

Fall 2009

"I'm Korean, living in the United States"

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San Jose State University

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“I’M KOREAN, LIVING IN THE UNITED STATES”

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Linguistics and Language Development

San José State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Youngmin Seo

December 2009

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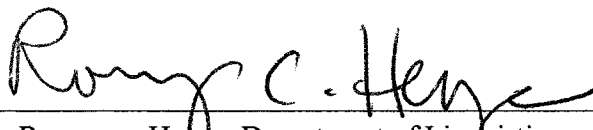
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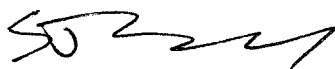
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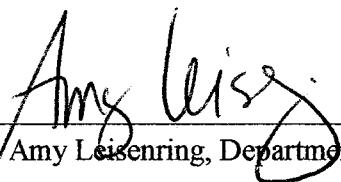
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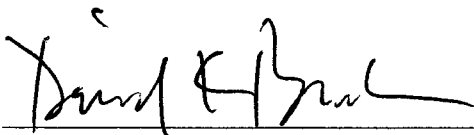
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ABSTRACT

“I’M KOREAN, LIVING IN THE UNITED STATES”

by Youngmin Seo

This study explores the acculturation process of generation 1.5 Korean immigrants in the United States with special attention to their construction of ethnic identity as it influences their adjustment to the new culture. The researcher defines generation 1.5 Korean as those who were born in Korea and immigrated to the United States between age 5 and 16. For the purpose of this study, the researcher conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews on the participants’ immigration experiences, focusing on how they have developed their ethnic identities over time. Twenty Korean immigrants were recruited and interviewed in the area of San José, California.

Findings suggest that social context mediates the relationship between acculturation and ethnic identity. This study also identifies major variables such as the maintenance of their heritage language or the degree of exposure to Korean culture and people playing a crucial role in the ethnic identity development of generation 1.5 Korean immigrants. Implications for policy, practice, and further research are discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When you're screwing up and nobody says anything to you anymore, that means they've given up on you. . . . You may not want to hear it, but your critics are often the ones telling you they still love you and care about you, and want to make you better. (Pausch, 2008, p. 37)

Writing a thesis is like undertaking a long and arduous journey. On my journey, I was blessed by people who encouraged me to keep me going when I could not make any progress. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Rosemary Henze, Dr. Stefan Frazier, Dr. Amy Leisenring, and Dr. Scott Phillabaum, who believed in my study from the start and guided me with their profound knowledge and insightful comments. I am deeply indebted to my friends, Catherine Cox and Edward Uber, who read my manuscript and offered editorial comments. I owe much to my school in Korea, which granted me a leave of absence to study; without this support, this research would not have happened. And last, but not least, I am very grateful to the twenty Korean immigrants who generously participated in this study with deep reflections on their transitions; without their contributions, this work would not have yielded what it did.

*To my family, Sumin Seo and Okyeon Seo,
who have given me roots and wings;
to my God, who has led me on*

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Throughout history, humans have voluntarily or compulsorily migrated from their country of origin to a new country for various reasons. Recently, many people from Mexico, Cuba, China, India, Haiti, and the former Soviet Union have immigrated to the United States (as cited in Schwartz, Zamboanga, Rodriguez, & Wang, 2007, p.159). As of 2005, 12.5% of the American population was foreign-born and the number has been growing (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Portes and Rumbaut reported that the new immigrants in the United States have become more diverse in their ethnic, cultural, and socioeconomic backgrounds since the 1965 Immigration Act. The influx of immigrants on such a scale has caused cultural changes for both the receiving and the received groups (Berry, 2001). Berry (2003) defines this phenomenon as acculturation. Berry, Kim, Power, Young, and Bujaki, (1989) defined acculturation as follows:

Acculturation occurs when two independent cultural groups come into continuous first-hand contact over an extended period of time (Redfield, Linto, & Herskovists, 1936), resulting in changes in either or both cultural groups (Berry, Trimble, & Olmeda, 1986). Individual members of these groups also experience change (p. 186).

Although acculturation is recognized as the process of mutual influence between the two culturally different groups, it seems plausible that immigrants are influenced by his or her contact experiences more than people from the mainstream society (Berry, 2001). To conceptualize the nature of acculturation, it is important to investigate how immigrants transform their identity in accordance with a new social and cultural group. Berry et al. (1989) pointed out that in the process of

acculturation, immigrants presented varying orientations toward the host cultures depending on the extent of maintenance of their heritage culture and identity. Thus, this study will show how immigrants acculturate to the host culture. More particularly, the goal of this study is to understand how ethnic identities of generation 1.5 Korean immigrants who were born in Korea and spent most of their developmental period in the United States develop in acculturation and what social and situational factors influence their ethnic identity development. In an attempt to answer these major questions, the researcher conducted in-depth interviews with 20 generation 1.5 Korean immigrants about their immigration stories, focusing on ethnic identity. It was found that ethnic identities of generation 1.5 Korean immigrants appeared multifold and dynamic, influenced by situational contexts in which they had lived and by many decisions which they had made in the given contexts.

Background

Acculturation is the ongoing processes in which immigrants learn symbolic (e.g., value, norms of behavior, evaluation, a sense of identity) and material (e.g., artifacts, foods, clothing) cultures different from those of their country of origin (Jang, Kim, Chiriboga, & King-Kallimanis, 2007; Nowak-Fabrykowski & Shkandrij, 2004b; Shim & Schwartz, 2007). There are three distinct models to explain the process of acculturation among immigrants: The unidimensional model, the bidimensional model, and interactive acculturation model.

The Unidimensional Model of Acculturation

In the process of acculturation, individual immigrants move along a continuum of identity from their home culture to the host culture (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). It is assumed that immigrant people and groups have to relinquish some

aspects of their heritage culture to get full membership in the host culture. In the unidimensional approach to acculturation, immigrant people abandon values and norm from their own ethnic culture and assimilate to those of the host culture. Therefore, as they are exposed to the mainstream culture, they tend to deculturate from their ethnic culture and willingly embed themselves in the mainstream culture. At the end of acculturation, immigrant people would be culturally identical to those from the mainstream culture. However, recent studies on acculturation (Jang, Kim, Chiriboga, & King-Kallimanis, 2007; Lee, Sobal, & Frongillo, 2003) show that immigrants' real lives in the United States are different from what had been predicted by the previous research.

The Bidimensional Model of Acculturation

In the real world, immigrants have neither perfectly assimilated to the mainstream culture, nor discarded their heritage culture and identity. They acquire new behavioral norms and cultural values, while retaining their heritage culture. This phenomenon is called the bidimensional model of acculturation. The bidimensional approach to acculturation suggests that immigrant people and groups (e.g., China-towns and Korea-towns) maintain their heritage cultures and ethnic identities, simultaneously developing mainstream their cultural identities (Kang, 2006; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; Sam, 2000). The bidimensional model describes acculturation as a separate process from the development of ethnic identity. As a result, immigrants may acquire mainstream cultural identities that add to their ethnic identities or that may not be linked to either culture. Consequently, the immigrants have two independent cultural identities and separately engage themselves in interpreting each culture (Adams & Kirova, 2006; see also Kang, 2006).

To function well in daily life, immigrant people and groups negotiate their behavioral and attitudinal patterns consistent with the mainstream cultural norms. Berry (2001) suggests that individual immigrants show varying levels of maintenance of heritage culture, ethnic identity and relationships among immigrant groups. He includes four modes of acculturation in this hypothesis: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. It is possible that individual immigrants change within the four modes over years until they figure out to what extent they must attach to ethnic identity and mainstream culture to feel comfortable.

Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM)

In spite of the practical view of the bidimensional model, it does not fully take into account the effect of the host community on immigrants' acculturation (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). Bourhis et al. argue that the acculturation orientation of immigrant groups is impacted by that of the host members toward immigration and immigrants' acculturative strategies. For instance, negative stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination against immigrant groups significantly affect immigrant people's choice of acculturative strategies (Maisonneuve & Testé, 2007). Also, Maisonneuve and Testé stress that immigrants' maintenance of heritage culture and their adoption of the host culture are closely intertwined with acceptance by the host population. Bourhis et al. found that if host community and immigrants did not agree on acculturation orientation, for example, if the host community preferred immigrants to assimilate to the host culture, but immigrants favored preservation of their ethnic culture, then communication conflict would happen between the two communities. As discussed above, Bourhis et al. emphasize that the *Interactive Acculturative Model* (IAM) represents the relation between immigrants

and host population in acculturation orientation toward the other side and in interpersonal/intergroup relations.

The Terminology of Generation 1.5 Korean-Americans

It is only recently that the distinction has been made between generation 1.5 Korean-Americans and other generations. By the early 1990s in New York City, generation 1.5 referred to those who immigrated to the United States after finishing junior high or high school. But, at the same time in Los Angeles, they were defined as those who moved here after starting grade school meanwhile; those who moved to the United States before age five were called second generation (Park, 1999). While aware of various ways to define generation 1.5, I have adopted the definition of generation 1.5 in the current study based on Park's study.

The term generation 1.5 Korean-American has been used to identify those who were born in Korea and grew up in the United States. They moved to the United States as children or adolescents (between age 5 and 16), and they spent most of their developmental period in the United States. They have memories of Korea; they hold on to Korean culture and language. They also socialize with people from the mainstream American culture, switching their attitude and language to fit the context. In this regard, they need to be distinguished from their parents (first generation) and American-born Koreans (second generation). They are bilingual and bicultural because they are constantly exposed to both the Korean and American cultural settings.

Statement of the Problem

It is found that many immigrants confront acculturative stress resulting from a sudden change of their lifestyles and belief system. According to Padilla,

Wagatsuma and Lindholm (1983), different generational groups are likely to go through different levels of stress, values, and acculturation. *Generation 1.5* may experience relatively more psychological stress than American-born immigrants given that they are living in between the home culture and host culture, and that they help parents' transition into the host culture. According to Danico (2004), some generation 1.5 Korean immigrants become involved in delinquent activities such as drinking alcohol, taking drugs, and participating in gangs because of linguistic limitation, culture shock, perceived discrimination, identity confusion, and pressure from school and parents. It is possible that young immigrants (children and adolescents) have difficulty with adjustment to a new school system, interpersonal relationships with teachers and peers, and a sense of isolation.

Qin (2008) reported that among some generation 1.5 immigrant families, family relationships were likely to deteriorate after migration due to communication conflicts and a lack of time between parents and children. Moreover, immigrant families are likely to migrate to a culturally and linguistically different environment without adequate information and preparation. This unprepared immigration may intensify acculturative problems over time. Although immigrant students and families are exposed to these potential problems, society may neglect the needs of this group due to a lack of understanding of characteristics of generation 1.5, oversimplifying unique circumstances of Asian immigrants based on the concept of 'model minority.' By having a clear picture of generation 1.5, society may help equip this group with social support to prevent these issues from hindering successful adjustment.

The Present Study

Purpose of the Study

Unlike European-Americans, non-white immigrants and their descendants still tend to define themselves ethnically such as Chinese-American, Japanese-American, and Korean-American, etc. The heritage culture and identity of Asian-Americans play a crucial role in the identity development and acculturation process (Yeh, Ma, Mada-Bahel, Hunter, Jung, Kim, Akitay, & Sasaki, 2005). For this reason, this study explores the ethnic identity development process of generation 1.5 Korean-Americans through in-depth interviews and observation of Korean communities. To establish a construct of the identity formation process in generation 1.5, this research examines the following questions, based on the review of Danico's research on generation 1.5 Korean-Americans (2004).

- (1) What is distinctive in the ethnic identity development process in generation 1.5 individuals?
- (2) How do they shape their ethnic identity in acculturation?
- (3) What factors affect their ethnic identity development?
- (4) Under what circumstances do they identify themselves as Korean, American, or *Generation 1.5*?

More specially, the focus of the study is on (1) retrospective memories of immigration experiences (2) self-definition as Korean, American, and generation 1.5 (3) social relationships with people from Korean groups and non-Korean groups, especially the mainstream group (4) the effect of families and ethnic communities on ethnic identity formation. This research will help professionals who work with generation 1.5 Korean immigrants to gain insight their ethnic identity; it will contribute to studies of

ethnic identity of Asian Americans as well as Korean-Americans. This study was exploratory in approach, not forming hypotheses regarding the questions above.

Rationale for the Study

Due to the rapid growth of the Asian American population in the United States, many researchers show an interest in the acculturation process of Asian Americans (Anderson, Moeschberger, Chen, Kunn, Wewers, & Guthrie, 1993; Kim, Brenner, Liang, & Asay, 2003; Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000; Yeh & Inose, 2002). Hong and Min (1999) pointed out that there are ethnic boundaries within Asian American subgroups (e.g., Chinese/ Japanese/ Korean-Americans) as well as across ethnic groups (see also Kibria, 2002; Phinney, 1996; Shim & Schwartz, 2007). Also, Phinney asserts that there is variation and dissimilarity within a group of the same national origin depending on *generation of immigration* (e.g., first generation/ generation 1.5/ second generation), *region of settlement* (e.g., diverse/ predominately white regions), *socioeconomic backgrounds* (e.g., middle/ working classes), and *community status*. According to Jo's study (2002), individual Korean immigrants reveal different acculturation patterns depending on their *academic, vocational, and socioeconomic backgrounds*. In particular, Park (1999) argues that generation 1.5 Korean-Americans showed different acculturation patterns from the second and first generations in terms of ethnic attachment, language preference, cultural awareness, and interpersonal relationship.

