarchy such as medical doctor, lawyer, professor, and so on.

According to a survey of Korean American youths (12-18years) conducted by the Korean American Community Services in East Bay, CA (1997), most survey participants (86%) answered that they felt strong parental pressure to go to the most prestigious college and 83% of them responded that they got negative feedback from their parents regarding their work and efforts to attain academic achievement. Young Korean Americans' response to parental pressure for academic success is well expressed in their web sites. Among the "20 ways to be a perfect Korean kid from a first generation perspective", most frequently mentioned items are related to academic success; for examples, scoring 1600 on the SAT; applying to and being accepted by 27 colleges; having three hobbies, studying, studying and studying; going to a prestigious Ivy League University on a full scholarship; become a Westinghouse, Presidential, and eventually a Rhodes Scholar; aspiring to be a brain surgeon (Kang & Chan, 1998).

Recent Korean immigrants are more progressive and mobility-oriented. These tendencies affect values regarding their children's education. Korean immigrant parents move to affluent residential areas only because their children can go to good public schools and many private Korean-run tutoring institutions respond to parents' desire for their children's academic success (Min, 1988).

Korean American children understand that academic excellence is one activity among many others at school such as athletics, drama and social activities. American schools seem not to prepare children for future life through academic success, but rather to develop an independent viewpoint and to express it assertively with initiative, independent, and deeply critical thinking (B. Kim, 1995). Conversely, in Korea, students

must defer to the judgment of superiors and avoid expressing personal opinions before they are recognized by teachers. School curriculum highlights group identification, role of discipline and civic responsibility, pressure to succeed, and lack of nonacademic experiences. Korean immigrant parents who were educated in Korean schools that related academic success with social prestige expect their children to pursue academic excellence (California Department of Education, 1992). Moreover, they reveal antagonistic and unrealistic enthusiasm for their children's success in school, and, at the same time, children's obedience, submission and humbleness at home. This serious and strong coercion and demand arises from the paradoxical dual expectation of Korean immigrant parents who want their children to learn and adopt American cultural traits and to speak English fluently to promote their upward mobility to a higher social status in the United States, and, at the same time they want their children to retain their Korean culture and to speak Korean (Saravia-Shore & Gorcia, 1995).

One second generation Korean critically analyzes the Koreans' obsession over education:

---- but it (education) is one bargaining chip you can have. When it becomes an obsession, it is not healthy. A lot of Korean immigrants who are well educated come here and bag groceries. Some have Ph.Ds. So regardless of whether or not they push it, there is a sense of transference to their children----There are many, many more that are lost, that don't quite make it to the fancy schools. But the fancy schools are perceived as the norm, so the pressure is incredible. (J. Lee, 1991, p.97)

The value conflicts between parents and children can become a psychologically painful wound (Sandhu, 1997).

Summary

This chapter illustrated Korean's ethnic identity, their immigration history and their profile in the United States to study how Korean child-rearing is practiced in the cultural transition stage.

In the Korean Confucian system, the world view is based on common understanding that nature is the manifestation of morality. Individuals may ascertain the divine in nature by behaving in a manner increasingly reflective of the cosmic moral order through ongoing, lifelong self-cultivation. The hierarchy by gender, generation, age, and class grounded on the traditional five relationships (*o-ryun* in Korea) is a powerful force determining thought and behavior although it has largely changed on the surface. The way of Korean parents' daily interaction with their children is the key to understanding the cohesiveness of interpersonal relationships and the euphemism of communication style. Given its ethic, cognitive and linguistic characteristics, parents tend to be authoritative and children become passive and uncritical.

Korean immigrants maintain distinctive cultural traits which originate from their mother country. Their ethnicity is differentiated from the mainstream society on the basis of cultural differences such as language, attitudes toward parenting, and daily life habits. Most Korean American communities share the common community formation factors; the high rate of self-employment, the high educational expectation for their children, the distinctive role of ethnic churches, and the development of various ethnic organizations. Behind the American dream, family conflicts existed and intergenerational and cultural conflicts among family members have been more

intensified as the Korean American community is growing. Their strong attachment to culture of origin and low awareness of American cultural context often clash with the values acquired by their children who encounter and experience individualism in their social settings. The Korean cultural values of self-control, strong family ties, and group loyalty that have been emphasized through child-rearing practices are compatible with the dominant culture in the United States, but cultural concepts of family-oriented face saving, self-effacement and effort regardless of ability as the key to success can be stressful for Korean American children. Korean American youth, victims of this bicultural conflict, are vulnerable to identity crises, suffering from feelings of isolation, a sense of meaninglessness, the lack of moral standards and norms and sometimes delinquency and crime.

This literature review reveals the cultural context to study Koreans' child-rearing practices. In illustration, the immigration history of Koreans, the Confucian culture and traditional parenting style and Korean immigrant culture were explored. The next chapter documents Koreans' child-rearing practices in the United States. That document includes their journey; where they came from, where they are and where they will go.

CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The purpose of this study was to examine Korean child-rearing practices in the United States. It used descriptive ethnographic research to explore Korean Americans in their natural environment in order to observe the daily child-rearing practices of Korean American. Ethnography is a story telling enterprise based on participation and observation (McDermott & Morison's study as cited in Gilmore & Smith, 1982). Hymes (1982) points out that narrative can be a source of knowledge:

The question of narrative brings us to another aspect of ethnography. It is continuous with ordinary life. Much of what we seek to find out in ethnography is knowledge that others already have. Our ability to learn ethnographically is an extension of what every human being must do, that is, learn the meanings, norms, patterns of a way of life. (p.29)

Hastrup (1992) emphasizes the reciprocal identities of the ethnographer and the informant in order to report through contextualisation and reframing. Such research gathers data from various sources in order to systemically understand all human cultures from the perspectives of those who have learned them (Spradely, 1979). The researcher recreates the shared beliefs, practices, artifacts, folk knowledge, and behavior of a group of people through recapitulation of their cultural scene (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984).

In the exploration of "her people", this researcher followed the same approach as Motzafi-Haller (1997) taking the position of a native/indigenous writer/author; and striving to grasp and describe with accuracy and subtlety a complex historical reality from the perspective of the powerless. This researcher acted as a storyteller who

described her people and then helped them transform their reflections into a new paradigm. This new paradigm of child-rearing includes listening to them, confronting their problems and emphasizing their meaning of existence. Sultana (1995) describes ethnography "as realist text to seek to reflect the empirical world that it focuses upon, and in its more emancipatory moments it does so in a critical manner (p. 118)". This study centered on Korean immigrants' self-reflection and attempts to describe their own world and life histories. When Korean Americans are empowered to define their world, they understand the meaning of their existence and make their culture more understandable to not only other ethnic members of this country but also their children, without misinterpretation or devaluation.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data was obtained from three instruments: (a) interviews with Korean immigrant parents, including supplemental interviews with a second generation Korean, a Korean social worker and a family therapist; (b) participant observations of a ten-week Korean parenting class and a Korean youth and parent workshop; and (c) analysis of articles on the topic of Korean parenting. The following research categories and research questions were utilized in order to collect and analyze data.

1. Korean ethnic identity transmitted through child-rearing practices from the past:

- 1.1: Do Korean and Korean Americans differ in their child-rearing practices through the mission, methods, and child developmental goals?

2. Korean child-rearing within cultural transition - through the present:

2.1: Do Korean Americans encounter any cultural clash through child-rearing process in the United States?

3. Challenges to Koreans in the United States towards ethnic survival - towards their future:

3.1: What new child-rearing strategies can be manifested by Korean in order to raise 'the ideal person' in the United States?

The interviews with seven Korean immigrant parents comprised the main part of data collection for this ethnographic research. This procedure was a collaborative process between the researcher and participants. The researcher, sharing a perspective from participants' point of view, became a part of the research process. Besides data from the interviews with seven Korean immigrant parents, this researcher added substantial information from the interviews with other sources: a second generation Korean who shared her own experience as both a Korean child and a counselor for second generation Koreans, a Korean social worker and a family therapist who worked with Korean families. Through multiple triangulation of the ethnographic method (Wolcott, 1994), more data was collected from the participant observations of a ten-week Korean parenting class and a Korean youth and parent workshop and analysis of articles on the topic of Korean parenting, published in the Korean community newspaper and a monthly publication of Korean youth and parents and presented in web-site.

For this ethnographic research, the researcher kept a field journal for quality control of data collection and analysis which included interview notes, observation records and the researcher's personal reflections.

Instrument 1: Interview

Selection of interview participants. The participants interviewed in this study were Korean immigrant parents. Children's age was considered in the selection of the interview participants on the premise that each successive stage of childhood calls for different development tasks and parental response to children's developmental needs.

Participants were selected in accordance with the age of their children: (a) pre-school age; (b) elementary school age; (c) adolescence; and, (d) post adolescence. In addition, they were selected according to the following criteria: (a) parents who are first generation Korean Americans; first generation refers a person who immigrated to the United States as an adult (over 20 years old); and, (b) parents who have already established rapport with the researcher; or (c) parents who express voluntary willingness to participate in this research by responding to a participant recruitment announcement.

In order to recruit participants, community announcements were made orally during Korean parenting classes by the researcher and written notices were inserted in a publication distributed by a counseling center.

It was difficult to recruit participants who were willing to share their stories. Strongly influenced by their face saving culture, Koreans are often reluctant to tell their life histories to others. They believe that it can be disgraceful to either themselves or their families to share their personal experiences with a researcher who is a stranger. Over a 1,000 copies of the recruitment announcement (See Appendix 1) were inserted in counseling center publications for distribution, but only five people agreed to participate in this interview. During the process of initial contact with the original five candidates

by phone, they hesitated to express a willingness to participate as research subjects and excused themselves with the reason that their stories were too humble or shameful to be shared. It was too difficult to interpret their true intention although the researcher was used to Korean euphemisms. Finally three people agreed by phone to be involved in this research. The researcher recruited two other candidates who attended Korean parenting classes and selected another two from those with whom she had a rapport. After selecting seven prospective participants, an introductory letter both in Korean and English (See Appendix 2) was sent to each participant in order to introduce the background of the research and interview questions.

Profile of participants. Participants in this study were four Korean American mothers and three fathers who had raised their children from pre school age to college level. They were between 38-48 years old and came to this country through family immigration with the exception of one participant, Hannah Ku who came to the United States as a foreign exchange student. All but one immigrated after 1988. Six had professional occupations, and one was a housewife. Coincidentally all of them were Christians. Fictitious names were used. Those names were the participants' current or suggested English names and their last names were totally changed to preserve confidentiality.

Participants' profiles are described as follows:

1. Hannah Ku, female, 48 years old, has been in the United States for twenty four years. She came to this country to continue her studies after college graduation and is a tutor at a learning center which she owns. She went to college to develop her artistic

talent but could not finish her degree. She has been married to a Korean man for twenty years, who also studied in this country and is presently completing a degree program. They have an eighteen year old daughter and a fifteen year old son. She voluntarily expressed her willingness to participate in this research because she wanted her story to be utilized to develop a model of a healthy Korean American family. She meets multi-ethnic customers at the learning center and does not have language difficulty in English. They live in the Cupertino area and both are Christians and attend a Korean church.

2. Annie Kim is 40 years old and immigrated to this country with her family eight years ago. She married in Korea twelve years ago and has an eleven year old daughter and a ten year old son who were both born in Korea. She works at a Korean community related agency and as a Korean school teacher every Saturday. Her major in college was art and she worked at an advertising company in Korea. She was enrolled in a community college in an English as Second Language Program and also took Art classes. She volunteered to teach fifth grade art classes at her daughter's school although her English was not excellent. Her husband works at an American owned company (Koreans often use this expression in order to point out non-Korean enterprise). Both are Korean church members.

3. Stella Hwang is 38 years old and came to this country nine years ago through marriage. Her husband had immigrated several years before her. She graduated from high school and worked as a medical assistant in Korea. She has an eight year old son and a four year old daughter. She attended Adult School to learn English for several months just after she arrived in this country. She stated that she could not communicate

well in English. Her husband works at a Korean owned business. Both are Korean church members.

4. Joseph Kim is 48 years old and immigrated to this country with his family five years ago. He graduated from college in Korea and owned his own trading business. He has three daughters (twenty, eighteen and thirteen years old) and a seven year old son. He and his wife have manual labor jobs at a Korean owned business. His wife had been a full time house wife in Korea. He has not had an opportunity to attend American school and expressed language difficulties. He and his wife are Korean church members and they live in the Cupertino area.

5 & 6. Thomas Park and Sarah Park arrived in the United States five years ago when they immigrated with their family. Thomas is 48 years old and his wife, Sarah, is 46 years old. Thomas worked as the head of a department in a well known Korean company after college graduation and Sarah was a full time house wife in Korea. They have two sons aged seventeen and fifteen. They work together at their own laundry shop for five days a week in the United States. They live in the Cupertino area and both are Korean church members.

7. Justin Sohn is 47 years old. He and his family have moved around many countries because of his job. His two sons, aged sixteen and twenty, were educated in other countries. Justin is an artist who arrived in this country eleven years ago. He had taken English as a Second Language classes at a community college but still has problems with English. His wife works as a part time cook. They are Korean church members.

Each participant's profile was summarized as the following chart.

Profile of Interview Participants

Fictitious Name	Age	Profession	Length of Residence in the U.S.	Highest Educational Attainment	Ages of Children
Hannah Ku	48	Tutor	24yrs.	College	Daughter (18yrs.)
				Graduate	Son (15yrs.)
Annie Kim	40	Korean related	8yrs.	College	Daughter (11yrs.)
				Graduate	Son (10yrs.)
Stella Hwang	38	N/A	9yrs.	High School	Son (8yrs.)
				Graduate	Daughter (4yrs.)
Joseph Kim	48	Manual	5yrs.	College	Daughter (20yrs.)
		Laborer		Graduate	Daughter (18yrs.)
					Daughter (13yrs.)
					Son (7yrs.)
Thomas &	48	Self-employed	5yrs.	College	Son (17yrs.)
Sarah Park	46	Self-employed	5yrs.	College	Son (15yrs.)
				Graduate	
Justin Sohn	40	Artist	11yrs.	College	Son (20yrs.)
				Graduate	Son (16yrs.)