In spite of these ethnic and generational differences and the importance of generation 1.5 Koreans as a bridge to connect first generation group to a larger society, not many researchers seem to have conducted research on this group. This may be not only because the boundary of *Generation 1.5* is not so clear-cut; thus, it is

categorized into first generation or second generation depending on researchers (Danico, 2004; Ferris, 2009; Park, 1999), but also because Korean immigrants are likely to be grouped with other Asians such as Chinese, Japanese, and Vietnamese in Asian Americans based on *pan-Asianism* as in Kibria's study (2002). However, as previously discussed, given that ethnic groups and individual immigrants even in the same ethnic group have different stories of acculturation, it is necessary that researchers on immigration and acculturation not only distinguish each ethnic group, but also conceptualize existing differences among individual immigrants in an ethnically identical group. In this regard, this study specifically elucidated the acculturation experience of generation 1.5 Korean immigrants, focusing on the process of ethnic identity formation. With the goal of being able to specify immigrant groups, the current study will enrich the society's understanding of diverse immigrant groups and fill any remaining gaps in the literature on Korean immigrants' acculturation.

Overview of the Study

In Chapter 1, the researcher defines criticism of the existing acculturation models and examines the problems to justify the needs for the current study. Chapter 2 looks at the literature on ethnic identity development, developing the theoretical rationale for this study. It describes acculturation strategies that immigrants may choose to adjust to a new country over time, and also identifies surrounding circumstances and major variables that influence ethnic identity formation. Chapter 2 also examines demographic and cultural characteristics of the generation 1.5 Korean immigrant group and identifies the role of language and culture in ethnic identity development. In Chapter 3, the researcher explains the rationale

for the choice of methodology used in this study and outlines the procedure of data collection and treatment of data, as well as the participants' backgrounds. Chapter 4 reports the results of the current study, divided into seven categories: participants' familial backgrounds, pre-immigration experiences, orientation toward Korean culture, adaptation, self-identification, attributes of generation 1.5 Korean immigrants. More specifically, it presents ethnic socialization to enhance maintenance of heritage culture and language. Additionally, this study analyzes the participants' adaptation relating to social, linguistic, and cultural aspects of acculturation. In the last chapter (Chapter 5), conclusions are drawn, envisioning interaction between surrounding circumstances and individual immigrants in the process of ethnic identity development. Chapter 5 summarizes the findings of the current study and addresses the value and limitations of this study. It also provides implications and recommendations to improve the education and wellbeing of generation 1.5 generally. Finally, the researcher provides a brief discussion on acculturation realities of generation 1.5 Korean immigrants.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Berry's Four Modes of Acculturation

In past research on acculturation, acculturation was perceived as a linear process away from one's home culture towards a host culture (Schumann, 1978). In practice, however, individual immigrants and immigrant groups in the United States have continued to observe their heritage language and culture. Berry (2001) theorizes that immigrants display different degrees of attachment to their ethnic and mainstream cultures depending on orientation towards ethnic identity and intergroup contact. Berry (1997) addresses four modes of acculturation in consideration of cultural maintenance and intergroup contact with the host majority group: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization.

First, assimilation means that immigrant people and groups willingly detach from their ethnic identities to assimilate to the mainstream culture (Akiyama, 2008; Berry, 2003; Lee, Koeske, & Sales, 2004; Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997; Neuliep, 2006; Ryer, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). In other words, immigrant groups wish to be the same as members of the host majority group, so they strive for participation in daily interaction with the host group. Hence, it is assumed that their heritage of language and culture dissipates as assimilation proceeds. On the other hand, separation is the opposite of the notion of assimilation. Separation occurs when immigrant groups exclusively adhere to their ethnic culture, eschewing contact with the host population and community (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; Berry, 1997; Sam, 2000).

Among the four modes, integration is considered the best strategy for successful acculturation (Berry, 2003). Integrated immigrant people and groups demonstrate

relatively high participation in both ethnic and national cultures, and they fluently speak both languages as well. They maintain a balance between their heritage and national identities and cultures (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Berry et. al. reports that integration frequently occurs among those who have stayed in the host country longer. Berry et. al. states that adolescents highly exposed to both their heritage and national cultures seem to feel comfortable with both in terms of identity, language, peer contacts, and values. In contrast to integration, marginalization refers to rejection of both the heritage and the mainstream cultures and to remaining isolated from the two cultures (Berry, 1997). Those who orientate toward marginalization may have an identity conflict with both the ethnic and host groups, so they would rather define themselves as individuals than as members of either group (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). As Berry stresses, what is important is that individuals examine many strategies over the period of acculturation, and then remain with the one that is more effective and comfortable for them.

Ethnic Identity

Culture and Identity

People from a given society participate in cultural activities to create their unique culture, practice it, and transmit it to a younger generation. Culture reflects human beings' desire to reproduce their experiences from their daily lives. In a simple way, culture can be defined as “what human groups collectively create, recognizing that these products include material, behavioral, social, and mental products” (Mukhopadhyay, Henze, & Moses, 2007, p.87). Mukhopadhyay et al. define culture as the product of and guidance for all human experiences, affecting emotional and cognitive operation to interpret reality. In particular, culture

significantly influences ideas, values, and beliefs, so it is plausible that people can experience psychological difficulties and refuse a sudden change of their cultural patterns as Mukhopadhyay et al. point out. According to Mukhopadhyay et al., the culture of a larger society may encompass many *microcultures* of subgroups that reveal their distinct way of life such as various national origins, ethnicities, and faiths. They argue that we distinguish ourselves from those who speak a different language and have lived in a different country. Therefore, to function well in a culture, a newcomer must learn the shared cultural norms, values, and beliefs associated with that culture's expectations of different social roles (see also Atkinson, 1999; Kramsch, 1998; Lantolf, 1999; Nowak-Fabrykowski & Shkandrij, 2004a). Through this process, one can gain membership of a specific society. This membership is called cultural identity (Berry, 2001).

Berry (2001) explained that cultural identity is the belief system of how people perceive themselves in relation to members of their culture group; people are not aware of their cultural identities until they are confronted with another culture. Hence, if they were born and grew up in a single culture, it may not be at the forefront of their attention (Berry, 2001; Pearce, 1998). Berry points out that the two aspects of cultural identity are ethnic identity and civic identity. Ethnic identity refers to cultural retention of one's heritage in relation to one's ethnic group, while national identity is related to contact with a host society. In the process of acculturation, the two identities may develop separately or one's ethnic identity may be shaped within a larger national identity which is related to membership of the larger society (Berry, 2003). It is found that a strong ethnic and national identity is crucial for integration into the larger society (Phinney, 2003; see also Schwartz, Zamboanga, Rodriguez, &

Wang, 2007).

Ethnic Identity and Acculturation

Ethnicity needs to be distinguished from culture. Unlike culture, ethnicity is closely related to a dynamic relationship between ethnic groups and ethnic subgroups on the one hand, and the dominant group on the other in a concept of race and cultural origin; thus, it should be noted that ethnic groups in everyday usage refer to people from non-dominant groups (Phinney, 1996), even though in fact everyone, dominant or not, belongs to one or more ethnic groups. Phinney emphasizes three major aspects of ethnicity: (a) ethnic cultural norms and values that differ from other groups, (b) a feeling of belongingness to an ethnic group, (c) negative experiences related to a minority background. Ethnic groups define a cultural distinctiveness of their own culture that is shared and maintained with other members. Individuals also have varying orientations toward their own ethnicity (i.e., *ethnic identity*). Furthermore, members of ethnic groups may perceive their social status as the minority. She posits that this self-identification is associated with negative climate in society and personal experiences related to discrimination, prejudice, and negative stereotype.

As previously mentioned, ethnic identity is a “subjective feeling” that includes a sense of belonging to an ethnic group and attitudes toward that membership (Phinney, 1996, 2003). She (1996) defines ethnic identity as “self-labeling, a sense of belongingness, positive evaluation, preference for the group, ethnic interest and knowledge, and involvement in activities associated with the group” (p.923). Without weakening participation in the host society, it can make people uphold values and practices from their heritage cultures. Even when they do not have

direct contact with the culture and people of their cultural origin, they may have a strong orientation (i.e., *symbolic ethnicity or ethnic loyalty*) toward their own ethnic culture (Phinney, 1996). It is affected not only by how ethnic groups feel their ethnicity, but also by how the host population perceives ethnic groups and culture (Danico, 2004; Maisonneuve & Teste, 2007; Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009). Hence, ethnic identity is considerably related to the self-satisfaction and self-esteem of immigrant people (Danico, 2004; Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Porter & Washington, 1993).

The developmental process of ethnic identity seems to occur with the process of acculturation. Leong and Chou (as cited in Phinney, 2003) suggest three stages of ethnic identity development: *unexamined*, *immersion*, and *internalization*. In the first stage, immigrants exclusively explore the host culture to assimilate to the mainstream society. To define their own culture, in the second stage, they prefer to engage in and practice their heritage culture rather than the host culture. Finally, they internalize their identity (*achieved identity*), so they harmonize with both the ethnic and host cultures, and, in theory, they blend into both groups (Phinney, 2003; see also Danico, 2004; Krashen, Tse, & McQuillan, 1998). However, if they have not accomplished the process of identity development, they might not establish a stable concept of heritage values and tradition (Unger, Gallaher, Shakib, Ritt-Olson, Palmer, & Johnson, 2002).

As shown above, ethnic identity is dynamic, not fixed. Phinney (1996) points out that each individual and each ethnic group shows varying degrees of strength and importance of their ethnic identity in the acculturation process. Also, ethnic identity may change over the lifetime in accordance with the level of adaptation to

the host culture. For example, Phinney (2003) reports that immigrants varied in their ethnic self-identification (e.g., Chinese, Chinese-American, American, and Asian-American) depending on generation and degree of acculturation. According to her study, Chinese immigrants with high involvement in American culture and U.S. born Chinese tend to adopt American identity more than those born in other countries, such as first generation immigrants.

In addition to the generational variable of ethnic identity development, Tsai, Ying, and Lee (2000) stress that the identity development and acculturation processes are influenced by both age at migration and length of stay in the United States. They hypothesize that the sense of identity is associated more with age at time of migration than with the amount of time spent in the United States (see also Lee, Sobal, & Frongillo, 2003). According to Tsai et al., those who immigrated before or at age 12 (in childhood) adopted an American identity more than those who moved to the United States after age 12 (around adolescence). This might be because the former group had relatively higher permeability and plasticity of identity, whereas the latter group had already started to develop their ethnic identity in their native country.

Phinney (2003) measures variables of acculturation associated with change in identity in terms of social interaction with peers, ethnic language proficiency, and English proficiency. According to her study, ethnic identity is significantly related to in-group peer interaction and ethnic language proficiency, whereas out-group interaction and English proficiency are clearly associated with American identity. She also stresses that the ethnic community and acceptance of the host group played an important role in the strength of ethnic identity. Discrimination by the

mainstream group may intensify ethnic identities among immigrant people and groups. It is plausible, however, that ethnic identities of immigrant individuals can change as their language proficiency and social interaction in larger settings varies with time. As Phinney points out, it is likely that acculturative changes are interlinked with changes in identity.

Language, Ethnic Identity, and Acculturation

Unlike other components of culture, language is a product of, a transmitter of, and a creator of culture. It is apparent that language is the principal way to pass on cultural knowledge to a young generation at home, in school, and in the society (Bron, 2003; Pearce, 1998). For example, immigrant groups observe heritage culture and identity by teaching their ethnic language to their children in the host country (Neuliep, 2006). According to Kramsch (1998), people tend to label and perceive themselves and others through their use of languages (see also Mukhopadhyay, Henze, & Moses, 2007). Therefore, learning a new language is significantly related to learning a new culture and gaining a new identity. To some extent, immigrants experience a transformation of their identities while acquiring a new language in the host country (Pigott & Kalbach, 2005). Because of this, some countries tend to force their subgroups to discard their heritage and to assimilate into that of the host group for national unity (Glastra & Schedler, 2004). Lambert (1975) asserted that language was one of most important components of ethnic identity. According to Pigott and Kalbach, language has profound influences on ethnic identity in the sense that maintenance of the ethnic language tends to increase the degree of ethnic attachment. As the level of linguistic assimilation and the loss of heritage language proceed, participants becomes less attached to ethnic groups and perceive themselves

as identical members of the host majority group (Pigott & Kalbach, 2005; Portes & Hao, 2002).

In addition, maintenance of language and ethnic identity are important variables in acculturation. Pigott and Kalbach (2005) report that the stronger the adherence to their ethnic values, the more adaptation issues immigrants experience (see also Hurh & Kim, 1984). In Park's study (1999), first generation and 1.5 generation Korean-Americans tend to retain their home culture even after they move to a host country. As a result, most of them experience relatively more acculturative issues than their second generation counterparts. In contrast, recent research (Fernández-Kelly, 2008; Santisteban & Mitrani, 2003) reports that retention of heritage culture and family values (e.g., strong bonding among family members) can cushion immigrants from cultural shock and negative experience that they encounter in the host country. It is plausible that the loss of heritage language causes deterioration in family relationship. Previous research (Nowak-Fabrykowski & Shkandrij, 2004a, 200b; Portes & Hao, 2002; Qin, 2008; Krashen, Tse, & Mcquillan, 1998), has found that family conflicts (e.g., the loss of parental authority, a lack of communication, communication conflict) occur when children lose their native language, and their English skills exceed their parents'.

Ethnic Socialization

Although few immigrants or descendants of immigrants have direct exposure to the heritage culture from their country of origin, they still retain their ethnic cultures. This maintenance of heritage culture is because "parents and family members pass down their ethnic heritage by teaching their children about and exposing them to history, traditions, symbols, historical figures, and community member from the

family's heritage culture" (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Rodriguez, & Wang, 2007, p. 161). This phenomenon is called *Familial ethnic socialization*. Studies on acculturation (Sam, 2000; Schwartz et al, 2007) show the important influence of family and ethnic community on ethnic identity development.

Family

Many immigrant parents prioritize heritage culture (i.e., collectivism, familism) over the host culture, and they tend to implant them in their children through *child-rearing practices* (Chun & Akutsu, 2003). According to Chun and Akutsu's study, many Asian immigrant parents have a tendency to retain *traditional collectivist family values* (e.g., conformity to heritage values and loyalty to family) and expect their children to follow these values such as obedience to parents, familial responsibility, and respect for the old. Conflicts can occur when the degree of acceptance of the host culture and acculturative strategies differ between parents and children (Santisteban & Mitrani, 2003; see also Bhugra, 2003).

Chun and Akutsu (2003) reported that Asian immigrant parents were authoritarians who controlled their children's daily life and set strict rules for their children's behavior. Beyond this, *immigrant parents' citizenship status, length of time in the United States, English proficiency, and parental home ownership* (i.e., *financial and residential stability*) affect children's adaptation to the United States, especially academic performance during childhood and adolescent years (Rumbaut, 2008). Kim, Han, and McCubbin (2007) stress that the degree of parental acculturation may influence their parenting and their children's acculturation process in areas such as interpersonal contact. According to their study, Korean children with less assimilated parents had less social competence. Korean immigrant mothers

who had high English proficiency, social interaction with other groups, and frequent exposure to the mainstream culture provided a better environment for their children to establish higher self-esteem and social engagement in their peer groups (Farver, Kim, & Lee, 1995; Farver & Lee-shin, 2000; Kim et al, 2007).

Ethnic Community

Ethnic community is considered *social capital* to assist immigrant families in supporting their children's successful adaptation and as a comfort zone for children who have been uprooted from their country of origin and who have acculturative stress in their daily lives (Kasinitz, 2008; Konczal & Kaller, 2008; Kroneberg, 2008). Furthermore, the ethnic community is the place where immigrants' knowledge and norms from their country of origin are valid, and where they can build a new kind of kinship to replace that which they left behind in their home country. Above all, ethnic community provides an environment where immigrant families foster their heritage culture. The Korean community in the United States has salient characteristics which differ from other ethnic groups. First of all, the rate of entrepreneurship in Korean immigrants is the highest among any ethnic groups in the United States. Hence, most Koreans are connected as members of citywide associations (Goode, 1998). Also, thousands of Korean immigrant churches have spread out in the United States, and they have become the center of Korean immigrants' community (Min & Kim, 2006; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Rumbaut, 2008). A great number of Korean immigrants belong to Korean immigrant churches and often attend church. Based on Min and Kim's study, two thirds of 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean immigrants in the New York and New Jersey metropolitan area habitually participated in a Protestant church during their childhood, and even after

that period. This active participation enables Korean immigrants to observe Korean tradition and boost ethnic networks in the United States.

Collectivism and Individualism

The terms “collectivism” and “individualism” are often used to contrast Asian culture from Western culture (Phinney, 1996). The aforementioned Korean immigrants are economically and religiously connected to one another. With Confucian ideology, collectivism is the major characteristic of Korean culture. Confucian ideology emphasizes hierarchy between men and women; the older and the younger; parents and children (Danico, 2004). Therefore, people from lower in the hierarchy should obey those from higher up. For example, with mutual benignity, the younger must show respect to the older. In collectivist culture, the primary concern is the welfare of a group rather than that of individuals, and an individual’s attitude and behavior are dominated by values and norms from the larger group (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997; Schwartz, Zamboanga, Rodriguez, & Wang, 2007). As part of collectivism, familism is perceived as a culturally common value among Latino and Asian Americans (Marín & Gamba, 2003; Santisteban & Mitrani, 2003; Schwartz, et al., 2007). In many Korean immigrant families, parents emphasize that family needs prevail over individual ones (Akiyama, 2008). In contrast, individualists reject identification as members of a specific group (Bourhis et al., 1997; Schwartz et al., 2007). In individualism, people place the priority on the self rather than the group.

There are two interpretations of cultural orientation. According to Schwartz et al. (2007), people can be placed on a continuum that has two opposite ends, collectivism and individualism. In this interpretation, if immigrants from collectivist

culture adopt individualism from the host culture, maintenance of the immigrant culture will be given less importance (Bourhis et al., 1997). In the other interpretation, collectivism and individualism are separate from each other. Schwartz et al argue that individuals choose one between the two orientations depending on the situations which they face.

Characteristics of Generation 1.5 Korean Immigrants

Glastra and Schedler (2004) state that each ethnic group has its own peculiarity, and that these variations also exist between the first, second, and third generations of a single ethnic group. Based on this assertion, generation 1.5 Korean-Americans have salient acculturation experiences unlike other generations of Korean-Americans. It has been found that they are different from both first-generation immigrants who came to United States as grown-ups and the American-born second generation (Kim, Brenner, Liang, & Asay, 2003; Park, 1999). In particular, generation 1.5 Korean-Americans are often compared to or contrasted with the second generation, who were born and raised in the United States. They are demographically near the second generation, but culturally somewhere between Korean and American cultures. They tend to adapt well to both American and the Korean cultures and to speak both English and Korean fluently (Kim et al., 2003; see also Park, 1999).

In contrast, generation 1.5 Korean-Americans experience imbalance between two different cultural values and norms, “American” and “Korean.” (Yeh, Ma, Madan-Bahel, Hunter, Jung, Kim, Akitaya, & Sasaki, 2005) After they get through this psychological confusion, generation 1.5 immigrants tend to shift their identities and languages to conform to various interpersonal contexts (Yeh et al., 2005). In spite of their cultural flexibility, they identify themselves as Koreans (Park, 1999).

More importantly, the identities of generation 1.5 Korean-American may be affected by visiting Korea. According to Park, some of those who visited Korea changed their attitudes towards Korea and America. Also, “although many 1.5er Korean-Americans shared the transformative experience of first ‘acting white’ and then later affirming their Korean heritage, a few had the contrary experience.” (Park, 1999, p. 148) While sharing the same Korean heritage, generation 1.5 immigrants differ from both first and second generation Korean-Americans.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In-depth Interviewing

Quantitative research methods have frequently been used in the area of sociological research on acculturation (Anderson, Moeschberger, Chen, Kunn, Wewers, & Guthrie, 1993; Jang, Kim, Chiriboga, & King-Kallimanis, 2007; Kang, 2006; Lee, Koeske, & Sales, 2004; Maloof, Rubin, & Miller, 2006; Nguyen, Messé, & Stollak, 1999; Shim & Schwartz, 2007; Tsai, Ying, Lee, 2000; Yeh & Inose, 2002). According to Esterberg (2002), quantitative methods, in spite of their advantages such as practicability and objectivity, have some limitations. In quantitative research, researchers control the questions that are asked and how they are phrased. However, participants may not be able to fully express their thoughts by choosing one among the given responses. Researchers may miss important issues that are crucial to participants, and the questions created by researchers may not catch and represent the interviewees' reality. Moreover, each participant may interpret questions in a different way than the researchers intended him or her to do.

In contrast, the in-depth interviews used in this study allow participants to describe their feelings and opinions sufficiently in their own words; thus, their responses may be richer and more authentic than those in quantitative research. As a result, in-depth interviews allow us to get more reliable information on members of a specific group and to fully appreciate their views about their unique experiences. It is possible, however, that participants may feel obliged to respond to questions in a socially acceptable way (*social desirability bias*), or they may attempt to say whatever they believe the interviewer wants to hear (Esterberg, 2002). Participants may also not remember whole events precisely, being influenced by selective memory or

limited retention of memory.

Because of these limitations of questionnaire and interview, it is recommended that researchers in qualitative studies combine in-depth interview with participant observation (Esterberg, 2002). By participant observation, it is hoped that researchers get a sense of and understand how participants act and interact with other people in a natural setting. For these reasons, the researcher in this study participated in and observed a Korean church community, where some interviewees were recruited, for about ten hours. As a Korean, the researcher was easily accepted by members of the church congregations and welcomed as a newcomer. By participating, the researcher could understand the dynamics of ethnic community, retention of cultural heritage, interpersonal interaction among 1.5 generation 1.5 Korean immigrants, and the generational differences among Koreans.

Acculturation is the consequence of an individual immigrant's decision-making to solve problems that they have confronted in a new environment. To understand the nature and the construction of acculturation, therefore, researchers need to examine what environment individual immigrants are surrounded by and how that environment influences them, why they make decisions in a certain way, and what variables influence their decision-making process. By using in-depth interviews, researchers may get real information directly from immigrants, given that individual immigrants vary in the outcome of acculturation across different situations.

Furthermore, the purpose of this study is to identify sociocultural experiences and practices of a specific group of people, generation 1.5 Korean immigrants, rather than to generalize the results of the study across the whole immigrant groups. For this reason, qualitative methods, in particular in-depth interviews with open-ended

questions, help to avoid the empirical and methodological limitations of the past studies on immigrants' acculturation.

Participants

To investigate generational particularity within 1.5 generation Koreans, the researcher recruited twenty 1.5 generation Koreans in San José, California. There were two main reasons that the researcher chose California. First, California is the most popular place for Korean immigrants to resettle. In 2000, out of total Korean immigrants in the United States, 31% of them settled down in California (as cited in Portes & Rumbauts, 2006, p.45). San José in particular has many young immigrant adults employed in the high-tech industries of Silicon Valley. Hence, there are many middle-class Korean immigrants who moved from other places to this area for school and job. The second reason was to improve efficiency. The researcher's graduate school was located in the area of San José; thus, this location gave the researcher access to the subjects in this area. The 20 participants were recruited through big Korean churches, college, personal contact, and referrals of the subjects to other potential participants. Table 1 summarizes the demographic characteristics of the participants. In order to protect the privacy of the individuals who participated in this study, the researcher has assigned pseudonyms to all interviewees.

Table 1. Demographic description of participants

<i>Case name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Legal status</i>	<i>Educational attainment</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Marital Status</i>	<i>Length of residence</i>	<i>Age at migration</i>	<i>Family SES</i>
Bob	early 30s	Male	citizen	college	office work (construction)	single	15.5 yrs	15 yrs	working
Chris	early 30s	Male	resident	in college	hospitality	single	11 yrs	14 yrs	working
David	early 40s	Male	resident	college	restaurant manager	single	27 yrs	12 yrs	working
Jack	mid 20s	Male	F1	in college	student	single	9 yrs	16 yrs	working
Jina	late 20s	female	resident	in college	student & part-time receptionist	single	11 yrs	16 yrs	middle
Jinsun	late 10s	female	citizen	in college	student	single	12 yrs	9 yrs	middle
Jun	late 20s	Male	citizen	in college	veteran student	single	12 yrs	16 yrs	working
Ken	early 30s	Male	citizen	graduate	computer engineer	single	18 yrs	12 yrs	middle
Kim	mid 30s	Male	citizen	college	finance	single	20 yrs	13 yrs	middle
Lee	early 30s	Male	citizen	college	R & D engineer	single	20 yrs	9 yrs	middle

Note. Socioeconomic status (SES).

Table 1. Demographic description of participants (Continued)

<i>Case name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Legal status</i>	<i>Educational attainment</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Marital Status</i>	<i>Length of residence</i>	<i>Age at migration</i>	<i>Family SES</i>
Matt	mid 20s	male	resident	college	electrical engineer	single	11 yrs	14 yrs	middle
Michel	early 30s	male	citizen	college	Soft engineer	single	16 yrs	14 yrs	working
Mina	early 30s	female	citizen	college	paralegal & teacher	single	15 yrs	16 yrs	middle
Nami	mid 40s	female	citizen	graduate	teacher	married	34 yrs	10 yrs	middle
Rebecca	mid 30s	female	citizen	college	administrative	single	19 yrs	15 yrs	working
Sujin	mid 20s	female	citizen	graduate	student	single	18 yrs	7 yrs	middle
Sunny	mid 20s	female	citizen	college	teacher	single	12 yrs	15 yrs	working
Tom	late 10s	male	resident	in college	student	single	7 yrs	11 yrs	middle
Sam	early 30s	male	citizen	college	business development	single	19 yrs	9 yrs	middle
Young	late 20s	male	citizen	college	pharmaceutical research	single	12 yrs	16 yrs	working

As described in Table 1.1 and Table 1.2, the participants ranged in age from 19 to 45. The average age of the participants was approximately 30. They had lived in the United States from the age of 16 or earlier. Their mean age on entering the United States was about 13, length of residence varied from seven to 34 years, and the participants had spent an average of 16 years in the United States. Eight of the participants lived with parents, the rest of them lived on their own alone, or with roommates. All the participants were single except one woman, who was married and lived with her children and spouse. Men outnumbered women 13 to 7. Families in the study were middle-class or working-class based on self-report; 11 from the middle-class and 9 from the working-class. The majority of the participants were college-educated. Eleven of them had bachelor's degrees; 3 graduate degrees; and 6 were in college. As for legal status, 14 participants were citizens; 5 were legal residents; and 1 was in the United States on an F1 visa. Most participants had professional jobs such as engineers, paralegals, accountants, and teachers at the time of the interview. It was important that all the participants were born in Korea, and migrated to the United States in childhood or in adolescence. The researcher recruited people who spoke both Korean and English in consideration of the close relationship between ethnic identity and maintenance of heritage language.