Conduct of interviews. The interviews were conducted between January 25, 1999 to February 18, 1999 either at participants' houses or at the counseling center, according to each participant's choice. The counseling center where the researcher worked part time provided a comfortable and confidential environment for them. All interviews were completed in Korean and were between 1 hour 10 minutes and 2 hours 15 minutes in length. Since Korean was the mother tongue of both the researcher and participants, it was an excellent tool to nurture closer relationships and allow participants to describe their deepest feelings.

The researcher guided the interviews using the following interview questions developed and based on the three research questions. These interview questions were designed to accomplish three objectives: (a) to map Korean child-rearing in the United States through the mission, methods, and goals; (b) to find their challenges, obstacles, and impediment in the cultural transition; and (c) to yield a new paradigm of Korean child-rearing towards their ethnic succession. Through a total of fifteen questions, participants traced their own ethnic-identity. This reflection process inspired their self-awareness and made contextual comparisons between Korean and American culture.

Interview questions were:

- (1) What were you taught during your childhood to be an ideal person (*jo-eun sah-ram* in Korean)?
- (2) What do you teach your child(ren) to be an ideal person?
- (3) Is there any difference between your parents' notion of an ideal person and yours?

- (4) What is your current family structure? / What was the structure of your family of origin?
- (5) How do you discipline your child(ren)? / How did your parents discipline you?
- (6) How do you communicate with your child(ren)? / How did your parents communicate with you?
- (7) Do you raise your daughter and son differently ? / Were you raised differently from your sister or brother?
- (8) With whom does your family associate? / With whom did your family of origin associate?
- (9) What do(es) your child(ren) enjoy during their leisure time? / What did you enjoy during your leisure through your childhood?
- (10) What is Koreans' traditional view of child development?
- (11) What is your own view of child development?
- (12) What was the most significant issue during your adolescence?
- (13) What do you expect of your child(ren)'s behavior during adolescence?
- (14) Are there any conflicts between you and your child(ren)? If your answer is 'yes', what are these?
- (15) Do you have any suggestions regarding how to raise Korean children in the United States?

The Korean language is complicated by the suitable use of honorific in accordance with their social order. Age is the most important factor in Korean verbal

communication because speakers show respect or authority during conversation through the selection of verbal honorific and words according to listeners' age levels. The researcher was younger than any of the participants and it was difficult for her to begin the conversation although the researcher had experience in counseling for the Korean American youth and family program at a Korean community center thus she was familiar with working with Korean parents. However, the researcher and participants started by reflecting on participants' childhood memories and they were able to establish rapport. Each conversation was documented on tape.

Supplemental interviews. To supplement the interviews with Korean immigrant parents, the following interviews were conducted with: (a) a Korean social worker, Moon-Hee Rhee; (b) a second generation Korean, Riz Suk, who was born in this country and has worked as a counselor at the Asian Drug Recovery Center and is a coordinator of the Youth Leadership Council at the Korean American Community Services, Inc.; and, (c) a Korean family therapist, Jay Choi. Research category 2 was used to guide the supplemental interviews. They were asked to comment on the challenges, obstacles, and impediments experienced by Korean parents within the times of cultural transition.

The interview questions for the Korean social worker and the family therapist were:

- (1) What is the most significant conflict between Korean parents and their children?
- (2) What cultural factors do you think caused the generational gap between Korean parents and children?

- (3) What differences do you find between Korean parents and American mainstream parents?
- (4) What are your suggestions for Korean parents about culturally relevant child-rearing strategies?

The interview questions for the second generation Korean were:

- (1) Do you find any cultural differences between Korean immigrant parents and their children?
- (2) What complaints do Korean children have about their parents?
- (3) How would you describe "being Korean"?
- (4) As a second generation Korean, what are your suggestions for Korean immigrant parents?

Their conversations were utilized to enhance the picture of Korean child-rearing practices in the United States and added to the stories of Korean parents.

Instrument 2: Participant Observation

Subjects of observation. The researcher had two opportunities to observe a ten-week Korean parenting class and a Korean youth and parent workshop. During the observations, the researcher collected ideas and thoughts from Korean parents and youth about generation and cultural gaps, the challenges, obstacles and impediments to living in a new culture. These observations were analyzed to understand conflicts.

The Korean parenting class was held from November 8, 1998 to February 11, 1999. This ten-week Korean parenting series was conducted at a local High school chosen because of its large Korean student population. It consisted of topics such as

healthy family, discipline and family role, self-esteem, stress and anger control, youth culture, communication skills and drugs. Two hour sessions were conducted in Korean by a Korean social worker. An average of twelve parents participated during the ten weeks.

The Korean youth and parent workshop was held at the University of California, at Berkeley, May 2, 1999, sponsored by the Korean American Community Center of East Bay. Twenty Korean children and twelve parents participated. The theme of this half-day workshop was "Bridging the Gap". It consisted of parent/child group discussions, role play and a questions and answer period.

Observation guideline. The researcher used research category 2 as an observation guideline. Conversations and discussions during each session of the parenting class and a workshop were recorded. The research category 2 focused on cultural and generational differences between Korean parents and their children within the cultural transition stage. The recorded data was sorted by looking up common themes, such as value differences and communication difficulties between parents and children, authoritative discipline rules and methods.

Instrument 3: Analysis of Articles

Selection of articles. The analysis of articles was based on (a) seven articles printed in the Korea Times San Francisco from June 30, 1998 to February 10, 1999, (b) two articles written by a 1.5 and a second generation Koreans, and (c) a monthly publication, "Our Voices" published by the Korean American Community Center of East Bay on the topic of Korean parenting. The articles were selected if they contained

(a) arguments for Korean parents' intense desire for their children's educational success; and, (b) suggestions for a new paradigm of Korean child-rearing in the United States.

The following articles were read:

- (1) June 30, 1998. Educational Column - "My honorable son wants to be a firefighter--". by Howard Kwon.
- (2) November 20, 1998. Column "Children as children" by Katherine Kim
- (3) December 11, 1998. Column "Regarding child-rearing" by Sun Min Park
- (4) December 29, 1998. Educational Column - "How do the mainstream parents raise their children?" by Howard Kwon.
- (5) February 2, 1999. Educational Column - "My children want to move out of the most distinguishable school district---" by Howard Kwon.
- (6) February 9, 1999. Educational Column - "How to communicate with my 6th and 7th grade children?" by Howard Kwon.
- (7) February 10, 1999. Together world Column - "Mainstream society" by *Yee-Cho*.

The monthly publication "Bridging the Gap" was published by the Korean American Community center of East Bay. This publication consisted of interview transcripts of Korean youth and parents about the generational gap. It was written in both Korean and English.

Two articles written by a 1.5 and a second generation Korean Americans were selected among many articles on the topic of Korean identity. These articles were collected from the web information site. They are:

(1) Korean, American, or neither? from Herald Sphere available at

www.theherald.org

(2) Chung, Stephen, Acculturation and identification on the "1.5 Generation" of

Korean immigrants from Publishing Web for Students' Final Papers available

at www.ematusov.com

Data from articles. The collected data was classified by the common theme of Korean parents' enthusiasm for education. It provided additional insight to the interactions of Korean parents and their children. These articles provided not only criticism of the blind myth of Koreans towards education but also projected a new paradigm of parenting in the United States for their ethnic survival.

Data Analysis

Each individual interview conversation, discussion during Korean parenting classes and a workshop, conducted in Korean, were transcribed and translated into English for analysis. A recorded journal during interviews and participant observations was utilized for translation. The researcher tried to grasp any meaningful expressions of interviews and observations in order to transmit the Korean reality within the cultural transition. Also articles written in Korean were translated into English.

The cultural perspective of the Korean language was considered in the process of translation. The point of Suh's (1996) emotive-affective elements in Korean ellipsis was applied to the translation. One of his arguments is that Koreans are reluctant to say "Thank you" and "Excuse me," or "I am sorry," because they believe that genuine feeling is much too great to be contained in language and is to be communicated by way of

communion with minds.

In the data analysis, the researcher tried to transform the meaning of the original data described in participants' mother tongue into English. Several Korean words are quoted to show their genuine insight.

Finally, the researcher drew a map of Korean child-rearing in the United States from the combined information from participants and her own reflections from their past, through their present situation and towards the future. This map constructed with a longitude and latitude of ethnic identity is shown in the next chapter.

Research Community

The research study was conducted in a Korean community of the Santa Clara County, California. The 1990 Census recorded that over 30 % of the total Korean households in the United States resided in California and 15 % of Koreans in California lived in the Bay Area of San Francisco, Oakland, and San Jose (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). It showed the Korean population as 15,565 in the Santa Clara County, a 154.8 % increase after the 1980 Census. Over 75 % of the total Korean population in the County was concentrated in the City of San Jose, Santa Clara and Sunnyvale (San Jose Mercury News, May 9, 1991).

In contrast to the statistics of the Bureau of the Census, the Korean American community itself has a much higher estimate of the size of the Korean population in the Silicon Valley. The Korean Consulate General in San Francisco estimates the number of Koreans in the Bay area at around 60,000-80,000 in 1998 which includes temporary Korean staff at Korean companies and Korean exchange students (The Korean Consulate

General, 1998). Based on this number, the Korean Chamber of Commerce in the Silicon Valley and Korean ethnic newspaper publishers estimate a total 50,000 - 60,000 Korean Americans in the Silicon Valley including Santa Clara, San Mateo and Alameda County.

According to the survey of Human Care Needs in the Santa Clara County (1993), Asian or Pacific Islanders in 1990 comprised 17.0 % of the County's total population. Nearly 68.5 % of the total residents of San Jose, Cupertino, and Milpitas were Asian/Pacific Islander population. The four Asian groups that made up three-quarters of the 1990 Census Asian/Pacific Islander classification in the Santa Clara County were Chinese (24.9%), Filipino (23.5%), Vietnamese (20.1%), and Japanese (10.1%). Koreans were listed under the heading of the other Asian racial groups along with Asian Indian, Cambodian, Laotian and Thai. The mean household income of Whites was \$60,097 and the mean household income of the total Asian /Pacific Islander was 3.0 % below the White mean. Families with Asians/Pacific Islanders as householders below the poverty line had the second lowest poverty rate, 7.7 %, following Whites' 3.1 %. A regional feature of the Silicon Valley, which includes the Santa Clara County, is the distribution of hi-tech computer industry all around the county. It is assumed that the educational and economic level is much higher than other regions in California.

The city of Cupertino has one of the highest concentration of Asian populations in the Santa Clara County. The city of Cupertino is well known to have high quality public schools and many Korean parents are eager to move into this area. There is a growing number of Asian populations in the Santa Clara County; 20 % of the Cupertino Union School District's students were Asian in 1985, but today that figure has risen to 42 %.

Over 60 languages are spoken within the school district (The Cupertino Courier, October 7, 1998).

The majority of Korean Americans living in the Silicon Valley are recent immigrants since 1980s. It is difficult to sketch a precise portrait of Korean American community because there are few studies on the Korean population and community in this area. No-Myun Park, one of the Korean American community old timers, recalls that a visible Korean American community was not organized before 1980 when few Koreans were found in the San Jose area (N. Park, 1998). Since 1980, along with the immigration wave, the development of electronic and computer industry in the Silicon valley has attracted many Koreans to this area.

The Korean American community in the Silicon Valley is engaged in two types of business: (a) Korea related businesses such as computer industry; and (b) trading and businesses that serve the local Korean community.

Most Korean American businesses concentrate in the City of Santa Clara in a business district organized along El Camino Real. These businesses are Korean owned and self-sufficient for their community. A Korean Business Directory contains over 1,000 Korean American owned businesses categorized into 123 industrial classification (The Korea Times San Francisco, 1997).

The local Korean American community is also affected by the social structure and environmental factors found in the Silicon Valley. Over 70 Korean companies have local branches and there are several Korean American owned electronic companies in the area. One demographic characteristic of the Silicon Valley is the transient population

including the high tech computer related engineers who come to pursue new technology. The Silicon Valley is home to the largest number of Korean Americans in Northern California and is ranked fourth among regions where most Korean Americans reside in the United States (Korean Consulate General, 1998). The rate of self-employed Koreans is lower than in other Korean American communities such as the greater Los Angeles area, New York or Chicago (Korean Daily News, 1998). Also, Korean company officials on temporary assignments with their families have become a part of the Korean community's picture. They bring with them the original Korean family culture and strong eagerness for education. Since 1990, the number of foreign exchange students from Korea, from elementary school up to graduate school and professional training level is growing in Korean community. Young students who are called 'parachute kids' reside with their guardians or by themselves and have an effect on an America born Korean youth. It is fashionable to learn the Korean language just to sing Korean songs among other teenagers.

The Korean American community in the Silicon Valley is served by about 100 churches and temples, over 20 Korean language schools, two radio stations and two television stations, nine tutoring schools, seven daily/weekly newspaper publishers, one community service center and one senior social service agency.

Korean Americans organize in various associations such as the Korean American Association of the Silicon Valley, the Korean American Chamber of Commerce, and 29 other associations. These associations act as support groups for hobbies and other professional interests. Over 41 high school and college/university alumni associations

exist in the area and the *Jun-Joo Lee* Family Association and the *Ho-nam* Association of North California are clan and hometown based organizations. The Korean American Political Empowerment, the Korean American Professional Society, and the Korean Resource Center are led by second generation Koreans to form the community's opinions and speak up for Korean Americans through active participation in the main stream society.

With an intensified wave of immigration since 1980, the steadily growing community of Korean born and second generation Koreans has faced internal conflicts from balancing the expectations of two cultures. Many Korean Americans, for example, live in the City of Cupertino known as one of the best public high school districts for the middle class. On the other hand, they are so eager to transmit their culture to children that more than 500 Korean American students were enrolled in Silicon Valley Korean School in 1998.

Background of the Researcher

"I am a Korean. However, in this country, I am labeled a Korean American. I still feel uncomfortable with the use of the suffix "American" to describe who I am. I had always drawn a picture of an American as someone tall with blue or very colorful eyes and hair, living in a beautiful house with a perfectly happy family. This image was generated by watching a lot of American movies and Disney animation that were shown on black and white TV every Saturday and Sunday night. I thought America, called *Mee-gook* in Korean which means a beautiful country, was a truly beautiful and great country where everyone enjoyed a fantastic life. As a little girl, I never understood that life seen in the movies was available only for white, blond, and rich Americans.

I am here now in America. The beautiful country that a little Oriental girl dreamed about is nowhere. Out of fear I gave up trying to be myself. I locked my mind with silence and covered my eyes with sneers so that no one could either see or listen to me." - from the researcher's journal in 1990

This researcher is a Korean immigrant who is raising two children in a new culture. She completed a Bachelor of Arts Degree in Education at *Ewha* Women's University, Seoul, Korea and pursued her master's degree at the same graduate school with eagerness to dedicate herself to the academic field as an educator. However, her goal in life was suddenly changed by immigration to the United States. For the last several years, she has struggled strongly with herself, redirecting her path towards the future.

Whenever she felt frustrated in chasing her dream to be an educator, she reminded herself a phrase of John Dewey; "Education is not preparation for life. Education is life itself." Working for several years as a counselor at a Korean American community center in San Jose, she tried to let Korean immigrant parents tell their stories that were filled with expectation, frustration, conflict and suffering. However, the main theme of their stories was love. Like a one-sided lover, Korean parents' love was seldom returned because their confession of love was lacking and unacceptable to their children. She believed that everybody has a story to tell but some people can not talk because they never feel free to talk or nobody will listen to them. Furthermore, Confucian cultural traits of restricted self-expression and self-sacrifice towards collective harmony obstruct Koreans to express them freely.

The researcher thought of what she could do as an educator. She can not be like those people who speak up for civil rights or advocate abolishing racial discrimination. Instead she would tell their stories, be their voices and listen. She empathized with anyone who was unable to tell his/her story because of fear, anger and ignorance. She

experienced the magic of change, working in a summer camp, "All kids are winners!" provided by the department of Counselor Education, San Jose State University and Evergreen School District in San Jose in 1993. She became their significant person despite the very short period for contact, and those children who had been silent and passive began to express love and appreciation to others.

She dreamed her *mahn-haeng* (one of the self-discipline methods for Buddhist priest; cloud journey in English), listening to someone's story, crying and laughing with him/her. Once her heart had been full of sorrow and an untold story, she could not listen to others. Now her story is told to many listeners. She is ready to be someone's forgotten voice and cut tongue. She knows from where she will start her cloud journey. Before she loses her beautiful native tongue, she will unlock frozen doors of others' hearts as someone once did for her. She knows that parents have to say proudly who they are and why they are here when challenged by their children. They must journey through the pain and tell their past proudly. Then they will be able to participate in the historical struggle to be a real self in a new culture.

By the power of this ethnographic research, working with her people up to the stage of the development of critical consciousness, she will also find where she is. "Because we come to it neither as to a map of knowledge nor as a guide to action, nor even for entertainment. We come to it as the start of a different kind of journey." (Tyler, 1985).

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Transition

moving from one dynamic culture / to another dynamic culture / from one country
 to another / is NOT like getting off a bus / at a bus stop
 and waiting for the next bus / to pick you up.
 it's more like / jumping from an aeroplane / to another aeroplane flying in another direction
 and you can't do it without help / without a helicopter / or a shuttle /
 or, at least, a parachute
 in case you fail, / and a lot have fallen.
 shifting from one dynamic culture / to another dynamic culture
 from your home country / to a new country
 is like / leaving a movie you've been watching / and coming into another movie
 when it's already half way through / without a summary / without some explanation
 it's hard to pick up the plot / and many have lost the plot.
 leaving the dynamic culture / you've lived with all your life
 and trying to embrace another country's dynamic culture
 is like / a spectacular jump / on the flying trapeze without a security net
 it's hard to take the plunge / and many have fallen.

by kominos, 26 September 1990 (Greek-Australian poet)

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine Koreans' child-rearing practices in the United States. The study used a descriptive ethnographic research centered on Korean Americans' self-reflection through descriptions of their own world and life histories. The main part of the research was interviews with Korean immigrant parents who focused on reflections of their parenting experiences in the past, present and future. Interviews were also held with a second generation Korean, a Korean social worker and a family therapist. Participant observations were made of Korean parenting classes and a Korean youth and parent workshop. Analyses of articles on the topic of Korean parenting were completed to provide supplemental data. The following research categories and questions were utilized to collect data and analyze it:

1. Korean ethnic identity transmitted through child-rearing practices - from the past:
 - 1.1: Do Korean and Korean Americans differ in their child-rearing practices through the mission, methods, and child developmental goals?
2. Korean child-rearing within cultural transition - through the present:
 - 2.1: Do Korean Americans encounter any cultural clash through child-rearing process in the United States?
3. Challenges to Koreans in the United States towards ethnic survival - towards their future:
 - 3.1: What new child-rearing strategies can be manifested by Koreans in order to raise 'the ideal person' in the United States?

Interview questions within each category elected response from Koreans about their mission, methods, and the developmental goals of child-rearing in the United States. Participants were invited to describe their child-rearing styles while living in the United States and share the challenges they encountered everyday throughout the process of raising their children. Research questions 2 and 3 were utilized to analyze data gathered through interviews with other relevant Koreans and activities involving Korean parents and youth.

This chapter illustrates the mission, methods, and developmental goals of Korean child-rearing in the United States, their challenges, obstacles, and impediments within the cultural transition stage, and a new paradigm for their ethnic succession. The profile uncovered Koreans' life journey from the past, through the present and the future. It

included both the cultural traits that have been transferred and the adaptations which occurred among Koreans in a new cultural context. In analyzing the Korean parents' description of their world, the researcher particularly noticed the differences in the Korean language use of the plural subject (we), object (us), and the possessive case (our) when English grammar would use the singular usage, etc.

Finding 1: Korean Ethnic Identity through Child-rearing Practices:

Do Korean and Korean Americans differ in their child-rearing practices through the mission, methods, and child developmental goals?

Based on the interviews with Korean parents and the observations made during a Korean parenting class and a Korean youth and parent workshop, this study found that Korean parents preserve the same mission, methods, and child developmental goals as their own parents.

Although the notion of the ideal person as a psychologically, physically and intelligently developed whole person had been traditionally recognized in the context of interpersonal relationships, the participants were raised to emphasize academic success regardless of individual differences and capabilities. The participants followed the way of their parents' authoritative, family centered, gender biased and academic success oriented child-rearing strategies in the United States. While the traditional Korean child-rearing was supported by the extended family system and various social networks, participants relied on ethnic associations such as churches and Korean language schools in order to transmit their ethnic culture to the next generation and to acquire a guiding principle in child-rearing.

The Mission of Child-rearing

The traditional Korean doctrine of child-rearing was to raise a whole person, that is a person who is a psychologically, physically, and intelligently well developed human. Every school curriculum reflected this ideal. However, all participants in this research reported that there was a significant difference between the goal of an ideal man and the notion of people. All expressed how much they were urged to study hard in order to go to a distinguished college so that they would obtain fame and wealth. College in Korea was sometimes referred to as a tower made of cows' bones (*oo-gol tap* in Korean) because parents who were farmers sold their cows to earn money for their children's college tuition. Joseph Kim reflected what he felt between these two contradictory messages:

In Korea we had a special ethics class. Two times a week we were taught what a good person was. It included good personality traits such as honesty, industry, and fidelity. The message that we learned in these classes was how to become a good person (*jo-heun sah-ram* in Korean). However, regardless of these classes we were labeled as either a good student or a bad student according to our test score. Korean colleges were categorized from the most prestigious to the worst one. We were also categorized from the top rank person (*il-deung in-gan* in Korean) to the third rank (*sahm-deung in-gan* in Korean). We did not know how to interpret these dual messages. What we learned at school was that you could prove you were a good person if you went to the most prestigious college regardless of your personal traits.

Moreover, male participants reported that they experienced more pressure to obtain success because as sons they had to continue the name of their clan. Traditionally, male children were told that a man had to achieve his life goal and gain an honorable reputation from others by age twenty. Thomas Park and Justin Sohn, as the first sons of their families, agreed that they had felt greater stress to satisfy their parents'

expectations than their other siblings although they concurrently enjoyed prestige and power from their parents. Justin Sohn reflected his experience:

I was always told to study hard by our parents. School enforced students to get good grades. There was a certain frame to be put on Korean students. Nobody mentioned exactly what to do but we were supposed to concentrate on study.

Joseph Kim, as the youngest child in his family, did not feel pressure to contribute to his clan's fame, but he also thought he had to support his parents after he graduated from college.

When I was growing up, my dream was to be a great person. I read a lot of biographies of great people that were on students' required book list. I always assumed that I had to be a great person to support our elderly parents although I did not know how and what I had to do.

He shared many interesting stories from what he had read; George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, King Se-Jong and General Soon-Shin Lee had abundant honesty and courage in common.

On the contrary, female participants, except for Hannah Ku, mentioned that they did not remember what they were taught about being an ideal person. They were not treated the same way as the male participants because there was a distinct difference between men and women. Also, the three female participants, Stella Hwang, Sarah Park and Annie Kim were born either as the middle or the youngest child in their family. This researcher remembered what was considered the ideal self for a Korean woman. Traditionally Korean women were taught to be a wise mother and honest wife (*hyun-mo yang- chu*). Although they were encouraged to go to college, their future after graduation

from college would normally be a full-time mother and wife through good marriage.

Hannah Ku mentioned how she tried not to break her parents' fixed image of her as a nice, sweet girl. She respected the views of others about her including her relatives and neighbors. She also used the same metaphor of frame (*teul*) as Justin Sohn mentioned to explain Koreans' rigid value system:

I understood how I had to behave because I noticed that our parents recognized me as a good child (*chak-han ah-ee*). I obeyed and followed them without any objections but always my inner self was telling me something different. The reason why I did not express my opinion was not that I was a coward but because that I never wanted to hurt our parents.

Justin, Joseph, Thomas, and Hannah's reflections showed clearly that the mission of traditional Korean parenting was related to self-actualization not for oneself but for the greater goal of the family itself. They were taught that the unique way to achieve this goal was to go to a distinguished college, believing that a distinguished college would bring them success, fame and wealth.

While living in the United States, all participants kept the same notion of the ideal self that was deeply related to one's family. Moreover, it combined with their American dream to form strong parental expectations for their children's success. The meaning of the American dream varied with each participant; however, all shared an aggressive spirit to search for new challenges for a better life. Joseph Kim, especially, mentioned that his American dream was directly related to his children's future. He explained the situation of Korea when he decided to leave his mother country:

At that time Korean society was in chaos. In a society where irregularities and corruption were popular and abuse of power and graft were necessarily accepted, I could not leave our children being educated in chaos any longer. I was seriously

concerned about their future.

For the last five years, he had had great difficulty being acculturated to a new country. He felt rewarded and refreshed only by his daughter's academic excellence. He described how he was pleased by his daughter's outstanding academic achievement:

Our second daughter got all A's. She is an excellent student. I felt very happy that she could go to a famous college (*myung-moon dae hack* in Korean). After college, she will go to graduate school.

Academic achievement is one of the important factors that contribute to children's self-esteem. Good or poor grades are evaluated by the degree of children's effort.

However, the participants evaluated their children's academic achievement as simply grounded in the belief that a good grade (*Gong-boo jal ha myun* in Korean) guaranteed an amazing life (*chool-se han da* in Korean). Although participants responded that they respected their children's decisions about their future professions, the researcher felt strongly that the parents would drive their children to follow their decision to be doctors, lawyers, professors, or recently popularized computer engineers. Koreans, with their face saving culture, are concerned with other's reputation about their occupations.

Traditionally there was a strict hierarchy among occupations: the most honorable being a scholar, then a farmer, manufacturer, down to the most humble merchant. Although this notion has changed significantly following rapid industrialization, Koreans still respect occupations related to education. This value system continues among Korean parents in the United States although they seem to feel differently about the meaning of the ideal self.

On the other hand, transmitting their ethnic identity to the next generation is considered an essential task by Koreans who live in the United States. What does being Korean mean to them? Joseph Kim realized how much the meaning of his own childhood revitalized him whenever he faced crises in his life. He also hoped that his children would keep their childhood memories of experiences in Korea as a vital part of their lives:

At times I felt exhausted. I really thought it was bitter for a little boy to study hard and not enjoy other life experiences. But, after I grew up, I remembered those memories that had once been big burdens were suddenly changed into valuable things in my mind to encourage and brighten me. I hope our children will keep the beautiful memories that they have of Korea and they can place those in the center of their heart (*mah-eum* in Korean) so that they can live anywhere, but as Koreans.

Joseph had taken his four children to Korea two years ago in order to help them appreciate where they came from.

For all participants, Korean language acquisition was the most important goal of their child-rearing practices. All participants said they spoke only Korean at home except for Hannah Ku whose children spoke both Korean and English at home. Thomas Kim stated that the Korean language was the first tool needed to preserve Korean ethnicity. His children spoke Korean fluently because they had almost finished elementary school in Korea when they came to this country. Thomas expected them not to lose their Korean language ability, moreover to keep the same Korean fluency as their counterparts in Korea.

I made them write down [the] Korean Bible every day. Copying one page each day, they learned new vocabulary and expressions. For last five years, their Korean fluency has improved; our first son uses erudite Korean phrases. I am really satisfied with them. I immigrated [only] after they had finished elementary

school in order that they could master Korean grammar.

In order to preserve their mother tongue through the next generation, all participants send their children to Korean schools to augment the Korean spoken at home. Justin Sohn shared how distant he felt from his children as they were growing and what he did to solve this problem:

The more our two sons were educated the American way in English, the more seriously I felt isolated. I felt that we barely exchanged our emotion. I decided that our first son would go to a Korean university in Seoul, Korea to learn more advanced Korean, living for several years as a real Korean. Fortunately he accepted my offer and was enrolled in a Korean university. He is now in his second year. Last winter vacation he came back from Korea to spend his vacation with us. He said, "*Ah-bba* (Dad in English), Korean girls are so beautiful" in Korean. I began to relax when I found this only Korean thing within our son. I know someday our offspring will be assimilated to America. But, I want them to remain Korean children and to exchange love in Korean. I really want to hold on to them, not to rush into American mainstream. I hope the fifth generation after me can be real American. I don't want to lose our children. I am eager to express my love in Korean to our future grandchildren.

In addition to language preservation, all participants agreed their children had to learn how to behave as Koreans. In Korea there is a behavioral code according to age level including the usage of language, attire, body posture, etc. Korean immigrants expect their children to follow this Korean behavioral code when they are among Korean people. It means that children will say "*An-nyung ha se yo?*" in Korean rather than "Hi", use both hands when handing objects to older people, restrain their emotional expressions and not talk back to older people. Annie Kim described what happened when her parents-in-law visited them from Korea a few weeks ago:

Our son, at age ten, always complained about the way his grandmother did such things as mixing Korean salad by hand and not using her own individual plate. He spoke openly in front of her about what she did wrong. I felt nervous because

it was not respectable to speak directly to one's grandparents.