Procedure

For this study, the researcher collected two types of data: Demographic questionnaire data and interview data. The researcher also attended about 10 hours of Sunday services and fellowship in a Korean church where some participants were recruited to observe their interactions. The participants were provided with an

explanation of the study before participating. They were assured that their responses would be confidential, and that they had the right to cancel their consent at any stage of the study. Interview questions were sent via email before interviews if any interviewee requested them. This study included 20 in-depth interviews that took approximately 32 hours in total. The interviews were conducted at a mutually convenient time and place: at a café (9); in a library (5); on campus (1); at a participant's home (3); in a church (1); in a workplace (1). Each interview lasted between 1.5 and 2.5 hours, and all of them were recorded for transcription. All participants received movie gift tickets in compensation at the end of the interview. After interviewing, all the interviews were transcribed by the researcher. While analyzing the data, the researcher followed up with questions to the subjects if further responses were necessary.

The interview procedure presented to all participants was the same. First, the respondent chose the language in which he or she wished to be interviewed. In every case, this was English. Then, prior to the interview, the participant completed the demographic questionnaire. The interview questions were divided into three parts: pre-immigration experience, immigration, and post-immigration experience. In order for the researcher to assess cultural orientation and ethnic identity, participants were asked questions regarding family immigration history, family relations, ethnic perception, and personal immigrant experiences. The interviews were separately conducted at different times in different places. All interviews were done in person.

Treatment of Data

Once collected, the interviews were transcribed prior to data analysis. To

identify patterns and construct a data framework, the researcher first coded themes and categories, going through the transcript data line by line. The researcher developed initial domains to ensure that the data were precisely represented. Using an initial list of domains (i.e., pre-immigration experiences, the parent's acculturation, attachment to Korean culture, adaptation, self-identification, attributes of generation 1.5 Korean immigrants), the researcher assigned raw data to each domain. After the data were assigned to the domains, primary ideas were developed and listed within each domain. The researcher summarized the primary ideas and phrased their essence. Through this process, recurring themes from each interviewee were revealed.

The next step was to identify key themes across different interviews, comparing the recurring themes. Once similarities across cases are noted, higher-level categories of abstraction from the data were formed. Then, based on counting repeated themes, the researcher clarified the frequency of the occurrence of categories, using three levels: general, typical, and variant. The researcher modified the method used by Kim, Brenner, Liang, and Asay (2003) and Yeh, Ma, Madan-Bahel, Hunter, Jung, Kim, Akitaya, and Sasaki (2005). *General* means that categories appear in all cases, *typical* that they occur in half or more cases, and *variant* that they appear in less than half of the cases. Categories with 2 cases were dropped. This approach would enable the researcher to explain the emerging general patterns in 1.5 generation Korean-Americans' acculturation. By analyzing dissimilarities between individual cases, the researcher also explained the variation in them.

Chapter 4: Results

By examining socio-cultural variables of ethnic socialization, this chapter addresses the acculturation process and ethnic identity development among the 20 Korean immigrants. It is divided into seven sections: a demographic description of the participants' families, their pre-immigration experiences, their parents' acculturation, their attachment to Korean culture, three-dimensional adaptation (social adaptation, linguistic adaptation, and cultural adaptation), self-identification, and attributes of generation 1.5 Korean immigrants. When audio files of interviews contained sounds that were difficult to understand, the researcher used asterisks to mark the section where difficulty occurred. Except in these cases, transcriptions of interviews in this study reflect the participants' words exactly the way they spoke them, without corrections.

Demographic Description of Participants' Families

The demographic backgrounds of the 20 participants' families in this study differ from the common stereotype of immigrants and from early Korean immigrants in the United States. As recent studies (Kibria, 2002; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006) point out, current Korean immigrants, like the subjects of this study, are not from an extremely poor, uneducated, suffering caste in Korea. Most of them immigrated as entrepreneurs, professionals, or skilled mechanics, although they started off at a lower socioeconomic status in the United States than their previous one in Korea. All participants have predominantly better social and economic backgrounds than early Korean immigrants. Table 2 summarizes demographics for the participants' families.

Table 2. Demographics for participants' families

<i>Selected Characteristics</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
<i>Educational attainment of the parents</i>	
<i>Graduate</i>	4
<i>College</i>	8
<i>high school</i>	6
<i>prefer not to answer</i>	2
<i>Family SES</i>	
<i>Middle</i>	11
<i>Working</i>	9
<i>Occupational status of the parents</i>	
<i>Retired</i>	6
<i>self-employment</i>	3
<i>Employment</i>	10
<i>prefer not to answer</i>	1
<i>Legal status of the parents</i>	
<i>Citizen</i>	14
<i>Resident</i>	5
<i>Korean citizen</i>	1
<i>Current living condition</i>	
<i>live with two parents</i>	5
<i>live with one parents</i>	2
<i>live with immediate family</i>	1
<i>live alone (e.g., roommate, alone)</i>	12
<i>US entry</i>	
<i>legal dependent</i>	12
<i>Entrepreneur</i>	8
<i>Family situation while growing up</i>	
<i>grew up living with both parents</i>	17
<i>grew up separated from parents</i>	3
<i>State of first settlement</i>	
<i>California</i>	12
<i>other than California</i>	8

Note. Participants n=20 for each group

Table 2 can be summarized as follows: 40% of the participants have college educated parents; 20% have parents with graduate degrees; 30% have parents with high school certificates. Based on the self-reported questionnaires, out of the 20 participants,

55% of the participants were middle and upper-middle-class while 45% were working-class. It is likely that some participants identified their class based on family income while others based it on their parents' jobs in the United States. For example, Jina's parent was an electrician with a high school certificate, but she defined herself as middle-class. This might be because her family's income was in the middle-class range. Chang identified his family as working-class because his college-educated father and mother were manual laborers. Chang and Sam recall the stories of their families' immigration:

Chang: My father was CEO of a small company. He was always in the office and wore nice suits. After we came here, he worked at a construction site.

Sam: My father worked as an engineer, he graduated from a good school in Korea, and once he got here, he started working at the drying cleaning, he didn't like it all.

Out of the 20 participants, 30% of the participants' parents were retired, 15% had their own small business, and 50% (both or either of parents) were employed by a company in positions such as managers and technicians at the time of the interview. All the participants' families immigrated legally. Seventy percent of the participants' parents were U.S. citizens; 25% were permanent residents; and 5% were Korean Citizens (gave up permanent resident status and returned to Korea). Among the 20 participants, 25% of the participants lived with two parents; 10% with one parent; 5% with a spouse and children; 60% of the participants lived alone or with roommates at the time of the interview.

Also, 85% of the participants lived with their parents throughout their critical period (adolescence); leaving only three subjects with different backgrounds: Matt, who lived in a private Christian boarding school, Chris, who lived in the home of his Korean guardian, and Kim, who lived in her sister's house. It is typical that the

generation 1.5 Korean immigrants, especially female Koreans, lived with their parents, following Korean tradition for non-married children. Sixty percent of the participants' families were invited by relatives who earlier immigrated to the United States, and the rest migrated here on their own for reasons including welfare, education, and religion. Twelve of the participants settled in California immediately on arriving in the United States; 1 in Arizona; 1 in Hawaii; 1 Illinois; 2 in Maryland; 1 in Pennsylvania; 1 in Texas; 1 in Virginia. Eighty percent of the participants spent their school years in California. Twenty percent of the participants moved to California after age 20 to get a job or because of family affairs. In spite of differences in their preferred places of settlement, most parents had socio-economically socialized with people in ethnic enclaves.

Pre-immigration Experiences

The United States is still a land of opportunity to Korean immigrants. The majority of the participants (95%) migrated to the United States in the hope of finding better lives and opportunities for families. Ken reported the reason for immigration as follows:

It was my parents' decision. Their decision was not based on education for their children, but it was more like, not even the American dream, but they wanted some opportunities where they can have more, I don't know, brighten their capacity.

Table 3 summarizes pre-immigration experiences of the 20 participants.

Table 3. Pre-immigration experiences

<i>Subdomain</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>(n=20)</i>
Immigrated to the United States for a better life	Typical	(19)
Heard about immigration less than six months earlier	Typical	(12)
My parents did not prepare me for the immigration	Typical	(16)
Korean education was stricter than American	Typical	(11)
Had good memories of Korea	Typical	(13)
Was interested in the move	Typical	(12)

Note. Participants n=20, General =applicable to all 20 cases, Typical=applicable to 19 to 10 cases, Variant= applicable to 9 to 3 cases. Subdomains with less than 3 cases were excluded.

As shown in Table 3, common reasons for coming to the United States were to improve the father’s career (20%) and because of diverse opportunities (more income: 50%; participant’s education: 25%; others: 5%). It is likely that improving child education is one of main reasons for immigration for Korean immigrant families. Surprisingly, three participants (15%) came alone to the United States for education; and one participant (5%) came with only some of their family members. For instance, Tom’s mother moved to the United States alone with her children to educate them, while her husband still lived and worked in South Korea.

Sixty percent of the 20 participants heard that they were immigrating from their parents less than half a year before the move. Matt recalled the moment when his father first told him about the move:

One day, my father came to my room and left a piece of paper in English, and he said, “sign it.” “I don’t know signing is.” I was 14. “This is signing.” He showed how to sign. . . . He signed it. I signed it. “You are going to America.” “I’m going where?” I came to the U.S. three weeks after that.

Surprisingly, 10% thought that they were visiting the United States for family vacations. Eighty percent of the 20 participants said that they came here without any

preparation in terms of language and culture.

Fifty-five percent of the participants report that Korean education was stricter and more difficult than American education. All participants mentioned that American schools were more liberal than Korean, and that the schools respected students' rights and opinions. Sunny illustrated the difference between the Korean and American education systems as below:

I think it was like kindergarten compared to Korea. You know, Korean education is very aggressive. When I came here, I was already at the level of top classes as a freshman. Also, I took chemistry, biology program. So, every subject was easy except for English.

In particular, 50% said that they did not like the Korean education system. David and Jun expressed their unpleasant memories about schools in Korea as follows:

David: I really hated that education in Korea. . . . education system in Korea is very difficult for people at, specially people in my age at that time because they gave me tons of information. And you have to take it daily you have to take, there're so many competition between Korean people, and you have to be pretty competitive in order to survive that type of educational system.

Jun: I think most of my bad memories came from my, when I was a student in elementary school. You know how, back then it was still very conservative. Teachers were the heaven to students. They almost have right to scold and beat up students if they think it's right to do.

Ironically, some participants report that their negative life events in Korea helped them to leave all memories of Korea behind, moving to a new life in the United States. The majority of the participants (65%) have good memories of Korea. They mention relationships with friends rather than Korean food or dress, starting with "I had a lot of friends." Jina expressed her yearning for the warm relationships that she had in Korea, by saying:

The way of their relationships, how they communicate with each other, the way of their treating each other. I really like them, the way of their living. It's very warm. Their relationships are very warm. I can feel it. I love their hearts.

This focus in memory may be not only because the Korean life style is becoming

westernized and similar to the American, but also because they still practice Korean material culture in daily life at home and in ethnic enclaves. Moreover, they might have felt limited in making friends in the United States because of cultural and linguistic differences. Young explains his interpersonal relationships in Korea, stating difficulties that he had confronted in the following statement:

I think most environments, first, language. I didn't notice it when I was in Korea. That's no language barrier. I kind of hang out with anybody I want. This is the first thing to notice after I came here.

As shown above, many participants have both good and bad memories of Korea. In addition, 60% report that they were curious about a new life in the United States. As their parents did, they were likely to perceive immigration as a good opportunity for them. Sunny described her expectation about American life as below:

I always wanted to start fresh; I wanted my school record fresh. In that sense, I was excited to make new friends, go to a new school, and just see a whole new world

Although memories of Korea seem bipolar in them, their feeling for the past is neither exclusively negative nor exclusively positive. The feelings are likely to be well-balanced by the selective memories of the participants. That is to say, they neither adhere to the past nor are traumatized by it. As a result, these memories of Korea seem to play a role as a shelter whenever they face acculturative difficulties in daily life.

The Parent's Acculturation

In most cases, the participants' parents tended to instill Korean values and norms in their children, who had been exposed to the new environment more frequently than the parents. This may be because first generation parents are afraid of loss of connection with their children, who are likely to assimilate to the American

culture and eventually to lose the language and culture of their country of origin.

Table 4 presents Korean practices, parental disciplining patterns, and expectations for their children's attitude among Korean immigrant parents of the 20 participants.

Table 4. The parent's acculturation

<i>Subdomain</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>(n=20)</i>
My parents stressed my native language and roots	Variant	(9)
They preferred me marrying a Korean	Variant	(8)
Their parenting style was Korean	Typical	(12)
They asked me to obey their decisions	Typical	(12)
They had socialized with Koreans	Typical	(11)
They could not speak English well	Typical	(17)
My family became closer after the move	Variant	(9)
Their parenting style changed to become more American	Typical	(10)

Table 4 shows that parents of the participants oriented to Korean culture and language. Also, the degree of acculturation of first generation Korean immigrants was relatively lower than their children, especially in terms of language. As a result, the parents forced their children to preserve Korean cultural norms, although they expected their children to function as well in the mainstream society as other Americans do.

Almost half of the participants (45%) report that their parents placed the emphasis on Korean culture and their ethnic origin. Sujin and Jun describe parental discipline in terms of heritage culture as follows:

Sujin: The fact my parents really emphasized the importance of maintaining my language and culture. My parents invited friends over; I was always more surrounded by Korean culture because my parents always made me speak Korean at home, and I've been going to Korean Church in my whole church, ever since I came here. I'd just interacted more with in Korean or Asian people.

Jun: It was kind of half and half; convincing and ordering me, too. "You're Korean. It is not a good idea you abandon Korean community. No matter what you do, you're gonna be Korean. . . . If you just keep trying to be away from it, it's gonna be something you have to face one day. You're not gonna be a pleasant experience with that.

In addition to stressing the retention of heritage culture and language, first generation parents (40%) prefer their children to marry a Korean spouse in order to be able to communicate with her/him, share Korean culture, and maintain family lineage.