She added to this story that her mother-in-law said, "Your children are very different.

But, I understand because they are American."

Most Koreans observe their traditional holidays in the United States including Korean thanksgiving (*Choo-suk*) and New Year's day (*Sul-nal*). They wear their traditional costume, *Hahn-bok*, and visit their relatives. On the New Year's day, younger people bow (*se-bae*) to older people and the older people give money as a gift (*se-bae don*). Through the preservation of traditional ceremonies, Koreans not only reinforce their ethnic root and soothe their homesick feelings but transfer Korean heritage and values to their children.

In addition to language and custom preservation, the selection of a Korean spouse was important. All participants insisted that their children should marry Korean Americans although all of them accepted other ethnic people as their children's friends. They believe that marrying within the ethnicity is the best way to transmit their ethnic heritage as well as to preserve their Korean language. Such an act assures Korean blood lineage, an important value for all study participants. Korea is the most homogeneous ethnic group in the world. Traditionally, Koreans rarely accept interracial marriages and this culture was exacerbated by the Korean war. Following the war, United States military bases were opened and there were many disreputable interracial marriages between American soldiers and Korean women. Participants in this study accepted those friends of their children who were from other ethnic groups but were not in favor of inter-racial marriages. In Korea marriages are arranged and seen as the uniting of two

clans. Inter-racial marriages are traditionally interpreted as disconnection of the family names.

Although all participants agreed that their children are Korean Americans and must have what are considered the essential Korean traits, they also noted that it was important for their children to get along with the American mainstream. Hannah Ku presented:

Our children can never change their physical Korean characteristics. But they are educated in American schools and will be involved in the broader American social context. I am seriously concerned about his selection of friends. Our son has a prejudice about white mainstream Americans and he gets along mainly with his Asian friends. In America in order to enjoy real life, I believe, his uniqueness as a minority has to be blended into something American because this country is a real melting pot.

She understood and accepted the concept of a melting pot and did not show anxiety about racial issues within that concept. Surprisingly the three mothers never mentioned racial discrimination or ethnic prejudice. The researcher believes that, except Hannah Ku, the two mothers were very distant from mainstream society; there was no opportunity for them to comprehend what was going on in this society without contact with mass media or American friends. They believe that this country is really a paradise where anyone could be anything if she/he wanted.

The Methods of Child-rearing

Family system. There were little differences among all participants' families regarding the traditional roles of a strict father and a generous mother. To them fathers were authority figures who kept their distance physically, psychologically and socially while mothers were overly courteous in expressing their love directly. Rather, through

interactions with their siblings they felt emotional support. Justin Sohn described his strict father:

Our father was very strict (*um-hah dah*) and reticent. He spoke only few words and our mother was in charge of the details of family business including raising us. But, I understand why our father had to suppress his feelings, even his expression of love for us. He tried to keep his authority and social status as a man and did his best to satisfy the expectations of Korean people at that time.

There is a story that shows how much Korean fathers are authoritative: a Korean father said, "How foolish and careless you are to spill the water cup.", after watching his son accidentally knock over a water cup placed in the center of the room and spill its contents. But, in the same situation, if the father himself had kicked over and spilt a water cup, he would shout, "Which crazy brat placed a cup in the center of the room?" In America where a distinctly different parent-child relationship is needed, how should such an authoritative Korean father feel? Justin Sohn said that he felt miserable watching Korean fathers keep far distant from their children to show their authority.

Hanna Ku described her husband as follows:

I try to respect our children's emotion. I sometimes protect them from our husband to avoid hurting them emotionally. Whenever I defend them, our husband says, "You raise our children improperly to be rude." I know he is so conservative as to follow our Confucian traditions. He looks like an old TV set with only three channels.

Conversely, Sarah Park, Annie Kim and Stella Hwang evaluated themselves as strict mothers and complained about their generous husbands. They believed that their parenting would be more effective if their husbands were stricter.

In the United States, except for Stella Hwang, all participants and their spouses work in order to support their families financially. In Korea there is a strict distinction of

duty between a husband and a wife. Most husbands are so busy making a living that they can not afford to take care of and support their family emotionally. After husbands earn money, wives are in charge of every home management. Thomas Park commented as follows:

In Korea, I never got an opportunity to spend time with our family. I was busy pursuing my own success. I hardly saw our children because I left home early in the morning and came back at midnight. If our wife asked for help and advice on child-rearing from me, I blamed her because it was her own responsibility as a full-time mother. However, in America, that distinction of duty between husband and wife is no more meaningful to me. Now I have time to share with our wife and two sons. I appreciate that I truly care for our family.

Thomas Park and Justin Sohn as first sons in their families felt a special need to be the role model for their clans and enjoyed the prestige for being future heads of their clans. On the other hand, Sarah Park, Annie Kim, Joseph Kim, and Stella Hwang delighted in the love and competition they had with their other siblings as the middle or the youngest children. Korean sibling relationships are quite different from American interactions because there is a certain boundary between the elder and the younger rather than a relationship as friends. Annie Kim talked about her big sister:

Our mother was busy managing our home business. Whenever our mother was supposed to attend school meetings, our big sister (*keun un-nee*) took her place. I remember how proud I was of our beautiful big sister in front of other friends. Our big sister still keeps in touch with me for support and love just like our mother.

All participants have from five to eight siblings. In the 1950's, when they were born, it was popular in Korea to have many children because contraception and population policy were very new concepts for Koreans. All the participants agreed they

had enriched childhood memories due to the large number of brothers and sisters.

In America all participants coincidentally raised two children, except for Joseph Kim who has three daughters and one son. They agreed that their children who lived in an American culture regarded their siblings as their closest friends without any hierarchical order between them. Children called their sisters or brothers by their given names although when they were youngsters they used the Korean words *Un-nee* (title for elder sister used by a younger sister) / *Noo-nah* (title for elder sister used by a younger brother), or *O-bbah* (title for elder brother used by a younger sister) / *Hyung* (title for elder brother used by a younger brother).

Disciplinary methods. Most participants in Korean parenting classes listed to discipline their children in order to obey and respect family as the most valued goal for their family lives. All interview and parenting class participants agreed that they were satisfied with the quality of American education. However, they were overwhelmed with the abundant freedom given to children in American schools. They were anxious that their children might become immoral and liberal. They were horrified that teenagers' make-up and attire are generally accepted as a form of self-expression.

Sarah Park, Annie Kim and Stella Hwang described themselves as strict mothers and their husbands as very generous. They explained that the reason why they were strict was to raise children who would obey laws. To accomplish their parenting goal Sarah Park and Stella Hwang sometimes used physical punishment. Sarah Park mentioned:

I used physical punishment to correct our children's behavior, specially for our first son in Korea. I did not know exactly how to discipline a child to be a good mannered man and I followed the same method as our parents had used. This

method brought instant behavior correction. However, in this country I know corporal punishment is prohibited and regarded as child abuse. Even our two sons are too old to hit now.

Koreans compare their mothers' love to a gigantic ocean or endless universe.

There is a story that describes who a Korean mother is; When a family has only one small fish to eat, a mother always says "I don't like the other parts. I am going to eat only the head of this fish." She wants to offer the best parts of the fish to her children so she pretends not to like the best body parts.

Stella Hwang described how a Korean mother's love was limitless:

I know many Korean old ladies who seem to devote their whole lives to their children. Even though they are senior, they work all day as housekeepers or baby-sitters of their grandchildren to support their married children. I have compassion on their chapped hands.

Such self-sacrificing Korean mothers criticized their counterpart American mothers as cold-hearted because they were strict but protective of their children whenever possible. During a Korean parenting class, one mother shared a story; she had watched a little American boy who tried to take his bicycle out of his mother's van near a bicycle repair shop. However, his mother never helped him; she just sat in the driver's seat reading a book. Another mother also added her observation that a neighboring American mother did not bring her daughter's lunch to school when her daughter mistakenly left her prepared lunch in the car. She wanted her daughter to learn the importance of responsibility and independence from the consequence of her action.

Communication style. Korean men have been taught not to express their insight

and to restrict their verbal expression. If any man criticizes or complains verbally, he is criticized as a weak, woman-like and dishonorable man. This originates from their face saving culture. If somebody shares his/her personal feelings, others perceive him/her as a shallow-hearted person. The researcher as a counselor working with the Korean population, has found that a counseling dialogue brings to the Korean male shame and disgrace rather than disclosure and openness.

Joseph Kim found that his three daughters were more restricted in expressing their feelings freely than his son who was raised mostly in this country. He mentioned:

I was surprised that every child actively participated in discussion or TV interviews in America. Although I notice the younger generation is different from us, we Koreans usually hesitate to respond when asked for our opinions and thoughts publicly. This originated from our different child-rearing methods from American. I let our daughters talk openly about their opinions but they have difficulties sharing their opinions.

Following their authoritative parenting style, Korean parents seldom allow their children to give input regarding parents' thoughts or behaviors. There is no concept of American humanism and equality in a Korean family. Sarah Park described how she accepted her son's frank and bold opinion about her:

If he expressed his opinion directly that I was too much involved in his life and that he could not enjoy an independent life as a seventeen year old boy in America, I would be enraged. However, he used indirect communication style during family worship time. He prayed to God for me not to be a talkative and complaining mother.

Korean parents at the Korean youth and parent workshop discussed about their low self-expression. They agreed they hardly listened to their children and often watched

and controlled them using only two words, "why?" and "no".

One exercise that was practiced in the Korean parenting class gave us a clue to understanding their daily conversations; each group was asked to select the best responses to improve their communication skills under certain situations. Although each group member agreed to select the best responses, they found that in real life they used the worst examples during their daily conversations with their children.

The situations to ask the best answers were:

(1) When a child complained about his parents who entered his room without knocking the door. The worst response was "Why not? Can't I enter my own child's room?"

(2) When a child was angry because she could not go outside on a beautiful day. The worst response was "Hey (*Ya* in Korean)! Don't blame the beautiful weather. If you have time to look around, study hard."

(3) When a child complained that the noise bothered his studying. The worst response was "Hey (*Yah*)! Because you don't like to study, you blame the noise."

(4) When a child lost a valuable item at school and was deeply depressed. The worst answer was "Hey (*Yah*)! What did I say? I told you never to take valuable things to school. You deserve it because you did not listen to me."

What does a second generation Korean child think about her parent's authoritative communication style? She answered if she could talk to her parents about her problems as follows:

No, I don't feel that I can talk to them about my problems. I don't even feel comfortable begin around them alone. Even if I did talk to them about my problems they wouldn't understand and would end up yelling at me, making it seem like it's my fault (Bridging the Gap, 1999).

Sex-role education. Justin Sohn remembered that his sisters and mother had eaten at a separate dining table in Korea. All participants agreed that there was a strict distinction between women and men regarding not only their social status but also trial custom. In Korea women were regarded as second class citizens. Girls were disciplined not in order to be human beings but to be daughters, wives and mothers. Justin Sohn felt heartbroken about his mother's life, noticing her hands were never dry but always busy doing much housework.

Stella Hwang mentioned that her father and brother's interference was very severe in order to control her behavior:

I could not wear a short skirt because our father and brother never allowed it. To us girls, a different curfew was applied. Certainly we ate at a separate table but also different food from our father and brother's. But I didn't feel it was unfair at that time. I have one daughter and one son. I am sure that I have treated them fairly and equally.

Thomas and Sarah Park said that they felt relieved because they did not have a daughter whenever they heard their friends' daughters were engaged in sexual misbehavior. Joseph Kim remembered that he especially emphasized his daughters' discipline because he never wanted to hear any complaint regarding their behaviors after they were married and joined other clans.

Annie Kim mentioned that she felt anxious about her daughter although she knew

her daughter was very capable and independent. On the other hand, she seldom worried about her son. She assumed that her reaction was the result of the cultural notion that a girl is weaker than a boy.

The researcher remembers two famous phrases promoting population control in Korea; in the 1970s, "Raise only two children well whether sons or daughters"; and in the 1980s, "You will never envy ten sons because of your admirable daughter." Although all participants look ahead to raising their children without evident discrimination in the United States, the old tradition of sexual discrimination may still be engraved in their unconscious.

Riz Suk stated that in the United States strong parental protection also applied to daughters. A young client told her that she was astonished when her mother wanted her to be escorted by her little brother whenever she went out in the late evening. Although her little brother was only nine years old and would not be able to protect his teen aged sister physically, the mother's insistence originated from the Korean traditional notion of frail women who had to be protected by men.

One of the Korean youth and parent workshop participants shared how she used different vocabulary when speaking to her son and daughter. "I told my son, 'Clean your room' when his room is messy. However, I told my daughter, 'Clean your room. What will your future husband think of you and us if you do not keep clean habits?'"

Social networks. One of the Korean parenting class participants cited Mrs. Clinton's expression: "It takes a village to raise a child." All participants agreed that it was more difficult to raise their children in the United States because they have no

village to lean on. Traditionally Korean child-rearing was carried out in a village, supported by extended family members and neighbors.

In the United States all research participants leaned on Korean ethnic churches as their own emotional hometowns. They agreed that human relationships based on the foundations of Christianity were a driving force in overcoming the hardships in a new country. Justin Sohn said that Korean immigrant churches worked as "a catharsis in immigrants' life". In addition, all participants felt that churches cultivated good children who were grounded in the teaching of the Bible.

Thomas and Sarah Park shared their new experience in a Korean immigrant church:

We think religion is a tool to purify our personalities. However, the first time we went to a Korean immigrant church, we felt very foreign and strange because all church members seemed to enthusiastically care about each another regardless of their educational or social background. In Korea our social network was fixed according to our economic and social status. This boundary decided whom to include in our group and we seldom communicated with people outside our group. Once we were accustomed to the climate in the immigrant church, we understood that it was really Christian to love everyone.

Although all participants keep a close relationship with other Koreans through churches, they have not kept in touch with their relatives in the United States. They feel that they do not have sufficient emotional and financial resources reserved for their relatives because the more urgent task is to make enough money to live on. Moreover, Hannah Ku commented on how uncomfortable it was to meet her conservative parents-in-law.

Whenever I scoop some rice out of the pot, I wind up arguing with our mother-in-

law. She claims that I have to give the first scoop to our father-in-law because he is a chief of our whole family. I disagree with her although I understand it is a big deal for her; Whether he gets the first or last scoop, we eat together.

Hannah felt she was more acculturated to the American value system than her Korean friends, husband and other family members. Her mother-in-law's hierarchical value system really disturbed her. She offered another example:

I wanted our children to learn Korean culture from their grandparents. However, they always compare their American born grandchildren with their other grandchildren in Korea. When they order or direct something and our children ask questions related to their request or express refusal, they complain, "Ji-Young in Korea will do anything we order, but you never obey us. You are spoiled."

Leisure and activities. Stella Hwang's and Annie Kim's children took musical instrument lessons in addition to several extra curriculum activities. They followed other Korean mothers who believed that these activities would contribute to their children's development. Except for the children of these two mothers, no other participants' children took part in any extra curriculum activities. However, some children from the Korean parenting class participants were busy participating in various scholastic activities. Their main reason for participation was to get additional credit to guarantee admission to outstanding colleges. Korean parents often allow their children take some extra curricular activities but these have to be technically related to college admission. It appeared to this researcher that the parents competed regarding the number of activities that their children took.

Hannah Ku's overly ordinary child-rearing methods seemed to be strange to the other Korean parents:

I took our children to fields to interact with nature. Once I let them take musical instrument lessons. They did not enjoy it so I let them quit. I think that it is the first duty of parents to offer them a lot of opportunities and look towards their future instead of leading them into an already fixed plan.

The Developmental Goals

Korean view of child development. Koreans have certain notions of child development. They believe in fatalism. Everyone's future is already destined. Joseph Kim and Hannah Ku thought that the reason why each child behaved differently despite the fact that they raised and disciplined their children within the same environment, was that each was controlled by their fate (*pahl-jja* in Korean). Korean parents believe that the personalities of their children are instinctive and that only a small portion can be altered through education or parenting. There is a Korean old proverb: "A dragon can be born in a dirty sewer." With this expression engraved in their minds, Koreans respect human nature more than environment when it concerns child development.

Koreans are convinced that there is a certain life passage that everyone has to follow. This conviction was well reflected in an assignment during a Korean parenting class. All participants were asked to describe their life paths at each age level. The following commonly shared reply was provided by one male participant: From birth to their early twenties, males are supposed to follow the path that their parents prepared and selected for them, centered mostly on schooling; At twenty, every man has to join the military; then after graduation from college, one finds a job; and marries someone whom parents approve before age thirty. From marriage to retirement, they will devote themselves to their children's education and marriage; and, finally as grandparents will

enjoy the status of family head.

This participant was surprised at the tremendous differences between his life passage and that of his son. At age thirty his son would enjoy family activities such as travel. In his fifties, after he retired, his son could revitalize himself by taking up challenging new activities that he had never tried before.

In this country, all participants felt uncomfortable when they had to address older people by their names, when they saw older people wearing jeans that were worn only by the younger generation in Korea, and when young men said to them, "Hey, man!", tapping them on the backs. Korean parents preferred the expression '*jum-jan-tah*' which was used to honor mature people. However, there is a hidden meaning behind this expression; "not young." In American culture anyone who is youthful minded is respected as vital and energetic, whereas Koreans admire someone who is traditional and conventional. This tendency originates from the past oriented culture which worships and respects their ancestors.

Adolescence. Stella Hwang and Annie Kim remembered their adolescence (*sah-choon-gee* in Korean) as normal and peaceful as well as the other stages of their lives. They had noticed nothing special except for their physical maturation. Thomas Park described his adolescence:

I can not remember whether I went through my adolescence. I concentrated on studying for the college entrance exam and did not notice either emotional or physical changes within myself. Now I regret that I could not have any opportunity to open myself to various experiences during the possibly most sensitive (*ye-min* in Korean) and uncontaminated (*soon-soo* in Korean) period of my life. I knew some of my friends had girl friends, although it was prohibited for students to meet opposite sex friends openly, and some were involved in

singing bands. At that time most of us criticized those students as delinquents. Now I can not find any differences between them and us. Perhaps they had enriched their lives more than us.

His wife, Sarah Park, remembered how much she was interested in her appearance during adolescence:

We wore the same black uniform (*gyo-bock* in Korean) with a heavily starched white collar. With the same uniform, we tried to look better, competing to wear a better starched or cleaner collar. Our hair style was also the same short bob. We had the front hair layered to cover our forehead called a lovelock (*ae-gyo muri* in Korean) even though it was prohibited.

Although she felt emotional sensitivity during her adolescence, she was not totally free to openly enjoy her emotional change due to the strong control and the strict rule of family and school. However, she regarded that adolescence was a natural and necessary period in children's growth.

Joseph Kim emphasized the development of his sexual interest during adolescence.

I defined my adolescence as the blossoming stage of my sexual interest. During adolescence, for the first time, my physical and sexual characteristics were distinguished from children's. One day, our elder sister said, "You suddenly look like a man. Your voice has changed and you are taller than before."

Although Joseph felt rising sexual interest, he did not talk about it in keeping with Confucian culture to restrain instinctive desires. Korean parents, who had been educated at a girls' or boys' middle/high school under a strict policy of segregation of men and women, still appraised an ascetic life and mentioned to their children "Men and women are not allowed to be together once they reach age seven". Justin Sohn also suppressed

his desires and thoughts. He described why he could not express his defiant and disobedient attitude during adolescence:

I suppressed my defiant attitude. I really wanted to challenge the adult generation. However, I never said one word of disregard to our parents. There were always certain expectations for me as a son, brother, and student. I did not intend to disappoint our family who believed that I would be a good person. Although I felt a big tornado rising in my mind, I had to suppress it.

The discussion about American youth culture made during Korean parenting class was interesting. Like the interview participants, the parenting class participants, who scarcely remembered the experiences they had gone through during adolescence, felt isolated and astonished as they watched their children's Americanized (*Mee-gook seek* in Korean) adolescence. They agreed that during adolescence youth began to adapt themselves physically, psychologically, and socially to adult life so that they might make mistakes or behave with uncertainty and fear. However, most participants complained about their children's new attraction to weird expressions in attire, habits, and favorite music. One mother said:

Our son adopted a strange hair style. Although few days before he had dyed his hair. I warned him never to show up among our church members. I guess that his next attempt will be to pierce his ears for earrings or to wear a buzzcut. As well as his out-of-mind appearance, I never understand why he messes up his room and talks on the phone late every night.

Korean parents argue with their children regarding their preference in clothing, music, hobbies, friends, and life style. They seem to understand there is a difference between their adolescence and that of their children's. However, parents can not accept their children's attitude about not thinking about their parents' face saving among other Koreans.

Finding 2: Korean Child-rearing within Cultural Transition:

Do Korean Americans encounter any cultural clash through child-rearing process
in the United State?

The collectivistic Korean society still respects an authoritarian child-rearing strategy to discipline children who adapt to the hierarchical Korean society and thus follow the harmony of the cosmos. However, Korean immigrant parents feel confused about how to raise their children in U.S. society when they apply their traditional child-rearing strategy. This situation often develops into a family crisis and it can be an obstacle of a successful transmission of their ethnicity in the United States. The main reason for this conflict derives from the difference between Korean collectivism and U.S. individualism.

This study summarized the six factors to cause cultural clash when Korean immigrant parents followed their collectivistic and authoritative child-rearing strategy in an individualistic U.S. society. The six factors are : isolated life, life stress, authoritative parenting, educational enthusiasm, language barrier with their children and strong ethnic cohesiveness.

Isolated Life

All interview participants came to the United States after 1988 with their whole families through family sponsored immigration except for Hannah Ku who came to this country over twenty years ago as a foreign exchange student. Among these participants, Stella Hwang's story of the American dream reveals how naïve she was about life in the United States. She flew by herself from Korea because her husband sponsored her

immigration through marriage.

I met a Korean American (*gyo-po* in Korean). He persuaded me to come to America where I could enjoy material affluence. He explained how much freedom and equality women enjoyed in America. I decided to marry him and live in a new country. I prepared many things including a tooth brush and a tooth paste because I thought I would have trouble buying those things in a new country. At *Kim-po* airport, I can not remember how much I cried. It was a separation from my family of origin to cross water and mountains. Even on the airplane I never slept and hardly suppressed my sadness.

All participants live isolated from main stream American society except Hannah Ku, and Sarah and Thomas Park who meet *Mee-gook Sah-rahm* (Americans) at their places of work. Although Justin Sohn, Annie Kim, Stella Hwang and Joseph Kim enjoy their new lives in the United States, they feel uncomfortable about their limited English proficiency. They have jobs related to local Korean community and live their daily life mostly among Koreans. Above all, they are angry at themselves because they do not know how to help their children and have limited interaction with their teachers.

They admitted that they did not have any opportunities to understand American culture because they lived isolated from the mainstream American life. Their impressions of American culture are based on their casual relationships with Americans including greetings on the street or watching on TV. Joseph Kim mentioned:

I don't have any American friends. I work at a Korean owned company where most employees are Korean, buy Korean products at a Korean market, listen to Korean radio on the way and from work, subscribe to Korean daily newspaper, and watch Korean video tapes almost every night. What I feel about this country, based on my very limited experience, is that Americans seem outwardly to care for others. But, I notice that they are very rational and individualistic.

Thomas and Sarah Park meet American customers everyday. They stated that

Americans shared the same needs as Koreans when it came to raising good children. However, they felt stunned when customers became very aggressive and business-like when inquiring about an issue. This is in contrast with Koreans who avoid arguments intentionally as prescribed by their face saving culture.

Life Stress

Joseph Kim has felt depressed for the last five years. His depression originated from the value differences between American and Korean culture. His Korean value system regarding the husband-wife relationship clashes with this new culture.

In Korea a wife has to obey her husband. She is supposed to respect his authority and follow his orders without any objection. I never listened to our wife in Korea because it was not necessary for a husband to respect a wife. Now I feel what I heard about the equal relationship between a husband and a wife is true in the United States. Whenever our wife talks, I have to show her I am listening to her although I don't agree with all her opinions.

His self-denial was more intensified by a career change and his insecure economic situation:

Our wife did not work in Korea. However, she has to work in this country to support our family. As a chief of our family (*gah-jahng* in Korean) I feel guilty because I can not make good money and even a woman has to work. My current job also makes me feel worthless. I have never worked as a manual laborer before. I suffer not from the physical hardship but lost of face (*chea-myun* in Korean)

Although many of the recent immigrants are college-educated professionals and middle-class families, occupational inconsistency has been a widespread problem for many. The low English proficiency of Koreans limits occupational opportunities to low status, low paying jobs that require limited English proficiency. Also, a low level of English proficiency restricts social networking to other Korean speaking friends.

Korean family therapist, Jay Choi, stated that most of his clients have acculturation problems. He said, "They never accept the reality of the present, adhering only to their past. In the very limited and isolated life settings, their present is interpreted by their past perspective. Refusing the reality of here and now, their body and mind live separately in the present and the past."

Authoritative Parenting

Korea, as a traditional Confucian society, has emphasized the patrilineal and patriarchal family and young people must obey the older generation unconditionally under Confucian teaching. Children owe one-sided obedience to and respect for their parents and other adults. How do Koreans conduct their authoritative child-rearing practices in the United States? The social worker Moon-Hee Rhee, the Korean parenting class instructor, addressed the characteristics of Korean parents in the United States:

Korean parents are very authoritative. Whenever they need advices or parenting strategies, they ask for an instant answer what to do rather than how to do. They insist that they are so perfect parents that they do not need to change their attitude. They blame their children because their children are strongly influenced by poor American culture. They believe that they have to decide what to do or not to do for their immature children.

Most participants at the Korean parenting class are not accustomed to the democratic American parenting style which calls for listening to their children, supporting them to increase their own problem-solving capability, and keeping democratic family rules that are agreed to by each family member. They instead follow their own parents' authoritative child-rearing methods. They order their children to do things without detail directions or guidelines and then break out in anger when their

children can not satisfy their expectations. One of the participants shared her story:

I was upset that our daughter was on the phone with her friends until late every night. Several times I warned her not to do it again. One day I could suppress my anger against her no longer and yelled at her. Next morning I felt hurt and needed to tell her that I was sorry. But I never did that because a mother doesn't apologize and never asks for forgiveness from her children in Korea.

They remembered how they were indoctrinated that they could do anything (*hahmyun doen-dah* in Korean) under the dictatorial military government during their school days. Regardless of individual differences in ability, emotion, and environment, Koreans believe that you fail because you did not do your best. With this belief, participants authoritatively discipline their children to be goal-oriented but they do not support their children technically. Goals are set by parents. When children ask for parental guidance or help in achieving planned goals, parents say, "Just do it without any questions!" Later they blame their children when they can not accomplish goals despite their effort or challenge to abilities.

A young Korean workshop participant criticized her authoritative parents:

They can't decide everything for me and they don't run my life just because they're my parents. They would never understand that. With a closer relationship with my parents comes more responsibilities and less freedom.

Howard Kwon reported on two Korean young men raised by typical authoritative Korean parents (The Korea Times San Francisco, December 29, 1998):

I met two Korean foreign exchange students at dinner, who successfully completed their academic courses. They did not express their thoughts in front of older people and only answered when questioned by others. Two young men were baffled on how to enjoy relaxed and free conversation with others. I guess they were disciplined in the strict Korean families.

Jay Choi criticized how seriously Korean parents ignored their children's emotional suffering. If their children confess sadness, distress, or irritation, parents never show any respect for these feelings and respond by saying, "What does good feeling (*gee-boon* in Korea) do for you? When I was young, I never talked back to adults."

Korean children begin to feel confused by their authoritative parents comparing them with American parents:

I saw my friends "hanging " with their parents; going shopping; discussing life's problems; talking about popular culture; going to the newest movies together. This sharply contrasted my own life, where I had always treated my parents with an unwritten "Honor, Respect, Obey" code (I can remember my fifth-grade class establishing "Golden rules" and each student choosing the one that meant the most to them. Mine was "Honor thy Mother and Father.") (Herald, 1998)

One of the possible reasons why Korean parents discipline their children harshly is that their face saving (*che-myun* in Korean) culture urges them to compare their children's achievements with other children's. Riz Suk shared her story:

Once I smoked. One day my father found out I was smoking. He was very upset not because I was addicted to an unhealthy habit but because it was a very dishonorable behavior to my father's generation for a young girl to smoke .