Nami and Sujin state their parents' desires about marriage as follows:

Nami: They were somehow expecting we're never married somebody outside of Korean. . . . Korean parents are afraid that their kids marry interracially. I think they were saying it, "Don't bring the blond guy home." Something like that. I guess they were saying occasionally.

Sujin: just pleased my parents. Because I knew they only wanted a Korean guy or a Korean-American, so my fiancé is a Korean-American. He was born here, he can speak Korean, because he speaks Korean to his parents. So, yeah, I mean, my parents are really happy about that. They were kind of worried that, because I grew up here, I will, I don't know, they, people from other cultures, but they're thankful that he is Korean-American. My parents had a lot of influence, too.

Also, 60% out of the 20 participants reported that parents' parenting styles were like Korean ones. Not surprisingly, Korean parents, especially the father is likely to force the daughter to follow Korean traditional norms more than the son. Jinsun described her frustration with her parent's strict parental regulations as follows:

A sleeping over in friends' houses, in Korean culture, you don't do that, sleeping on your own bed. You don't go out at night. You're very at home, that was a big issue. "What! All my American friends are sleeping over, they're doing this, and they're doing this. They're going dance at night." I thought it's unfair. I started to fight sometimes. But, their mind sets were all Korean culture.

She expressed disappointment with the lack of emotional support from her father, comparing him to the portrait of a father on TV:

Distant and unemotional, doesn't show any physical attention, no hugging. . . . Because he is in America, and see how fathers here are, that the father represents in television, in media here, or what I'm keeping say that I want it. I used to fight with "why don't you tell me this is good?" Bring him an A's paper, he said, "Okay, do the same next time", I'm, "What? You didn't even say a good job? If you did something bad, "what? what's wrong with you?" When I do something bad, I get an attention. If I do something good, "okay."

In general, first generation Korean parents, like other Asian immigrant parents, are unlikely to express warmth and apology to their children. In particular, 60% of the

participants complain about the traditional communication methods of their parents.

Mina expresses how hard it was for her to communicate with her father as follows:

When my dad gets angry, it's really hard. . . . when I was younger, since I, you know, when, since I was, no, not since, I should say I was, grew up, never, I couldn't say anything back to my dad. . . . I can never argue with my dad. I can never say no. It's like my house, my rule. I have to follow his rule since I live in his house.

She explains why she obeyed her father in the following statement:

I don't wanna argue. I think I more like that. You know, I don't, when my dad say, "Don't go out too late at night." I don't argue with them. That's why I just do. . . . I don't wanna make a trouble with my parents. . . . more comfortable for me.

Among 60% of the participants, about 42% experienced communication problems with their parents. Once the participants came to the conclusion that their parents neither listened to them nor understood them, they gave up negotiating with their parents, or they lied because they wanted to avoid conflicts with their parents. In the worst cases, the participants rebelled against their parents' authority, like Tom:

There were a lot of difficulties through high school. . . .me and my parents had always big problems with each other. They didn't really like the way that I was thinking, the way that I was living in my life, and I just didn't care about what they were thinking.

Interestingly, some female participants (3 out of the 7 females) have felt comfortable communicating with their mother as a friend, unlike their fathers. This may be because in Korean culture, the hierarchical status of the woman is lower than that of the man, and the father's dignity should be highly respected among family members as a leader and a breadwinner of a family. Over half of the participants (55%) mentioned exclusive orientation of their parents to the Korean community. David and Sunny illustrate their parents' socialization as follows:

David: They hang out with most of friends are Koreans, we have to, we go to Korean church in weekends, we have to, we just hang out and talk to a lot of Koreans, Korean people, so, it was basically, we are in Korean community in America, so, almost, feel almost in Korea.

Sunny: Going to church, they meet church friends to socialize, going different places with church friends, traveling to Las Vegas, other places, Mexico, something like that.

For this reason, more parents speak Korean exclusively in everyday life. In interviews, 75% mention that their parents do not speak English well. It may be taken for granted that the first generation parents have strong preferences for the Korean ethnic community in consideration of their limited English skills. Due to lack of English language proficiency, the parents have to rely on their children in terms of language, at the very least. Sujin and Nami say:

Sujin: My dad, not so much. I think he does a lot of things on his own. But my mom, depends on me lot. Even my younger brother, his school stuff, I have helped. My mom asks me to help him, talk to a teacher, email a teacher, things like that.

Nami: From early on, my sister, they relied on my sister a lot. She was 13. She started a junior high. She knew the most English whatever letter she knew. She was always to be front. Whenever letters came, she had to translate anything, income tax, anything parents had to, she had to be involved somehow.

As Nami says, participants generally have translated for their parents and their younger siblings since they spoke English better than their parents. The participants feel stress, but also pity for the situation, helping their parents out as a language broker. Here are Rebecca and Jack's stories:

Rebecca: I should be more of on their side, but since I'm their daughter, I guess, I am not really objective about this work. If I was a lawyer, I might help them more, I don't know. . . . I do help them. Maybe they don't, maybe could they find other help, Korean speaking people, but since I am close, asking me for help.

Jack: It was very hard. You know, I didn't have any social experience, I didn't know how I was supposed to tell. . . . why did I do? I have to do. I have no choice. That was pressure. So, I try to kind of avoid seeing my parents whenever they bother me, calling me ***.

Limited English proficiency, role reversal, and the acculturation gap between parents and children might weaken the parent's authority and jeopardize parent-child relationship, although most participants did not challenge the parent's control and authority openly. In general, parent-child conflicts were at their peak when children had become adolescents and asked for more independence.

If children studied away from their parents and so received less parental discipline, the parents could barely maintain the control over children after adolescence. Here is the story of Matt:

I'll say, about 16, 17, 10 to 11 grade. First of all, I was away. . . . I'd been here away from him. I only talked to him on the phone once a while. . . . So, I began to have my own opinion, own perspective. There couldn't supervise me. . . . Every summer I became more American. They liked it in a way. They saw me talk on the phone in English things like that with my friend. They like the fact that my English is improving. Also, they don't like the fact that I'm becoming less and less like a traditional Korean boy.

Therefore, it was inevitable that the parents changed their parenting style to a more Western style, even though they had constantly exposed themselves to the Korean community and culture in their own lives. Fifty percent of the participants answered that their parents had changed over time. Matt and Ken describe their parents' changes as follows:

Matt: Nowadays it changes a little bit. Because now they understand I am no longer Korean, Korean they used to back in Korea.

Ken: All major decision left on me. They explicitly told me that, they respect my decision even if they don't prefer, they trust me.

In many cases, the first generation parents maintain a Korean life style in the United States. At the same time, however, they seem to realize that they had to adjust to this country and negotiate their relations with their children who had speedily become similar to their American counterparts, in order to maintain good family relationships by providing emotional support and by respecting their children' independence and decisions. Also, the strong bond among family members was likely to ease the tension between parents and children which resulted from strict parenting and inefficient communication during the difficult times after migration. It is clear that parental adjustment significantly influenced the participants' acculturation in the new cultural context. As shown above, the participants were constantly exposed to

Korean culture at home, and their parents infused it into them even after migration. As a result, the participants juggled two different cultures at home and in school throughout acculturation while their parents were adjusting to American culture.

Attachment to Korean Culture

Regardless of age at migration, the majority of the participants have engaged themselves in Korean culture. Those who immigrated in late adolescence have constantly practiced and exposed themselves to Korean culture even after immigration. In contrast, interestingly, those who immigrated in childhood tended to enculturate and revitalize their heritage culture and language in adolescence or in young adulthood through their peers, as Kim did. Kim describes his *ethnic ambivalence* and *ethnic emergence* (Krashen, Tse, Mcquillan, 1998) as follows:

That's how I probably picked up language quickly because I didn't have any Korean friends. It's very fortunate. At home, one or two words, phrase. I couldn't make complete sentence. Because I keep practicing, all day long, English, English, English. . . . When I was at home, I tried to minimize it, tried not to speak Korean. But, to my parents, you had to speak Korean. I reduced the use of Korean. I hung out with my friends all the time. . . . I think I became more driven to Asian culture when I became a high school (student). From elementary and middle school, I had only white kids as my friends. I was in all white environments. In high school, I met Korean, came from, fresh off from Korea, he showed me music, showed me TV, this and that.

Many participants have eaten Korean foods, listened to Korean songs, watched Korean TV, and celebrated Korean holidays. Table 3 lists the participants' responses to questions about attachment to Korean culture.

Table 5. Attachment to Korean culture

<i>Subdomain</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>(n=20)</i>
Had engaged in Korean foods/song/TV/tradition	Typical	(16)
Was influenced by Korean norms and values	Variant	(8)
Visited Korea	typical	(16)
Had fun during the stay in Korea	Variant	(6)
Felt alienated in Korea	Variant	(7)
Had had contact with Korea	Typical	(11)

In Table 5, 80% of the 20 participants favored the material side of Korean culture on a daily basis, while only 40% showed an orientation to Korean values and norms.

Kim and Rebecca respond to the questions about an orientation to Korean culture as follows:

Kim: Actually, it was fun listening to Korean music. Before, I didn't listen to that. I only listened to pop . . . Sudden switched over and started to listen to Korean music. It's fun, very new experience for me. That's driven into it.

Rebecca: I watch videos of Korean TV all the time, show programs; I think they are very funny. I watch them all the time. But, it is for fun. I sometimes watch news. Food is much better.

The specific Korean cultural values mentioned by the participants were uniformly related to people's interactions, such as respect for old people. This may be because the participants became individualistic and independent as they adjusted to American culture and interacted with people from American society. However, when they socialize with their own ethnicity such as within their family and ethnic community, the Korean way of interaction with people may still influence them.

In addition to Korean cultural practices, many participants (80%) visited Korea after migration. Surprisingly, only 37.5% of them enjoyed their time in Korea. After a lapse of eight years, Young described his return back to Korea:

It was pretty fun. The first thing I noticed, everybody around me was Korean. It was pretty

shock to me. . . . When I ride a subway, a bus, everybody is Korean. I hear all Korean language. . . . It was pretty interesting. I really enjoyed being there.

In spite of physical and linguistic commonality between in Korea and the participants, 43.75% of the 16 participants state that they felt different from Koreans living in Korea while they stayed there. Michel and Sujin illustrate their unexpected feelings as follows:

Michel: when I went to Korea, I saw a lot of Korean people for the first time for 7 years. . . . I looked like Korean, I spoke Korean. But I felt I was totally stranger, I felt I was like a foreigner. . . . The way of thinking is very different from how I think. . . .

Sujin: When I visited Korea sometimes, I felt like people knew I wasn't from there. Maybe skin color, you know, people in Korea, really pale and white, so I feel I don't belong. I feel I'm really dark. I guess, in America, people just go around, wearing anything they feel comfortable. They can wear a pajama. In Korea, the way you look, the way I look is different. I just feel people know that I'm not Korean.

Out of the 16 participants, 93.75% mentioned that they realized how comfortable living in the United States was after they visited Korea. Some participants experienced a clear change to a more positive attitude toward the United States as Michel did:

I thought I felt I wasn't American. I always wanted to go back Korean. . . . (After visiting Korea) I realized that the home that I was thinking in my mind was United States, not Korea. . . . It's the first time to realize that living in the US is better than in Korea. Since that, I changed my attitude, that's I decided to settle down in the US.

Interestingly, 16.67% of the 16 participants had lived more than one year in Korea; 25% for less than one year in Korea. Among the 16 participants who visited Korea, 68.75% have occasionally visited Korea again or contacted people in Korea even after they returned to the United States.

The experience of the participants in Korea helped nourish both their ethnic and national identities by direct contact with Korean culture, instead of second hand contact with people from Korea or through the media. They understand their

heritage from their country of origin better than before and acknowledge their identity as Korean-Americans who consciously or unconsciously, have adjusted to the United States. As Ken points out:

It was a reminder for me. I actually wanted to, think about living in Korea. But, it was too late. I got too Americanized; I knew I couldn't adjust to Korean hierarchy, bureaucracy, and culture.

Based on their responses to the questions about the cultural preference, it is plausible that they tend to adopt life values and lifestyles selectively from the two cultures in accordance with their personal needs and situations.

Adaptation

The data from interviews with the 20 participants were analyzed with three dimensions: Social adaptation, linguistic adaptation, and cultural adaptation. These three dimensions showed a significant relationship to the process of acculturation. As the participants point out, English proficiency and cultural acceptance play a crucial role in social adaptation. The results are discussed with details in the following sections.

Social Adaptation

It was found that the frequency of social participation, the diversity of the social network, and the preference of social participation had changed with acculturation. In interviews, the generation 1.5 Korean immigrants tend to feel more comfortable and close with their own ethnic group. The orientation to their native group in social participation may be the result of their own experiences in American society. Two aspects of the social adaptation of the 20 participants are examined: Voluntary association and involuntary association.

Voluntary association. Typically, the generation 1.5 Korean immigrants exposed themselves to the Korean community and preferred to interact with people from their ethnic group as shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Voluntary association

<i>Subdomain</i>	<i>Frequency (n=20)</i>	
Had participated in Korean community	Typical	(18)
Met other Korean-Americans in Korean community	Typical	(12)
Hung around with Koreans/Korean-Americans	Typical	(13)
Felt comfortable and close with Koreans	Typical	(13)
Ethnic backgrounds of my friends had changed	Typical	(11)
In my workplace, people were not diverse	Variant	(6)

As illustrated in Table 6, the vast majority (90%) of the 20 participants regularly attended activities in the Korean community. In particular, all of them were found to be in congregations of Korean churches. Here are the participants' statements about their socialization in Korean churches (Table 7).