On the other hand, she compared authoritative and controlling Korean parents to codependency as one of psychological symptom:

"Our child, our child (*oo-ree ae, oo-ree ae* in Korean)" - Korean parents never think of their children as separate human beings and project their own passion and effort in raising them. If their children do not follow them and even fail to achieve a goal, they feel heart-broken pain. They blame their children who challenge their authority and dare to rebel against their parents, crying - "How I have raised you."

She added that Korean parents' high expectations, strict discipline and control might prevent their children's psychological maturity and independence.

Educational Enthusiasm

Korean parents even regard the success of their children as the highest fulfillment of their own lives. With strong parental pressure to attain academic success, Korean children feel obligated to obtain high grades in school.

Katherine Kim has written a reflection essay titled "Kids Just As Kids" that reveals how much Korean kids are urged not to be kids:

Other mainstream parents complain that Korean parents raise their children only for academic success. Many Korean children go to tutoring classes not because they need extra help with their studies but to be all "A" students. Moreover, they find that only a few Korean students join community service programs. ---- I am proud if Young-Hee is the best student in English and Chul-Hee has an artistic talent. However, it is so artificial that Young-Hee and Chul-Hee, both are the best at all school subjects (The Korea Times San Francisco, November 20, 1998).

Most participants of the Korean parenting classes looked to behave like the following model of a typical Korean parent: "Mom! I got 92% at math test.", Soo-Jin said proudly. Her mother responded, "Really? How about others' grades?" Soo-Jin answered, "All of us got over 90% because this test was very easy." Impudently mother said, "It is no wonder that you got a good grade on such an easy test. Perhaps your friend, Hae-Min, got 100%, didn't she?"

A Korean child complained of her parents' strong drive towards success:

They just want what they think is the best for me, they want me to succeed. And they don't want me to get involved in anything that would hinder me from succeeding. But they don't seem to realize that I also strive to achieve success for

myself (Bridging the gap, 1999)

In contrast, Korean parents justified their educational enthusiasm:

Mom and dad aren't reproaching you based on ego, but based on our life experience. We would like to give you advice from our mistakes and heart, and hope you guys understand more (Bridging the gap, 1999).

Korean immigrant parents argue that it is the best way to live in the United States without racial discrimination for minority children to be academically distinguished.

However, their inflexible and rigid enthusiasm towards academic excellence may actually have the opposite effect. Sun Min Park is seriously concerned about Korean mothers' fanatic enthusiasm:

I feel miserable when I see little children to be transferred from here to there by their mothers in order to learn something such as piano, violin, art, tutoring, sports, etc. They look like squirrels moving back and forth on the wheel in the cage (The Korea Times San Francisco, Dec. 11, 1998).

Yee Cho described Korean parents' first class anxiety (*il-ryoo byung* in Korean) as follows:

At Harvard University the most common last name was Kim. That was also the most common among the Korean last names. It showed that there were a lot of Korean students at such an outstanding university ---- Our Korean parents know that honor students must go to either law school or engineering related majors regardless of their aptitude and interest. I warn Korean parents to wake up from their foolish dreams. This country where many opportunities are prevalent does not directly associate a distinguished college diploma with success (Korean Daily News, Feb. 10, 1999).

The relentless push, immense sacrifice, and unrealistic expectations of Korean parents are often caused by an overzealous drive to seek the crowning 'trophies' for

themselves, not for their children (Han, 1996).

Language Barrier with their Children

Nakayama (1997) mentions that history has strongly influenced what language we speak, how we are perceived and how we perceive ourselves, and what domestic and international conflicts affect us. Language retention and acquisition may be significant issues between immigrant parents and children because ethnicity is more seriously considered among immigrants in the United States as a result of cultural dislocation and contact with mainstream American culture (Bradunas, 1988).

What is the reality of Korean language retention and acquisition in the United States? Although all interview participants expressed they never experienced communication difficulty with their children, they remarked that language difference was the first factor to cause conflict between Korean parents and their children. Stella Hwang mentioned what she felt watching other Korean mothers' struggle to handle relational conflict with their children:

Possibly their relational conflict came from various reasons. However, I believe their conflict originated from language barrier. For us Korean parents it is natural to speak Korean as our native tongue whatever we master English. If we teach our children to speak Korean freely, we will have more opportunities to understand each other before any problems are apparent.

Ethnic identity is strongly tied to language retention. If a language barrier between Korean American parents and their children exists, it can influence not only the linguistic problem of communication but also the process of social / cultural capital transference. Therefore, between parents with low English proficiency and children with low Korean proficiency, transmission of culture is not expected.

Tension and ill feelings are generated between Korean parents and their American raised children who lack the appreciation and fluency of Korean to properly observe the hierarchical protocol. A survey (The Korea Times San Francisco, January 30, 1999) shows that 92.4% of Korean Americans spoke Korean at home. The Korean language, however, is used among adult Koreans but used restrictedly between parents and children or children and children. Korean immigrant parents use Korean at home because their English is limited and they want their children, as Korean descendants, to speak Korean. However, they hardly attend to their children's Korean proficiency.

The case study of a Korean immigrant family shows the conflicts between parents and children caused by the language barrier: Mr. and Mrs. Kim, including Mr. Kim's mother, spoke to their children exclusively in Korean because of their limited English while their children had nearly lost their native tongue after just a few years in American schools. They thought that their children were very unresponsive and insolent whenever their children could not understand them. When Mr. Kim came to realize that his children could no longer speak or understand Korean, he wept as he spoke of being unable to talk to his children. One of his children commented that she did not understand why her parents always seemed to be angry (Saravia-Shore & Garcia, 1995).

Jay Choi addressed:

Korean parents do not understand what real communication is. They speak Korean to say "Eat", "Do your homework", "Wake up", "Turn off TV", or "When is your test?" to their children. However, these expressions are not relevant to exchange concern and love each other. Korean parents must think about how many minutes they spend with their children to really communicate.

At one level, Korean immigrant parents are quite aware that their children must have strong English skills to achieve academic success in the United States. On the other hand, they want their children to retain full use of Korean as their mother tongue. This unrealistic expectation leads to antagonism and frustration between parents and children (B. Kim, 1988).

The researcher has been asked by some Korean immigrant parents how to transfer their children from English as second language classes to regular classes. To them, learning English at English as second language classes proposed that their children were not smart and such placement brought dishonor to their family.

Strong Ethnic Cohesiveness

Howard Kwon presented a story of a second generation Korean who graduated from a distinguished college and was scouted by a well-known company:

After he quit that company in only six months, which all of Korean parents admire for their children's job, he moved to the small town and opened a computer store. I do not say that working at the well-known company is better than owning a computer store. The reason for him to quit that position was that he could not survive in mainstream culture of co-workers (The Korea Times San Francisco, June, 18. 1998).

Howard Kwon, an educator, insisted that the Korean parenting style excessively stuck to culture of origin and produced a limited and passive man who could not tolerate or respect another culture.

Korean parents often bind their children with such strong ethnic traditions that children feel foreign and alien in mainstream American culture. Second generation Koreans complained that they had to go to Korean churches and language schools where

distinct Korean customs and traditions were practiced. If the first generation is attached to the culture of origin without any effort to adapt to their new culture, the next generation is likely to reject the ethnic values of parents and strive to become "Americanized" (Sluzki, 1979). Yu (1994) expressed concerns that many second generation Koreans too easily leave the Korean community when they integrated into the larger society.

Howard Kwon suggested:

If you want your children to survive in the United States, you have to teach them mainstream culture and develop their potentials. If you keep them in our community, they will be swept by the big wave of mainstream. Never fasten them to our language, our culture, our churches, and our community. Our children look like large fish in the lake of our community. However, they may change into smallest fish when they enter the ocean of mainstream. We, Koreans have to encourage them to be familiar to that ocean from their early age.

Finding 3: Challenges to Koreans in the United States towards Ethnic Survival;

What new child-rearing strategies can be manifested by Koreans in order to raise 'the ideal person' in the United States?

Korean immigrants brought their traditional value and child-rearing strategy to the United States. Korean immigrants and their children have been struggling between the old and new cultures. Their struggle was caused by the contrast value system between Korean collectivism and U.S. individualism. Korean parents are asked to develop a new paradigm in order to raise their children functionally and succeed to their ethnic identity in the United States. The mission of child-rearing is ultimately to raise the ideal person who the society needs. Therefore, Korean parents have to adopt a new definition of the ideal person to complete their parenting obligation.

This study found that Korean parents have to develop a biculturally integrated and enriched dual identity as a Korean American. For this task, they have to share their past as the foundation of their ethnicity and open themselves towards the multicultural society.

Ethnic Identity: What is a Korean American?

Ethnic groups require a strong self-awareness and a sharing of common culture among group members in order to promote a sense of ethnic identity (Delpit, 1995). According to Kwan and Sodowsky (1997), ethnic identity consists of internal ethnic identity and external identity. Internal aspects refer to cognitive, moral, and affective dimension including self-image and images of one's ethnic group, knowledge of the ethnic group's values, feelings of group obligations and feelings of attachment to one's own ethnic group. In contrast, external aspects of ethnic identity refer to observable social and cultural behaviors in the areas of ethnic language usage, ethnic-group friendship, participation on ethnic-group functions, and activities, ethnic media preference and maintaining ethnic traditions. They argued that internal ethnic identity predicted one's perception of the salience of ethnicity, whereas external identity did not.

Koreans in the United States seem to possess clear external identity. They demonstrate a strong cohesiveness through the use of Korean language, participation in various ethnic organizations, preference of Korean media and celebration of Korean traditions. Then how do they recognize internal identity as Koreans to predict their ethnic success in the new country? Even interview participants could not define what Korean was. To them to have Korean physical characteristics, to speak Korean, to marry

Koreans and raise Korean children meant "being" Korean. Their lack of consciousness of Korean ethnicity also brought conflict and confusion to their children who struggled with self-identity.

According to Banks (1992), the stages of ethnicity include six stages of ethnicity: ethnic psychological captivity, ethnic encapsulation, ethnic identity clarification, biethnicity, multiethnicity and reflective nationalism to globalism and global competency. Koreans in the United States are asked to have a healthy sense of ethnic identity followed by a certain level of economic and psychological security towards multiethnicity and globalism. If children feel identity conflict because of their parents who are adhering to their ethnic culture without open to mainstream culture, they may blame their culture of origin and be disconnected from it. To survive in the multicultural society, individuals develop personal versions of a culture through contacts with others who have different sets of standards and then acquire some of the new standards (Wolcott, 1991). Therefore, Korean parents must learn not to limit their vision to that which is near but to expand and see beyond.

Koreans in the United States define themselves as Koreans rather than Americans or Korean Americans. Some of them feel proud not to become naturalized as citizens of the United States because they love their mother country and do not want to betray it. A 1.5 generation Korean, Stephen Chung describes why he hesitates to reveal his ethnicity:

I am deeply influenced by American culture. I choose not to call myself an American either because I grew up in a Korean household, ate Korean food at all my life, not to mention was born and raised there for the first years of my life. So, what do I call myself? Sometimes I do not know how to answer ethnicity sections on applications so I mark "other" or leave it blank.

In addition, he recites Kim and Choi's (1994) 1.5 Korean's identity development process:

The 1.5ers do indeed "redevelop" their heritage culture, Korean. They do not rediscover it. The Korean culture the 1.5ers know is significantly different than their parents' who immigrated with them. The 1.5er who relearns or even retains his Korean culture, a collectivistic, "we" consciousness culture, in the context of an individualistic, "I" consciousness culture.

In most Korean communities in the United States, 1.5 or second generation Koreans organize various ethnic associations as self-support groups to resolve their cultural conflicts and assist in their identity formation process as Korean Americans. Song, Kim and Moon's (1998) study on 1.5 and second generation Korean reveals that 50% of survey respondents have Korean ethnic identity and 85% of them are proud of themselves as Korean descendants.

Chang (1996) suggests that Koreans must be transformed into Korean Americans. They must exhibit characteristics as Koreans to transmit their ethnic inheritance, and characteristics as Americans to accomplish their duties and to protect their rights in the United States. After Korean parents synthesize their identity as Korean Americans, their children will show less identity confusion between distinct Korean and American culture.

Riz Suk described what Korean was to younger generation Koreans:

After we entered college, we really thought about who we were. We naturally got along with Korean friends. We rushed to learn Korean language that we had been bored with for last years. We competed to visit Korea and tried to find what Korean was. However, we could not find. We drank a lot of beer and *so-joo* and smoked to pretend to be Koreans because most Koreans were drinking hard liquor and smoking.

Ethnocentric consciousness has undergone upheaval for last few decades.

Increases in the personal, conscious self-appropriation of one's own cultural history and a willingness to share in the social and political needs reflect the theme that everyone has the right to be different (Mindel, 1988). Olsen (1997) criticizes the Americanization project in schools as one of exclusion and separation. Immigrant students are academically separated, and there is pressure to give up one's national identity and language, and take one's place in the racial hierarchy of the United States. The formation of healthy ethnic identity is affected by the dominant culture's oppression and discrimination of ethnic minorities as well as the degree of exposure to the ethnic culture and the amount of political and economic power of the ethnic group. In the middle of debate on ethnic diversity as a problem or a resource, Koreans have to sincerely think about their ethnicity in the United States.

Story Telling

Riz Suk presented a story of a young second generation Korean who never understood why her father appreciated his old car even though he deserved to buy a new car. She could not imagine that in Korea there were few cars and any ordinary man could not even dream about owning an automobile when her father was born and raised.

Many Korean immigrants psychologically stay in the past, relating only to their unspoken memory. Their past memories cannot be fused into the present without speaking in stories. They ignore the reality of the present and make incongruent demands on their children to live in the past. For real self-understanding, interpretive action that consists of acceptance of the past and connection to present and future is needed.

Howard Kwon advised Korean parents:

In the world history book for American students, there are only two pages shared for Koreans' over five thousand year history. Always negative and shameful reports related to Korea appear in the news media. What can our children learn about Korea, their mother country (*mo-gook* in Korean)? Korean immigrants disregard the most important story of their ancestors and their own stories. We have to tell our stories.

All interview participants agreed that they had to be brave and confident and tell their stories. Without this sharing of the past and present, Korean children often degrade their parents as old-fashioned and ignorant. In the process of this story telling, language retention and acquisition may be significant issues among Korean Americans. Riz Suk addressed that she was bored when she was forced to learn Korean language, dance and customs without an introduction to the cultural and historical background of Korea. If Korean language schools would include Korean immigrant history as a part of the curriculum, second generation Koreans will understand where their parents were born and raised and why their parents came to the United States. It could be a turning point to acceptance and understanding of their parents (Chang, 1996).

The researcher believes that second generation Koreans can develop a new ethnic identity through reconciliation with viable aspects of their heritage, such as listening to their parents' live histories. Thomas Park reflected on his childhood for his children so that they would understand his behavior in a different cultural context:

We were told never to enter the kitchen because a kitchen was only girls' place to learn cooking. Grown-ups said, "If you enter the kitchen, you will loose your penis." In a different country, I know I have to be changed to enter the kitchen, cook and even wash dishes. But, you have to understand how much it is hard to me not because cooking and washing dishes are difficult but because changing my values that I have held for over forty years.

Summary

Through interviews, observations and analysis of articles on the topic of Korean child-rearing in the United States, this researcher found that Koreans practiced their child-rearing with the same mission, methods and goals transmitted from their parents and there was no apparent difference between Koreans who lived in Korea and Korean immigrants who lived in the United States. Moreover, out of their mother country, Koreans intensified their ethnic identity transmitting it to their offspring via mother tongue, customs and the selection of a Korean spouse. However, the researcher found that conflicts arose between parents and children as parents enforced a traditional child-rearing strategy without adaptation to a new culture where their children had been raised. The factors causing conflicts between parents and children are: (1) Korean parents are isolated from mainstream society; (2) they feel the stress of a value clash in a new culture; (3) they use authoritative parenting with strict discipline under the influence of a face-saving culture; (4) they urge their children to achieve academic excellence in order to achieve success which is regarded as the highest fulfillment of their own lives; (5) there are language barriers between Korean parents and their children; and (6) their strong cohesiveness to their ethnicity may limit their children's life opportunities and introduce identity confusion.

Korean immigrants are still within the cultural transition stage. Within this stage, they need to develop a new child-rearing strategy that will be relevant to the new cultural context in which they live. Each society needs and raises individuals with a particular kind of personality. Traits of a desirable personality differ from one society to the next.

Authoritative child-rearing strategy has been appropriate for a long time in Korean Confucian culture in order to produce harmonious and obedient individuals within relational hierarchies. However, it brings conflict between parents and children in American individualistic culture. While Korean parents keep their traditional child-rearing strategies which emphasize group-oriented identity, parental authority and children's obedience, their children may find themselves left out of the mainstream. Jay Choi declared his concern with the crisis of the Korean immigrant family as follows:

Many Korean immigrant parents are living in the context of the time when they left Korea, very conservative, closed and authoritative. The self-centered Korean parents are still reluctant to change in a new culture and try to order and control their children in accordance with Korean value and life style. When American norms clash with Korean traditional thoughts, many Korean fathers or husbands are dependent on their authority, including violence.

Therefore, Korean parents' awareness of a different culture and understanding of their children's possible struggle between bicultural surroundings make them engage in the creative phase for culturally relevant child-rearing strategies in the United States.

One mother's confession gave rise to an empathy from Korean immigrant parents who raised their children to be not 'made in America' but 'made in Korea'.

My husband never plays with two sons but enjoys his own social life. Moreover he uses the harsh physical punishment in order to discipline the 5th and 7th grade boys. I only yell and order them to behave themselves (The Korea Times San Francisco, Nov. 24, 1998).

The research participants suggested that they had to open themselves towards mainstream society and their children. This process would include their rebirth as Korean Americans and story telling about their life histories. In order to succeed as

Korean Americans, they have to know both their own ethnicity and the U.S. culture.

Korean immigrants' strong adherence to their ethnic culture restrains their understanding of multicultural society and limits their opportunity in the United States. The adaptation of their past to the present will allow them to move into the future.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION FOR FURTHER STUDY

Mirror, Mirror

People keep asking where I come from
says my son.
Trouble is
I'm American on the inside
and Oriental on the outside.
No. Doug,
Turn that outside in
THIS is what American looks like.

by Mitsuye Yamada

Introduction

Universally the goal of child-rearing is to raise a culturally relevant adult. However, culture influences child development across societal contexts and it differentiates the methods of child-rearing. The manner in which children are socialized into full and effective members of a group may vary with culture (Bee, 1995; Cocking, 1994; Maitra, 1995). These differences may be due to the broader social context in which the cultural heritage operates such as goals, beliefs, and values. Children might acquire major kinds of behaviors as a result of their contacts with their immediate environment. This contact includes the people upon whom they depend for their biological survival and/or emotional well-being (Longstreet, 1978). A person's cognitive growth and actions are affected more by feelings and commitment associated with particular people and events than by objective assessments of situations (Rosman & Rubel, 1998).

The notion of variations in child-rearing is apparent in Hofstede's (1980) theory of differentiation of cultural context. He notes that the basis of the origin of human relationship is either individualistic or collectivistic. The cultural context of individualism-collectivism influences values and normal behavior including the developmental goals of child-rearing such as autonomy, control, and achievement (Kagitcibasi, 1996). During all stages of child development, individualism emphasizes competitiveness, self-confidence, and freedom with much less pressure to oblige others, while collectivism enforces communal bonds, social usefulness, acceptance of authority and role obligation (Berry et al. 1993). Whereas individualism places the self within the individual, collectivism identifies the self with social meaning. McGoldrick (1989) summarizes that Western cultures begin with the individual as a psychological being and define development as growth in the human capacity for differentiation while Eastern cultures have the definition of a person as a social being and pursue the development by growth in the human capacity for empathy and connection.

Within the American individualism, children are socialized simultaneously to be obedient, to submit to rules which protect the rights of others, and to develop a progressive independence. Children are disciplined in order to be independent to assume responsibility for their own actions, to be able to abbreviate their demands on others, and to exercise control over their actions (Johnson, 1985). They need to learn good decision making and assertive behavior against teenage crime, drug use and sexual experimentation from an early age (Jones, 1990). They are involved in the type of decision-making which affects the entire family such as choosing a pet, planning a

vacation and so on. Often they are to assist with household chores. Through these activities American children participate in a strong family culture.

Traditionally Korean culture emphasizes group identity based on hierarchical social structure. However, Korean immigrants' child-rearing style often contributes to intergenerational and cultural conflicts between parents and children living in the United States. The traditionally high expectations for children's academic success and authoritarian control with uni-communication style cause discord in their family. Moreover, their strong ethnic cohesiveness may limit life opportunities and bring identity confusion to their American born or raised children when they confront their parental messages and cultural pressure which deviates from mainstream American values.

Summary

What mission, methods, and goals of child-rearing do Koreans prefer, cherish and infuse while facing the process of cultural transition in the United States? Do Koreans express their Korean values in a new culture or do they perform child-rearing practices differently from their mother country? The purpose of this research was to explore Korean child-rearing practices in the United States through a descriptive ethnographic methodology. Utilizing three instruments of interviews, participant observations and analysis of articles, the research mapped Korean child-rearing practices in the United States through the mission, methods, and goals, found their challenges, obstacles and impediments in the cultural transition and yielded a new paradigm of child-rearing.

The most important part of this process was that Korean parents were invited to tell their stories in order to re-enact not only traditions but also the hardships which were

deeply rooted in their life histories. It was desirable that they would be the protagonist in the process, reflecting events related to their child-rearing practices in order to share the meaning of those experiences with others including their children. Sharing of their life experiences might hopefully enrich the construction of their children's self-identity. Invited to express their consciousness in the present, participants were given an opportunity to reconsider their child-rearing strategies within a new cultural context.

The research found that first, Korean parents are isolated from mainstream society; second, they feel stressful owing to value clash in a new culture; third, they use authoritative parenting with strict discipline under the influence of face-saving culture; fourth, they urge their children to achieve academic excellence in order to assert success and the success of their children is regarded as the highest fulfillment of their own lives; fifth, there are language barriers between Korean parents and their children; and sixth, their strong cohesiveness to their ethnicity may limit their children's life opportunities and introduce children's identity confusion.

Korean immigrants seemed attached to the culture of origin and did not make an effort to adapt to their new culture. This lack of process kept their traditional child-rearing strategy in the cultural transition stage. They were unconsciously following their parents' child-rearing strategy maintaining the ways by which they had been raised in Korea. Although their child-rearing strategy originated from an idea of harmony and balance in human relation, it yielded relational conflict between parents and children.

Conclusion

An individual's being oneself as American, Irish, or mixed in nationality starts

from legitimacy under a certain perspective (Gergen, 1991). It involves conscious and unconscious processes that fulfill a deep psychological need for identity and historical continuity (Giordano & Giordano, 1977). Ethnic categories of values and beliefs are expressed through individual behavior and closely related to personal experience.

In the environment of the United States, ethnic groups who go too far in forging a new identity often break the link to their cultural past. On the other hand, the more the group restores the original culture, the less compatible it is with American society and culture, and the less the ability to attract a large following (Steinberg, 1989). The conceptualization and acceptance of one's own identity rooted in his/her ethnicity have been often problematic. Heath and McLaughlin (1993) argue that it is not uncommon for one ethnic group to change their ethnic membership by adopting new customs, behaviors, and language habits and to be prompted by a desire for political or social gain. Ramirez (1988) explains how the melting pot ideology has contributed to the continuance of the assumption that values and life styles which differ from those of the middle class United States are inferior and must be abandoned.

Ethnicity is now understood in a functional, symbolic and dynamic way.

Immigrants have to move away the enclave or subculture with their ethnic support system and expose themselves more directly to the mainstream culture. Through absorption in the new culture, immigrants adapt themselves to a new culture and form the new ethnicity (Salvaterra, 1994). However, Sue (1991) explains that the acculturation process has raised important questions: which ethnic cultural values tend to be extinguished and which are maintained over time? What elements of the majority cultural group tend to be

adopted? Is cultural identity simply the sum of elements of the two cultures, or do the cultures interact to create quite distinct personality traits? What is meant by bicultural or multicultural adaptation? (p. 58).

Culture is defined as primarily a set of ideas and meanings that people use derived from the past and reshaped in the present, and the direction is determined by the means by which human beings adapt to their environments in particular ways (Rosman & Rubel, 1998).

Korean immigrant parents encounter the dilemma of acculturation in the cultural transition stage. Over the past thirty years of immigration, Korean immigrants have struggled to maintain their ethnic identity. At the same time, this goal has to be balanced with the need for adaptation of individuals and acceptance into mainstream American culture to assure the balanced development of their children's identity. Korean Americans are in need of successful introduction of change in order to survive in the United States as one of diverse ethnic groups through transmission of their ethnic heritage without generational conflicts or confusion. Their successful introduction of change has to be based on a new paradigm consisted of ideas that were inherited from the past, are reproduced in the present and will be recreated in the future through a consistent pattern of time.

The survival of a Korean ethnic group and succession of their culture is directly related to their child-rearing strategy. Traditions deeply rooted in the parents' life history are re-enacted by themselves as they think and communicate with their children (Bowers, 1976). The construction of youth's self-identity is enriched through sharing of

parents' life experiences with children. Children have to be encouraged to appreciate who they are and to understand the differences among themselves and others (Kimoto, 1997). Erikson (1997) mentions that children who are taught to respect their own cultural heritage and ethnic identity grow up to be more healthy individuals with less self-denial or conflict.

Throughout this research, Korean parents were invited to develop a new paradigm of child-rearing towards ethnic survival in the United States. The research participants suggested that (a) Korean parents have to open themselves to mainstream values, including an effort to understand a new culture and increase multicultural awareness and be born again as Korean Americans; and (b) Korean parents have to share their life histories with children in order to be understood why they are here. However, although they experienced the change, they could not suggest which ethnic characteristics have to be transmitted or reformed in accordance with a new cultural context.

Justin Sohn said:

We could not cut that finger although we felt aching owing to a sore finger nail. While we endure that pain, a new finger nail is growing under an infected nail and it will replace a sore finger nail soon.

In the cultural transition stage, Korean immigrants have to overcome a sore finger nail. The researcher believes that Koreans may cure themselves if they understand where they are and why they are here. Their sore finger nail will be replaced by their children's healthy self-identity as real Korean Americans.

The researcher cites the words of a Korean song to applaud a mother's love for herself, as a Korean mother:

Forgetting hardships while delivering us,
raising us every day and night with striving heart,
changing our wet and dry bed,
you have been undergoing until your hands and feet are worn out.
What can we say the highest thing is under the sky?
We never figure out mother's endless love.

Recommendations for Further Study

This study found that the collectivistic cultural values caused conflicts between Korean American parents and children in the individualistic context. It recorded the voices of Korean parents in order to show that Korean immigrant parents encountered challenges, obstacles and impediments when their collectivistic cultural factors were applied to child-rearing practices within U.S. individualistic context, but it did not reflect the experiences of listeners who struggle to overcome conflict between two extreme cultures throughout identity formation process.

Comprehensive empirical study is really needed at this point of time as even the fourth generation of Koreans grow up in the United States. Based on the findings and conclusions of the study, the following recommendations are made.

1. It is recommended that further study examine the process of Korean children's identity formation process comprehending their psychological response to collectivistic parenting. It should investigate the impact of Korean community and mainstream on identity formation.
2. A large sample size of first generation Korean Americans is recommended toward enhancing the generalizability of the findings to other Korean immigrant parents.
3. This study has a limitation of suggesting a new paradigm of child-rearing for

first generation Korean parents. Therefore, further study should examine child-rearing practices of second generation Korean couples including Koreans who married out of Korean culture in order to provide more comprehensive and culturally relevant child-rearing strategies.

4. Future study might examine the collectivistic child-rearing practices of Korean immigrant parents and the effects on their own children. In this study there was an examination of Korean immigrant parents' reflection, but there was no opportunity to explore their own children's perceptions and reactions.

5. The role model of Korean Americans needs to be addressed. Although this study found the need of the bicultural identity of Korean Americans for their ethnic survival, it could not suggest what factors and dimensions contribute to being Korean Americans. If future study determines particular characteristics of Korean Americans, these may be applicable to curriculum design for Korean language schools and ethnic churches.