Table 7. Statements of attitude toward a Korean church

<i>Case Name</i>	<i>Statement</i>
<i>Michel</i>	Right now maybe more than 90% of my friends are from my church. I don't know anybody out of church.
<i>Tom</i>	I go to a Korean church, and so, I can get some Korean culture in my life.
<i>Matt</i>	I started going to the Korean church back in last June. . . . It's a fresh cultural reminder. This is what I used to be. I didn't notice it for a long time.
<i>Ken</i>	I get involved in a Korean speaking group, which predominately is 1.5; people just came from Korea as students.
<i>Jina</i>	For me, I am with more the Korean community, culture and language. I go to a Korean church, hang around with Koreans.
<i>Nami</i>	My social life, all is from the church. . . . But, my joy and my passion came from the church.
<i>Chris</i>	I think I feel more comfortable with the Korean culture. I think it is influenced by my friendship. The community I belong to influences me a lot. The church I belong, like most of my Korean friends are from church.

As shown in Table 7, the participants practice Korean culture and extend their social networks through religion. Moreover, they met church friends out of the church during the week for Bible study and fellowship. Many participants and their parents have attended Korean churches together since they were young, and the Christian participants had socialized with other Koreans in a youth group in the Korean congregation as shown in the following statement:

I think my church had a lot to do it that, just the fact that I went to the Korean church, and I'd basically gone to the church ever since small, ever since I came here, people in my church, they've known me since I was like really small, a little girl, and we still go to the same church, so, we know each other, I feel like they've seen me grow up, and like, every week I went to church, I was kind of forced to speak Korean to adults, you know, I just feel they are like my family, too. I was always exposed to Korean culture, just being around Korean people a lot. . . . I think in my church, there is a group of girls; they came from Korea, like, a couple years ago. They are pretty Koreans. In the beginning, I just felt I was uncomfortable speaking Korean to them, after a while, we got close, just being

exposure to them, that kind thing fresh, I'm Korean, I got exposure to that culture, too. While second generations in a Korean church preferred to attend English-language services with other ethnic people, the generation 1.5 Korean immigrants generally have attend Korean-language services with newcomers from Korea. Interestingly, many participants were likely to stress that Korean-Americans should be able to speak Korean. Chris said:

Some parents really don't teach their kids, language actually. I know one of my friend's sister, she just got married. They have a baby, and they're already planning not to speak Korean in front of them until a certain age. That's just sad to me. You're Korean and your identity no matter where you live, what citizenship you have.

As Chris stated, competence in Korean appears crucial to be accepted by members of their own ethnic group as in Cho and Krashen's study (1998). Korean churches serve Korean foods, sell Korean foods (e.g., Kimchi), and celebrate major Korean cultural holidays. Above all, participants have actively interacted with members of Korean churches in conformity with Korean cultural values related to hierarchy by age. Matt recalls his first exposure to Korean culture in a Korean church as follows:

It's nothing that I learn anything new because I lived in Korea for 14 years. . . . I understand all, co-behavior, what's expected of you to do to older people versus younger person, to female versus male. I didn't practice for a long time. Initially very weird from Korean polite words *Jon-dae-mal*, respectful to older people. . . . I knew it. I was supposed to do it. When I do it, I feel weird. This guy is just one year older than me, treated him as a king, something. To me, it's like, completely non-American.

Interestingly, Christian (i.e., conservative) moral values seem to be similar to Korean traditional moral values. For example, they place emphasis on virginity before marriage and family responsibility over individual interest. Chris says:

Even Americans, they have conservative point of view. . . . The Korean culture shows that stuff depending on your religion, too. You're a Christian; some of girls are very conservative because you're really a Christian. From their points of view, how to respect other people, that's very similar to Korean culture. . . . I'm very comfortable with her in that experience because she shares a lot of similar stuff.

It is possible that Korean Christians feel more assimilated and accepted in the American society at the very least in terms of religion, considering that culture in the United States has had a Judeo-Christian influence. In interviews, many participants (65%) typically associate with their own ethnicity for personal socialization. They repeatedly use the word “comfortable” to describe their feeling for Koreans when they were asked regarding their preference in interaction with people. Here are some responses from the subjects to the questions about which ethnic group they felt close:

David: I feel closer to Korean people than other races, you know. I guess that’s why I hang around with, talk to, and meet with them and, you know, than any other nationalities.

Ken: I’m close to the Korean side. . . . I was really comfortable with this Korean speaking group, and I just wanted to get along with them. And it was most fun days in my life.

Lee: All the time, I hoped there were more Koreans in my school. It would be much easier. . . . Every time my friends came by though, Koreans, we were really close. . . . That’s why when I went to college, there were so many Koreans, there were all Korean friends.

The orientation to the Korean ethnic group in personal socialization may be established after long exploration during their school years. Fifty-five percent of the participants reported that their friends had changed by ethnicity. When they were in school, they situationally had more chances to have diverse friends such as Latino, Asians, and Whites. The younger they were when they entered the U.S., the more possibility to have white friends they had. Participants who were older on entry had more Korean friends, and were more oriented to their ethnic friends. As discussed in Leong and Chou’s study (as cited in Phinney, 2003), they had a critical period to make them oriented to Korean culture. Interestingly, the participants (Matt, Kim, Sujin, Lee), who migrated to the United States before or at age 12 first experienced Korean pop culture through their ethnic friends. For them, their ethnic friends were likely to be a good source of information about Korean culture and to enhance ethnic identities.

Sujin illustrates ethnic movement to respect their heritage among young Korean students as follows:

In junior high, we had this thing in school called Korean-PRIDE. All the Korean kids they were, had some kinds of logo, something, KP standing for Korean pride. So, it was a really big thing in junior high. If you are Korean, then, you have, maybe your backpack, KP, you have something like, on your binder, you write KP, Korean Pride, Korean Pride, there were a lot of that going on. It wasn't just at my school, it was everywhere at different schools, too. Even high school, it was like that, KP, I don't think it was a lot of Chinese Pride. It was Korean Pride. I think that made me more aware, you know, I'm Korean, so I have this pride too. It was kind of trend, popularity thing. Just interesting. I didn't really question my identity. I always remember. I'm always proud to be Korean.

As discussed in the previous sections, the Korean immigrant community, especially Korean churches, seems to be the centre of Korean immigrant society. As mentioned in Hirschman's study (as cited in Porters & Rumbaut, 2006), it is likely that Korean churches play a crucial role in comforting Korean immigrants who have confronted acculturative difficulties, to recover their self and ethnic pride, and to support their socioeconomic settlement by religious affiliation.

Involuntary association. It is typical that the degree of social participation in school seems to be relatively low among the generation 1.5 Korean immigrants. In particular, at the beginning of resettlement, their limited English proficiency aggravated isolation and a sense of inferiority in school. Table 8 summarizes the participants' responses to questions about involuntary association.

Table 8. Involuntary association

<i>Subdomain</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>(n=20)</i>
Took ESL/ELD classes	Typical	(11)
Felt separated from regular students in a ESL class	Variant	(8)
Felt welcomed	Variant	(3)
Participated club activities	Typical	(11)
Hung around with diverse friends	Variant	(8)
Felt a sense of belonging to school	Variant	(8)
Saw students keeping apart depending on ethnicity	Typical	(10)
Felt different from Americans	Typical	(10)
Hard to be friends with Americans because of language barriers	Typical	(10)
Hard to be friends with Americans because of cultural differences	Variant	(6)
Wanted to be friends with diverse people	Typical	(11)
Socialization was not my priority	Variant	(8)

Many participants (55% out of the 20 participants) compulsorily took remedial English classes such as English as a Second Language (ESL) and English Language Development (ELD) separate from regular students to improve their English skills. This separation made them feel marked and different from regular students. Jinsun expresses her resentment of ESL classes as follows:

They'd taken us out from regular classes. You know, it was like separate time for us, extra time, it was like, I remember I'd been seen to all regular students, some teachers come in, pop up heads, "Tina, come out." You know, that was really hard because that was totally set me apart from regular classmates and kind of showed those kids, 'Jinsun' is different. You know, instead of bring us together.

Surprisingly, 72.7% of them experienced negative feelings, and they felt limited in their relationships with friends while taking those classes.

The majority of the participants recall that the first year of school was the most difficult and unpleasant in their school years. Tom says, "my first year in fifth grade

in the United States, I spent alone in class. . . . I was like, the only person in class of 30 people, and I was the only person who didn't speak any English." Once their English skills reached to the level where they were able to communicate with other classmates, they started to make friends with people from ESL or from regular classes. Although 55% participated in club activities, most of them felt a low sense of acceptance and belonging in the school environment. Consequently, for some of them, the school was only viewed as the place to get an education. This might be because some participants minimally and mandatorily got involved in those activities to meet college admission requirements, not to share school spirits.

During their school years, the participants were likely to feel difficulties assimilating to the major group. Fifty percent of the participants mention that students kept apart depending on ethnicity. Here are Chris's and Young's comments on ethnic segregation in the school environment:

Chris: They always spoke their own languages, specially when you were with multinational group, like if I was with two Taiwanese, or two Chinese, or two Japanese, two some other countries, Vietnamese, Indian, they all started to speak their languages. That made me feel nerd.

Young: I think in middle school, students mingle each other very easily. But in high school, when I had lunch, there were some groups like in teenage movies, just like that. A certain group there, Asian groups there, certain group there.

With limited English proficiency, they could not break ethnic boundaries and make friends across ethnic groups. Instead, many participants reluctantly chose *voluntary segregation* as Sunny did:

I didn't like being outside classes in free time, in-between time, lunch time. I hated lunch time, I hated break. I just liked being in class, and learning. . . . I saw ethnic groups. Asian group, Caucasian group, Philipino and Chinese group, ESL group, Athlete group. . . . In college, I always watched it from the outside, I didn't want to, I didn't try to fit in. I just found it, kind of fascinated it, watching them. I never wanted to belong to any group. I think I wasn't interested in hanging out with people.

The reason for voluntary segregation may be that they were afraid of being rejected by people from ethnically different groups, especially from the mainstream group, as Nami says:

It was the decision I made was for my own survival, too. I think. If I had made, I knew, I wouldn't be accepted fully. If I kept pursuing there, maybe I would have been unhappier. Maybe because I keep getting blocked, I mean, there is 50% chance I would have gone through and became part of their whatever. But, 50% maybe, I don't know I maybe look at a negative side, ultimate, the ultimate worst situation that I can fall into.

Under this restricted circumstance, the friendships they built up in school were not as deep and strong as those in the Korean community. This may be because the subjects felt uncomfortable mingling with Americans because of the language barrier (50%) and cultural differences (30%). English proficiency was more influential in interpersonal interaction and class participation at the early period of immigration than cultural awareness. Achieving strong English skills, some immigrants expressed discomfort in socializing with ethnically different people, especially non-Asians such as Whites and Blacks, because of lack of cultural similarity among them. Although the Korean immigrants got benefit and comfort from their own ethnic group, they were unlikely to be fully satisfied being exclusively with Koreans. Fifty-five percent of the participants wanted to be friends with diverse people in addition to their own ethnic friends.

It is plausible that the negative experiences in their school years made the Korean immigrants aware of their ethnicity. From early on, they had learned about "who they are" and "how they fit into the new place." Since the Korean immigrants did not feel accepted by the majority group, they soon grouped with their own ethnicity or accommodated with people from other minority groups, if there were not enough Koreans in the school. Meanwhile, through the Korean ethnic community the

Korean immigrants regained the social network, deep friendship, heritage foundation, and a sense of belonging that they could not get from their schools, as Nami describes:

My school life, belonged to this school, where my personal relationship with my friends, it wouldn't go deeper. . . . I was so happy to be in a community where people were like me. . . . when I was 12 or 13, around there, that's when I was exposed to back into the Korean church, Korean language. . . . I lost myself in that, identify, maybe I found my identity in faith. . . . plus in this ethnic community where I feel belongingness.

Linguistic Adaptation

English fluency may be the primary condition for 1.5 generation immigrants to adjust to the United States. What these Korean immigrant 1.5 generation immigrants faced in earlier times were language barriers. They report that peers in school made fun of their Korean accents, and they suffered from not understanding English. For example, they couldn't understand what a teacher said in class, and they couldn't respond to a peer who teased them. Michel and Sujin recall their hard times as follows:

Michel: Without knowing any English, I had to attend the school for two weeks. Every day I came back home from school, I was really depressed and stressed out. . . . I felt I wasn't part of school at all, I felt I was an outsider, I didn't belong to any group, only class I felt a little comfortable was ESL class because they couldn't speak English. Going to regular classes was just very challenging experiences. Everyone was talking to each other, but I sat alone in the classroom.

Sujin: I think when I came here, someone made fun of me, something about my sweater, something about my wearing. I remember feeling upset. I wanted to say something, I couldn't talk. That was really frustrating. And I had several incidents of like that. In another time, someone took something, that was mine. It was supposed to be mine. But, then I couldn't say anything. I remember going to a teacher, and I used my hands to try to tell what happened, but then, I don't think they understood. I just remember feeling very frustrated. I couldn't speak.

As in Michel's statement, regardless of age at migration, participants unanimously had a difficult time until they acquired basic communicative skills. It is typical that the generation 1.5 Korean immigrants tended to preserve and practice their heritage

language in everyday life. The level of English proficiency and the frequency of English usage may be closely related to age at arrival in the United States as Tsai, Ying, and Lee argue (2000). Table 9 summarizes the responses of the participants to questions about linguistic adaptation.

Table 9. Linguistic adaptation

<i>Subdomain</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>(n=20)</i>
Home language was Korean	Typical	(14)
Spoke Korean with close friends	Typical	(10)
Korean was more comfortable than English	Variant	(3)
Felt comfortable speaking both Korean and English	Typical	(17)
Spoke English more often than Korean	Typical	(11)
My friends helped my English most	Variant	(9)
Felt thankful for people correcting my English	Variant	(6)
My English got worse the more often I spoke Korean	Typical	(11)
Needed to improve my English to be like native speakers	Typical	(15)
Felt incapable because of lack of English skills	Variant	(6)

As illustrated in Table 9, it is typical that 70% of the 20 participants spoke Korean at home to communicate with their parents. Maintenance of their heritage language was likely to influence their behavioral and attitudinal norms and values. Sujin says:

I had a different time interaction with American adults. Because in Korean culture, you're supposed to do a lot of respect, you even use honor of system in your speech, and you know, I just wasn't used to calling American adults by their first names. That's totally strange. . . . in Korean, I learned respect, used different things for adults. I think it's part of me, so it's kind of cultural thing like that. I feel sometimes I'm more Korean in those things.

Also, half of the participants (50%) spoke Korean with close friends. Eighty-five percent of the participants felt comfortable speaking both Korean and English, and 55% spoke English more frequently than Korean. Interestingly, it was found that there are clear differences among the 20 participants depending on age at

migration. Group A (migration before or at age 12) used Korean in their daily lives more often than Group B (migration after age 12). Table 10 summarizes the differences between two groups.

Table 10. The relation between age at migration and English use

Group	Average age at migration	Home language		Close friends		Level of comfort in English use		Frequency of English use		Level of satisfaction in English proficiency		
		Both	Korean	English	Korean	English	Both	Korean	English	Both	English	happy
Group A	10 yrs	50%	37.5%	12.5%	25%	75%	100%	0%	25%	75%	50%	50%
Group B	15 yrs	8.4%	91.6%	0%	66.7%	33.3%	75%	25%	58.4%	41.6%	8.4%	91.6%

Note. Group A: those who immigrated to the United States by age 12 (n=8), Group B: those who immigrated to the United States after age 12 (n=12)

As noted in Table 10, the younger the age at arrival to the United States, the more subjects prefer speaking English rather than Korean. Fifty percent of Group A speak Korean and 50% English, while 91.6% of Group B mainly speak Korean. Especially when the participants have siblings, they tend to speak English at home. As for level of comfort in the use of English, Group A (100%) unanimously feel comfortable speaking either language unlike a substantial (25%) Group B. Moreover, 50% of Group A felt satisfied with their English skills, whereas 91.6% of Group B was dissatisfied with their English competence. Above all, it was found that the participants with high English proficiency also tend to have high Korean proficiency. This result may be because they kept practicing Korean at home and in the Korean community, and thus; they were able to maintain their first language.

Simultaneously, because they moved to the United States in childhood they were likely to acquire English faster and more successfully than participants who came here in adolescence, especially in late adolescence.

The degree of interpersonal interaction is likely to be associated with the improvement of English competence. Forty-five percent of the participants say that informal conversation was more helpful than formal classroom lectures in developing their English skills. For example, Jun says, "What helped me a lot was I just go and play basketball with whoever, with other kids, I picked up here and there. I tried to learn it naturally." Fifty-five percent of the subjects were concerned that their English deteriorated as the frequency of their Korean usage increased. David says:

The reason is because I spend too much time speaking Korean. I see, I talk too much Koreans and I'm not exposed to English as much as when I was in school. So, it's difficult sometimes to meet American people, sometimes difficult for me to talk them sometimes.

Kim complains about his Korean accent in English. He says:

because after I lived in Korea, returning back and still hanging out Korean people, I lost a lot of my English, I lost, back then, when I was in middle school, I didn't have any problem in accent. Now, I know I have some accents.

They want to speak English fluently like a native speaker, without any accent that makes them marked. Seventy-five percent of the participants are not satisfied with their English competence. It is typical that Korean immigrants want to be Americanized in terms of language. This may be because the level of English proficiency is significantly linked to socioeconomic success as well as survival in daily life situations, such as finding a job and getting an education.

Cultural Adaptation

It turns out that the 20 Korean immigrants neither assimilated into the new culture nor remained in their home culture. In other words, they seemed to adopt cultural values and practices selectively from Korean and American cultures. The summary of the subjects' responses to questions about cultural adaptation is illustrated in the following Table 11.

Table 11. Cultural adaptation

<i>Subdomain</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>(n=20)</i>
Glad to immigrate to the U.S.	Typical	(15)
Felt comfortable living in the U.S.	Typical	(10)
Felt difference between Korean and American cultures	Typical	(13)
Americanized (e.g., individualism, critical thinking)	Typical	(11)
Americanized (e.g., food, hobby, clothes)	Variant	(5)
Open to marrying interracially	Typical	(12)
Satisfied with my cultural competence	Variant	(7)
Needed to improve cultural competence	Variant	(4)
Successfully adjusted to the American culture	Typical	(14)

Table 11 illustrates that the 1.5 Korean immigrants are satisfied with life in the United

States. Seventy-five percent of the participants are content with their parents' decision to immigrate to the United States, and 50% feel comfortable living in this country. Mina says, "I used to live here. That way I guess I am Americanized. I feel more comfortable with living here." Interestingly, the generation 1.5 Korean immigrants make reference to Koreans in Korea when they are asked about life satisfaction in the United States. They often show the tendency to compare themselves to Korean counterparts in Korea rather than American counterparts in the mainstream society. David says:

I came here and have lived all my life here. I'm kind of glad that. 70% I'm glad that I came here. Because the reason is that right now, there are a lot of social issues in Korea that people can't really overcome. There are so many people in Korea, such a small size land, so many competition, so many stress that you can't really get away with it.

This tendency may increase the degree of life satisfaction among the respondents. It is likely to be a coping strategy to buffer acculturative stress from a lower level of social participation and mobility than the advanced mainstream group has.

Sixty-five percent of the 20 participants are aware of cultural differences between Korean and American cultures. Kim characterizes cultural differences of the two cultures as follows:

Culturally different, of course. White people, friends are not so much attached to each other. The other hand, Asian friends are more attached; the relationship is so much complicated. White kids are more straightforward. I like that, this and that, yes or no. Asian, specially Koreans are so delicate. . . . I think because they're more intervened with, like to get involved into other lives. That's Korean people. That's Korean culture.

Fifty-five percent of the respondents state that they are Americanized in their ways of thinking such as individualism and criticism, while 25% mention that they are Americanized in their ways of eating foods, entertaining themselves, and wearing clothes. This response explains communication conflicts with their parents, who tend

to cling to Korean cultural values. Here are Ken's and Matt's responses to questions about "being Americanized":

Ken: in terms of individual things. . . . Sometimes Korean people tend to think like, in terms of conformity, having very uniform view on such things, but I would say that I tend to stick to my opinion.

Matt: My hobby is a big thing. Definitely, I make me feel Americanized. When I watch American shows, comedies, I pretty understand where they're coming from. And I find it funny.

Until the participants fully adjusted to American culture, they and their parents had experienced acculturative problems, at small or large, resulting from language barriers and cultural differences. Many participants tended to deal with acculturative problems on their own, including communication conflicts with parents. The rest of them asked for help from friends or religion. However, none of them favored professional counseling services from counselors and social workers as their parents did. Here are Michel's and Sujin's responses to the question about social resources for solving acculturative problems:

Michel: When I came to the US, I was little, I was 14 years old, I just entered the puberty, at that time, there was nothing that I could do except accepting things that was happening to my life. For me, I really didn't do anything and I couldn't do anything, so I just accepted it like I had no other choice. . . . my life can not be explained without my faith. My faith to God has to do everything.

Sujin: the thing my parents, they don't, even though we go to church, in Korean concern of saving face things like that, they don't really like to expose their problems, even to church people because they know like, the Korean community is small. . . so they don't really like to tell people their problems, me personally, I don't know, I just deal, kind of, I internalize it a lot. I'm the type to, I need time to myself to think, so I don't really ask for help, either. I solve it on my own.

Sixty percent of the interviewees say that interracial marriage was not problematic to them, unlike their parents. Mina says:

Before, I said 'only Korean.' But, as I am older, I don't think it really matters. . . . I prefer Korean, so I don't argue with my parents. But, personally I don't really care what ethnicity.

Thirty-five percent of the participants are content with their cultural competence, but only a few (20%) state that they need to improve their cultural competence. This statement contrasts with the previous response that the majority of the participants would like to promote English fluency. Seventy percent of the respondents state that they successfully adjusted to the American culture. Here are some examples of the subjects' responses to the question "Do you think you successfully adjusted to the United States?"

Table 12. Different normative responses to "successful adjustment"

<i>Case name</i>	<i>Statement</i>
<i>Tom</i>	I accomplished what my parent had planned on me. They expected me to go to college, get a job as an American person, and live like an American person here. I think I do pretty well.
<i>Matt</i>	Very satisfied, too. I don't feel I think here as a foreign culture. I don't think this is American way. Just to me, just another thing doing it. I think I adapted pretty well.
<i>Jinsun</i>	My personal life, yes, I'm Americanized. I'm not discriminated who I'm personally associated with based on race in terms of dating or friendship. I think I successfully adapted, in school, also.
<i>Jina</i>	I would say overall, yeah, I feel satisfied. Even though I couldn't improve in the relationship between, my interrelationship with Caucasian people, I feel satisfied because I don't run into any problems in my daily life, just I can function.
<i>Nami</i>	Knowing how much I am gonna involve, knowing how much I'm not gonna full depth, 100% depth in the mainstream American culture. I'm satisfied.
<i>Chris</i>	Yes, friendship I have, the fact that I like the life style. I'm successful. . . . First of all, I don't have trouble. I have lots of friends. I have the community that I belong to.

As shown in Table 12, it is likely that the generation 1.5 Korean immigrants have their own subjective standard of 'successful adjustment.' This may be because the

subjects lowered their expected level of achievement in life, considering the structurally restricted and disadvantaged circumstances that each subject has confronted, as Bhugra (2003) argues.

Overall, the 20 participants are gratified with life in the United States. While many subjects have high expectation of linguistic achievement, many subjects say that they want to get better. One subject says, “I’m not talking about general Americans’ way of talk. Just general, I don’t care about that. I could do that same thing. I want to be those people who represent their rank. When they start speaking, it’s a different language, not English, much better. I want to be like that.” In contrast, they seem to compromise their expectation of cultural adaptation to ease acculturative stress because it may be less important than linguistic adaptation in daily life. Moreover, it is plausible that the participants experienced *behavior shift* (one learns a new attitudinal norms consistent with a new cultural context) and *culture shedding* (loss of their ethnic culture) over acculturation, as Berry (1997) points out.

Self-identification

Given the mixture and blending of Korean and American cultures in congruence with social environments, many participants culturally and ethnically identify themselves as Korean-American. The noteworthy finding was that none of the participants define themselves as simply American regardless of the legal status. Table 13 illustrates the self-perception on ethnicity among the 20 participants.

Table 13. Self-identification

<i>Subdomain</i>	<i>Frequency (n=20)</i>	
Felt pride in ethnicity	Typical	(10)
I'm Korean-American.	Typical	(12)
I'm Korean	Variant	(6)
Citizenship did not affect my ethnic identity	Variant	(7)
Experienced discrimination	Typical	(17)
Had stereotypes of American (good or neutral)	Typical	(15)
Had stereotypes of American (negative)	Variant	(4)
Had stereotypes of Korean (negative)	Variant	(5)
Felt part of the society	Variant	(5)

Table 13 shows that half of the participants (50%) value their ethnicity positively.

Sujin says:

I didn't really question my identity. I always remember. I'm always proud to be Korean. Even now, I don't feel totally, I consider myself as different from Caucasian people even though I am American citizen now.

Out of the 20 participants, 60% identify themselves as Korean-Americans; 30% as Koreans; 10% as neither of them. Interestingly, a few participants (10%) with American citizenship perceive themselves as Korean. Michel described his orientation to Korean ethnicity as follows:

I am Korean living in the U.S. It's a kind of hybridity, half and half. . . . I am Korean, but I can't tell I am a 100% Korean. There's certainly, there is part of me that more American than Korean and vice versa. Korean-American is the right word for me.

The participants report that to be called American, one should be born in the United States (15%); become an American citizen (10%); have membership of a dominant group (10%); interact with Caucasians exclusively (10%); be Caucasian or black (5%); be perceived as American by others (5%); not preserve Korean heritage (10%). As Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, and Senécal (1997) explain, it is plausible that the legal

status of the participants naturally influences self-identification and orientation to heritage from country of origin. According to Portes and Rumbaut (2006), Asian immigrants need an average seven to eight years for naturalization after entering the United States as legal aliens. In general, it has not been long enough for the participants to become American citizens, even though they entered this country as legal aliens. It is reasonable, therefore, that they have a strong ethnic orientation even after naturalization, considering that the average length of residence among the 20 participants is approximately 16 years and they have lived here as Koreans at the very least for half of the period. Thirty-five percent of the interviewees state that citizenship is a privilege of living in the United States, receiving benefit as a citizen. Chris commented “Legal status, I think, that is some that kind of benefits, nothing to do with my identity.”

Almost all the participants (85%) state that they had experienced discrimination over acculturation such as derogatory terms (e.g., FOB or Chink).

Bob and Jina describe their experiences of discrimination as follows:

Jina: In the law, there is no racism. There is racism, still like I can tell some people look down on me. . . . because of my appearance itself, because we are different. Sometimes I can feel it even if they don't say anything. . . . I wasn't born here, or I'm not a very Americanized person, my English's still limited.

Bob: My very first time in my high school, white guy said “go back to your county” you are a monkey, fuck you, something like that. I was so shocked at that time. I couldn't even talk back.

The participants might feel discriminated against even when they felt rejected or slighted by someone from the mainstream group as in Mina:

I can sense a little bit of discrimination. For example, I knew the answer to a teacher's question. Even if I raised a hand, he would pick up somebody else. That is one thing. I don't know, maybe I just felt that way. You know, maybe he didn't think he was doing that. He didn't do that on purpose.