6. Through this study it was found that Korean families are undergoing family crises to collapse their traditional family structure within the cultural transition stage. Further study might examine the structural changes of Korean family in the United States and assist mental health program to prevent and treat Korean American's family dysfunction through their psychological adjustment to a new cultural context.

7. This study has shown the generational and cultural value differences between Korean American parents and their children as the factor of causing Korean adolescents' identity confusion. However, adolescents' struggle and intergenerational conflicts are

universal phenomena across all cultures. Therefore, comparisons of Korean American youth with mainstream youth and of Korean American youth with Korean youth in Korea should be conducted in respect of the identity formation process. Also, comparison of Korean American youth with other ethnic minority youth should be conducted in respect of the ethnic identity formation process.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Participant Recruitment Announcement

Ms. Yoon Sun Lee, a doctoral candidate in the School of Education at the University of San Francisco, is looking for Korean American parents who want to participate in research interview. The purpose of this research is to examine Korean child-rearing practices in the United States. Furthermore, we can think about culturally relevant child-rearing strategies within a new cultural context. Any parents who are first generation Korean American can participate in this research.

If you are interested, please contact Yoon Sun Lee by calling (***)***-**** or writing to the **** Stevens Creek Blvd. Santa Clara, CA 95051. All participants will be guaranteed to maintain confidentiality.

연구에 참여하실 한인 부모님을 찾습니다.

재미 한인의 자녀양육에 대한 조사연구에 참여할 한인 1세 부모님을 찾고 있습니다. 본 연구는 현재 University of San Francisco 박사과정인 이윤선씨가 진행중이며, 재미 한인들의 자녀양육에 관한 연구조사를 통해 미국문화에 적절한 자녀양육 방법을 함께 찾는데 그 목적이 있습니다. 관심 있는 분은 전화 (***)***-**** 또는 **** Stevens Creek Blvd. Santa Clara, CA 95051로 연락 주십시오. 참가자의 신분은 무기명으로 절대 보장됩니다.

Appendix B
Introductory Letter

Dear Sir/Madam:

I appreciate your participation in my research. I hope that we can share valuable time to think about our memories of happiness or sadness throughout raising our children in a foreign country.

I enclosed the guideline of interview questions in order to progress interview favorably and reflect your ideas and thoughts sincerely. The length of interview time is expected around 50 minutes. Although you are guaranteed to maintain confidentiality, you are free to decline to answer any uncomfortable questions.

You can refer to the attached "Consent to be a Research Subject". If you have any questions, call me at (***)***_****.

Guideline of Interview Questions:

1. Korean child-rearing practices
 - 1) the ideal self
 - 2) child-rearing methods(family system, school education, communication style, gender differences)
 - 3) the goal of child development
 - 4) My childhood
2. Korean child-rearing practices in the United States
 - 1) American dream
 - 2) comparison myself as a parent with my own parents
 - 3) the relationship with my child(ren) and me
 - 4) any conflicts with my child(ren)
3. Recommendations of culturally relevant Korean American's child-rearing strategies
 - 1) individualism
 - 2) American culture and value
 - 3) virtue of Korean culture
 - 4) fusion of horizon

* Your interview is scheduled at _____ on ____/____/_____.

Thank you.

Sincerely,
Yoon Sun Lee
1/11/1999

Introductory Letter

_____ 님 귀하

본인의 연구에 동참해 주심을 진심으로 감사드립니다. 이국땅에서 아이들을 가르며 기쁘거나 힘들었던 순간들을 함께 나누고, 즐거워하며 또는 아파하고 더불어 생각하는 귀한 시간이 되길 바랍니다.

인터뷰 진행의 신속함과 귀하의 의견이 충실히 반영될 수 있도록 인터뷰 질문내용의 개요를 미리 읽어 보셨으면 합니다. 대략 예상되는 인터뷰시간은 50분정도이며 귀하의 신분과 인터뷰 내용은 무기명으로 보장됩니다. 만약 귀하가 원하지 않는 경우, 어떤 질문에도 대답하지 않을 수 있습니다.

보다 상세한 “연구참여자의 권리”를 함께 동봉하오니 참고하시기 바랍니다.

문의사항은 (***)***-**** 이윤선에게로 연락주십시오.

인터뷰 질문 내용

1. 한국인의 자녀양육과 관련한 질문

- 1) 바람직한 인간관
- 2) 자녀양육방법 (가족체제, 학교교육, 의사소통방식, 남녀차이)
- 3) 아동발달목표
- 4) 나의 어린시절

2. 미국에서의 한국인의 자녀양육

- 1) 어메리칸 드림
- 2) 나의 부모와 현재 부모가 된 나의 모습의 비교
- 3) 나와 나의 자녀와의 관계
- 4) 자녀와 문제가 있다면?

3. Korean American으로서 적합한 자녀양육방법의 제시

- 1) 개인주의
- 2) 미국문화와 가치관
- 3) 한국문화의 긍정적인 점
- 4) 나의 시야를 넓히자!

* 귀하의 인터뷰 일정은

_____ 월 _____ 일 _____ 시, 장소: _____ 입니다.

감사합니다.

1999년 1월 11일

이윤선 올림

Appendix C

CONSENT TO BE A RESEARCH SUBJECT

A. PURPOSE AND BACKGROUND

I am being asked to participate in a participatory research study conducted by Ms. Yoon Sun Lee, a doctoral candidate in the School of Education at the University of San Francisco. The purpose of this study is to examine the child-rearing practices focusing on Korean Americans from the perspectives of their mother country and the U.S.

This study will identify the cultural, generational conflict between Korean American parents and their children and suggest the culturally relevant child-rearing strategies for Korean ethnic group's survival in the U.S.

I am being asked to participate in this study by the following participant selection criteria:

1. Parents who are the first generation of Korean Americans; and
2. Parents who have an already established rapport with the researcher; or
3. Parents who express voluntary willingness to participate in this research through the written survey

B. PROCEDURES

If I agree to be in the study, the following will occur:

1. I will participate in dialogue with a researcher, during which I will be asked about my child-rearing practices, my life value and philosophy, my history from the past to the present, and my suggestions for the Korean American community.
2. Dialogue will be conducted in Korean and it will be recorded and transcribed.
3. The transcript will be interpreted in English by a researcher for study information.

C. RISKS AND/OR DISCOMFORTS

1. Some of the questions during dialogue may make me feel uncomfortable because those questions ask my past memory and present reality. However, I am free to decline to answer any uncomfortable questions to me or to withdraw from the participation at any time.

2. Participation in research may mean a loss of confidentiality. Any recorded tapes and scripts will be kept as confidential as is possible. Only the researcher will have access to these recorded tapes.

My identity will never be used in any reports or publications resulting from this study. Fictitious name will be used for study information.

D. BENEFITS

There will be no direct benefit to me from participating in this study. The anticipated benefit of this study is to provide information that will empower me to conduct culturally relevant child-rearing practices in the U.S. and to have a critical consciousness to lead my life after this study. Furthermore, this study may contribute to my Korean American community to succeed to our cultural identity with less conflicts of life in the U.S.

E. COST/FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS

There will be no costs to me as a result of taking part in this study.

F. PAYMENT/REIMBURSEMENT

I will not be reimbursed for participating in this study.

G. QUESTIONS

I have talked to Ms. Lee about this study and have had my questions answered. If I have further questions regarding this study, I may call her at (***)***.****.

If I have any questions or comments about participation in this study, I should first talk with Ms. Lee. If for some reason I do not wish to do this, I may contact the IRBPHS, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415)422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu. or by writing to the IRBPHS, Department of Psychology, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080.

H. CONSENT

I have been given a copy of the "Research Subject's Bill of Rights"(English and Korean) and I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep.

Participation in research is voluntary. I am free to decline to be in this study, or to withdraw from it any time. My decision as to whether or not to participate in this study will have no influence on my present or future status as Korean American.

My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this study.

Subject's Signature

Date of Signature

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

Date of Signature

연구참여 동의서

A. 연구의 목적과 배경

본 연구자, University of San Francisco 교육대학 박사과정, 이유선, 는 귀하께서 박사 과정 논문을 위한 연구에 참여해 주실것을 요청합니다. 본 연구의 목적은 재미 한인들의 자녀양육에 대한 연구조사로 한국과 미국의 문화적 영향력이 모두 검토될 것입니다. 본 연구를 통해 재미 한인 부모와 자녀들간의 세대간/문화간 갈등을 줄이며, 나아가 미국에서의 한국인으로서의 생존을 위한 자녀양육의 방법 및 해결책이 제시될 것입니다.

귀하는 다음과 같은 참가자 선정 항목에 해당됩니다.

1. 재미한인 1세대부모로서
2. 연구자와 충분한 공감대가 형성된 자, 혹은
3. 커뮤니티 공지광고등을 통해 자발적으로 참여의사를 밝힌 자

B. 연구의 과정

귀하가 동의할 경우, 다음과 같은 순서로 연구가 진행됩니다.

1. 귀하는 연구자와의 면담과정 중 귀하의 자녀양육방법, 가치관과 생활철학, 인생 경험, 재미한인사회를 위한 제언등에 대해 질문받을 것입니다.
2. 면담은 한국어로 진행되며 대화의 내용은 기록될 것입니다.
3. 면담내용중 연구에 필요한 사항은 연구자에 의해 영어로 번역될 것입니다.

C. 연구참여에 따른 불이익 및 위험부담

1. 면담과정중 귀하는 과거의 기억 또는 현재실상과 관련된 질문으로 인해 불편함을 느낄 수도 있습니다. 그러나, 귀하는 본인이 원하지 않는 경우 어떤 질문에도 대답하지 않을 권리와 언제라도 연구참여를 거부할 권리가 있습니다.
2. 연구참여를 통해 귀하의 신분이 노출될 우려도 있습니다. 대화가 녹음된 테이프나 내용이 기록된 대화록은 최대한 비밀보장이 될 것입니다. 연구자만이 본 자료들을 열람, 사용할 수 있습니다.
귀하의 신분은 본 연구와 관련된 어떤 자료에도 절대 노출되지 않을 것입니다. 귀하는 가명으로 연구에 참여하게 됩니다.

D. 연구참여에 따른 혜택

본 연구의 참여에 따른 직접적인 혜택은 없습니다. 잠정적으로 귀하는 본인의 자녀양육법에 대한 성찰을 통해, 미국문화에 적절한 자녀양육법에 대한 안내 및 삶의 주체로서 적극적인 사고방식을 지니게 될 것입니다. 나아가 이 연구는 미국생활의 갈등을 줄이고 한국적 문화계승을 위한 한인 커뮤니티 차원의 제안에 이바지할 것입니다.

E. 참여경비

귀하는 연구참여를 위해 어떤 경비도 지출할 필요가 없습니다.

F. 연구참여에 따른 재정적 보상

귀하는 연구참여에 대해 재정적으로 보상받지 않습니다.

G. 의문 및 제안

귀하는 본 내용에 대해 본 연구자와 충분히 검토했습니다. 만약 더욱 자세한 내용이나 의문사항이 있으실 경우, (***)***-****(이운선)로 연락주십시오.

연구참여에 대한 의문이나 제안은 먼저 연구자와 협의하셔야 합니다. 만약 귀하가 특별한 이유로 연구자와 협의하실 수 없을 경우, 연구참여자의 권리를 보장해 주는 기관인 **IRBPHS** 사무실로 연락주십시오.

전화번호 (415)422-6091에 메시지를 남기시거나,
e-mail:IRBPHS@usfca.edu. 또는 IRBPHS, Department of Psychology,
University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1080
으로 서면제출하실 수 있습니다.

H. 동의

본인은 “연구참여자의 권리”에 대한 유인물과 본 동의서의 카피를 받아 보았다.

본 연구의 참여는 자발적인 것이며 본인이 원하지 않을 경우, 어떤 질문에도 대답하지 않을 것이며, 언제라도 연구참여를 거부할 수 있다. 본인은 연구참여 결정과 관련하여 재미한인으로서 추후 어떤 불이익을 받지 않게됨을 명시한다.

본인은 아래 서명을 통해 연구참여를 동의한다.

본인 서명

날짜

동의를 받은 자의 서명

날짜

THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

Dissertation Abstract

Korean Child-rearing Practices in the United States:
an Ethnographic Study of Korean Immigrants in the Cultural Transition

Universally the goal of child-rearing is to raise a culturally relevant adult. Culture influences child development across diverse societal contexts and the beliefs and values in the adopted culture affect traditional child-rearing practices in the culture of origin.

Korea, as a collectivistic culture, has focused on the value of the ideal person who is harmonious and obedient within the hierarchical human relationship. It identifies the self as an integral part of society. This system does not stress the independence and autonomy of the individual which is characteristic of the mainstream American society.

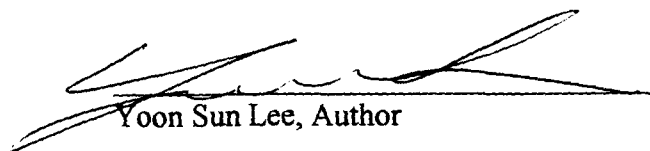
After 1965, following the intensive immigrant wave, Koreans have immigrated to the United States with their culture of origin. Korean parents' strong ethnic attachment to their culture of origin and their low acculturation level might contribute to conflicts with their children in the individualistic U.S. culture.

This study showed how collectivistic child-rearing strategy can be misinterpreted as abnormal and dysfunctional in the individualistic culture when examining the child-rearing practices of Koreans in the United States.


This study utilized a descriptive ethnographic methodology with three research instruments including interviews, observations of participants, and content analysis of

relevant articles. Findings in this study showed that 1) Koreans follow the way of their parents' authoritative, family centered, male dominant and high academic achievement oriented child-rearing practices in the United States; 2) Korean parents encounter cultural clash following their traditional child-rearing strategy; six factors that cause this cultural clash are isolated life, life stress, authoritative parenting, educational enthusiasm, language barrier and strong ethnic cohesiveness; and 3) Korean parents suggest a new definition of 'the ideal person' as being a Korean American within the mainstream cultural context.

Korean immigrant parents encounter the dilemma of acculturation in the cultural transition stage in order to survive in the United States as one of diverse ethnic groups. Their successful introduction of change has to be based on a new paradigm consistent with ideas that were inherited from the past, are reproduced in the present but recreated and modified for American born Koreans.



Yoon Sun Lee, Author



Dr. Aida A. Joshi
Chairperson, Dissertation Committee