In most cases, the discrimination they have experienced were not things that traumatized them. Consequently, 75% have a good/neutral image of American; only 20% have a negative stereotype of American. In general, they feel good about themselves although only 25% have a sense of belonging to the American society. Due to pride in their heritage as well as perceived discrimination, the generation 1.5 Korean immigrants are aware of 'who they are ethnically' and distinguish themselves from people in the mainstream society.

Attributes of Generation 1.5 Korean Immigrants

As discussed in the previous sections, generation 1.5 Korean immigrants may have an ambiguous sense of belonging (Fail & Walker, 2004). Table 14 presents generational characteristics of the generation 1.5 Korean immigrants in this study.

Table 14. Characteristics of generation 1.5 Korean immigrants

<i>Subdomain</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>(n=20)</i>
Understood both cultures and languages	Typical	(13)
Found out good/bad sides of the two cultures.	Variant	(8)
Shift languages/cultures depending social contexts	Typical	(10)
Knowing two cultures is not beneficial	Variant	(4)
Felt in-between the two cultures	Typical	(14)
Different from 1 st /2 nd	Typical	(14)
Enabled to adjust to anywhere	Variant	(7)

As illustrated in Table 14, the generation 1.5 Korean immigrants are likely to reject belonging to either Korean or American group although they are shown prone to feeling close to their own ethnic group in the previous sections. Sixty-five percent of the participants report that they understood both cultures and languages. As a result, 40% of them found out what was good and what was bad of the two cultures

and adopted only good things from each. Table 15 presents some examples of unbiased statements about Korean and American cultures by the participants.

Table 15. Participants' evaluations of Korean and American cultures

<i>Case Name</i>	<i>Statement</i>
<i>Michel</i>	I consider myself culturally hybridized in a very positive way. I feel like that I gain things all the positive things from both cultures. . . . I can have some good things; I can play a good role in both cultures.
<i>Tom</i>	Certainly, I appreciate different cultures and different life styles. I mean, there is something good and bad about Korean culture, something good and bad about American culture not meaning good or bad, just different.
<i>Jinsun</i>	I think every culture has strength as well as weakness. There is something that I really like about Korean culture, something that I prefer to change. I think about American culture, something that I really like, something that I don't like. So, I can kind of mix and match. So, I can have both cultures, use both, strength, know weakness, and then also, in terms of language and culture, it's a biggest advantage.
<i>Sunny</i>	I know how to speak both languages, know two different cultures, be able to critique, take the way "what's good and what's bad." I belong to both worlds, and I know what I like in Korea, what I dislike about Korea. I know what I like about America, what I dislike about America. I can take a little bit from both and combine it the way I define.

As shown in Table 15, participants mention that knowing the two languages and cultures is the best advantage. They mention that they profit from the two cultures rather than suffering cultural conflict inside themselves. This equilibrium seems to be a consequence that occurs after the hard times resulting from language barriers and culture shock. Based on bilingualism and biculturalism, the shift of language and culture typically occurs among the generation 1.5 Korean immigrants (50%). In

addition to language shift across the two languages, they even spoke Korean in accordance with Confucian hierarchy by age. Tom, who came here at age 9 demonstrates Korean proficiency in communication as follows:

I use two different Koreans. When I speak with my friends, I speak like, in gangster movies, talk a lot, and I speak like some guys out of like movie. . . . When I am with Korean co-workers, and I'm always *Jon-dae-mal* and very polite. . . . In case of English, I live with this all my life. This is pretty comfortable with me.

At the same time, they may feel pressure to behave properly in culturally different situations. For example, first generation parents and their Korean friends expect them to preserve Korean cultural norms, but in a social context, the generation 1.5 Korean immigrants have to follow American cultural norms as Schwartz, Montgomery, and Briones (2006) point out. Bob and Jinsun express their identity confusion as follows:

Bob: They have to fit into Korean or American. They wanna, but wanna try to be fit in either of Korean or American culture. Later on, they can't find it because if you go home, you're Korean, if you go outside, you're American.

Jinsun: Coming with marriage, first generation, you're gonna marry a Korean man. Second generations don't care. You pass that point. You're completely Americanized. . . . But, 1.5 generation's disadvantage is that you think how this affects Koreans' thoughts about me, how affects Americans' thoughts about me, so much more brain killer.

The vast majority of the participants (70%) feel in-between the two cultures. They do not fully feel a sense of belonging to either of the two groups. They (70%) are aware of generational differences among their own ethnic group as they feel separate from Americans. Nami and Jun said:

Nami: I feel like even though I know the culture, I don't know enough and I don't feel comfortable enough to be as part of that group. Korean side, either. I don't know how to approach recent immigrants. I would circle around them, not really one way or not. My most comfortable level is 1.5 generation who would feel my pain, you know, not being fully able to go.

Jun: when I hang out with my American friends who grew up here, I feel like I don't belong, completely with them. Most is when they talk about childhood. I don't have any childhood experiences here. . . . I can't connect, and the same thing, what's going on in

Korea right now. . . . This is also the fact that I don't completely blend in. I just listen to them. I try to catch up.

Consequently, they are likely to develop a sense of self and have individualistic orientation rather than a feeling of belonging to a country (Fail, Thompson, & Walker, 2004; see also Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). Here are some statements from the participants:

Matt: I came to conclusion that I'm just me. I don't need to be part of this group. I'm not in one group. . . . I'm better. I can do both. You know, I'm better than just one group; this is a good thing. . . . I don't need to Korean or American, I'm Matt. I don't try to be who I am not, who I am, that's who I am. . . . I don't try to make me fit into one group. I think I feel like I am happy around a bunch of white people, happy around a bunch of Koreans, you know, I tried to do that.

Ken: I'm proud of being Korean, but like being Korean isn't the most important thing in my life. . . . I'm a unique person in the universe. . . . Because not belonging anywhere, is actually advantage. The most common answer people give this, whenever I come along with American, I am American. Whenever I come along with Korean, I am Korean. . . . The biggest advantage is to be free from all pressure of choosing aside. . . . You would have to assimilate to some part of (a group). I think I'm free from that.

Chris: We live in the earth. We came from everywhere. Even in America, culture itself, based on all immigration. . . . My boundary of country is not the boundary of a country. . . . The more I get to know different types of people, different citizens in different countries, once you get to know them, it doesn't matter who you, they don't really care "citizen you are." Just identifying who I am, doesn't actually matter with a country. . . . I belong to earthling You are not actually belonging to none of those communities.

As shown in the statements above, the issue of a sense of belongingness may not be crucial to the generation 1.5 Korean immigrants, as Tom said "nothing really. It's again a trivial stuff, going with just official document. When I go to travel around the world, maybe my passport is something, nothing more than that." Whether belonging to anywhere or nowhere, they generally feel well-adapted to the United States, as previously mentioned. They (35%) even feel like they might adjust well anywhere because they have the necessary experience to move from one place to another, so they know how to fit into a new environment.

In the study, the generation 1.5 Korean immigrants define themselves as

Korean-Americans who have adapted to American culture, retaining their heritage culture and language. It is likely, however, that they do not feel a sense of belongingness to either of the two cultures. Ironically, this lack of full belonging is likely to help them to be flexible enough to take new ideas and negotiate the two cultural values in congruence with contextual settings which they have experienced.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Summary of the Results

In the previous sections, the researcher has shown the process of ethnic identity development of 20 generation 1.5 Korean immigrants. For generation 1.5, the process of ethnic identity appears to be more complicated than for other generations. It was found that the generation 1.5 Korean immigrants in this study yielded salient generational characteristics resulting from their sociocultural circumstances. The findings of this study are consistent with previous studies (Berry, 2001; Bourhis, Moïse, Perreaul, & Senécal, 1997; Danico, 2004) in that ethnic identity is likely to be the consequence of reciprocal interaction between social contexts and individual immigrants. What is important is that families and ethnic communities have a great impact on the ethnic identity development of a generation 1.5 immigrant, as envisioned by Schwartz, Zamboanga, Rodriguez, & Wang (2007) (see also Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Farver, Kim, & Lee, 1995; Farver & Lee-shin, 2000; Kim, Han, & McCubbin, 2007; Rumbaut, 2008). Three major factors influencing the ethnic identity of a generation 1.5 immigrant were found in the study: parental, environmental, and individual factors.

Parental Factors

Regardless of what they had done in Korea, first generation parents presented a strong orientation toward Korean culture and a similar acculturation process. Although their own lifestyles were barely Americanized, it was apparent that they had been changing to be more inclusive and accepting of their children's individualistic decisions and behaviors. It is typical that first generation parents revealed a lack of English fluency and a high degree of ethnic attachment. Their

limited English skills reinforced their orientation toward Korean culture and reliance on their children for translation help. It seems natural that they had socio-economically profited from ethnic enclaves, given the low level of English proficiency. In addition, first generation parents tended to discipline their children in a traditional Korean way, emphasizing Korean customs related to family obligation and traditional gender roles. This may be because detachment from familiar kinship causes a sense of isolation in the new country; thus family ties became the first priority of the parents. Also, the parents may feel afraid of loss of commonality and connection with their children as they assimilate to American culture. Consequently, strict parenting methods, expectations for cultural retention, and acculturation gaps between parents and children inevitably caused conflicts with children, who became individualized. To ease this tension and improve the parent-child relationship, first generation parents gradually changed to accept American parental disciplines styles such as respecting the child's decisions and independence.

Environmental Factors

The first few years were the most difficult and important period in the process of ethnic identity development among the 20 participants. It was common for the generation 1.5 Korean immigrants to suffer from language barriers and feel a sense of inferiority during the early period of immigration. During this period, personal socialization was badly affected by language barriers, rather than cultural dissimilarity. In addition to lack of self-confidence, the generation 1.5 immigrants experienced *perceived discrimination* and *involuntary segregation* in school years. Consequently, they voluntarily mingled with Koreans from ethnic community or people from minority groups rather than people from the mainstream group. *Involuntary*

segregation affected self-concept of ethnic identity of the generation 1.5 in the way that *we* are different from *them* (Pearce, 1998). Moreover, to achieve upward mobility, going to a good college was given priority over personal socialization with people from other cultures.

Typically, friendship with other ethnic groups, especially non-Asians, took place through their schools. However, in most cases, the relationship with members of the mainstream group was superficial, not a true friendship. Looking for affinity and comradeship, the generation 1.5 Korean immigrants actively got involved in ethnic community activities such as attending Korean churches. The vast majority of the 20 participants have attended Korean churches from an early age, and they have restructured their social network through religion. The generation 1.5 Korean immigrants feel kinship with people from the same culture and revitalize their ethnic culture through involvement in Korean ethnic community. It is evident that the ethnic community played a crucial role in enculturation of cultural heritage and retention of ethnic identity. Figure 1 shows the relationship between the environment and the generation 1.5 Korean immigrant in ethnic identity formation.

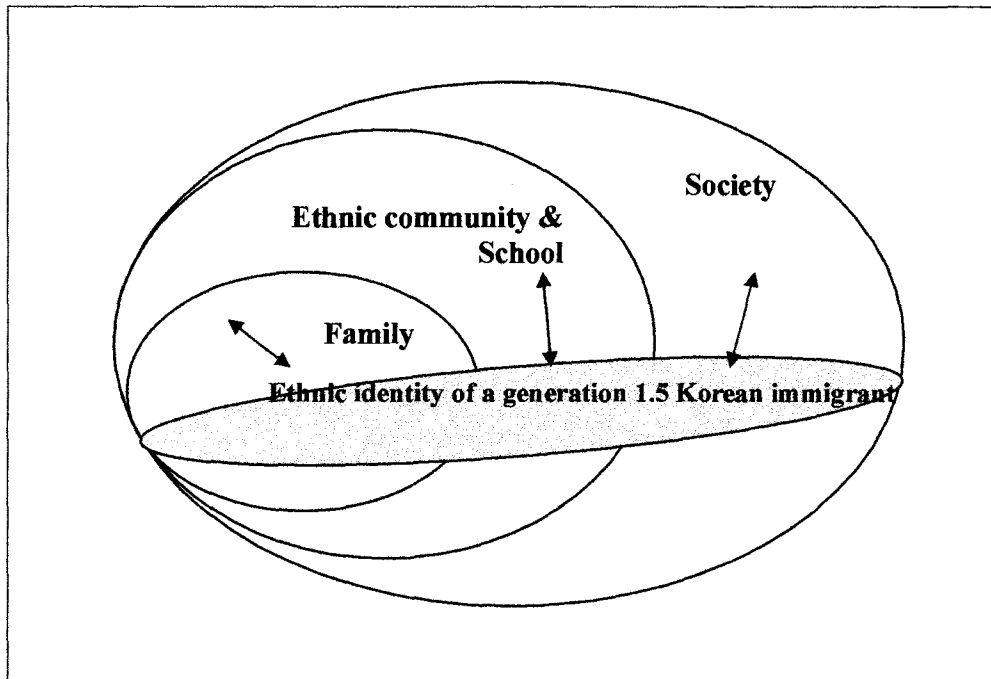


Figure 1. The relation between surroundings and a generation 1.5 Korean immigrant in the process of ethnic identity development

As shown in Figure 1, the process of an ethnic identity formation is the mutual interaction between the environment and the Korean immigrant as Danico (2004) argued. The generation 1.5 Korean immigrants have been constantly exposed to their heritage culture and language through parents, peers, and other Koreans. As previously discussed, those who tried to assimilate to the mainstream culture in earlier stages of acculturation voluntarily tended to attach themselves to their ethnic culture when they reached adolescence or young adulthood through ethnic communities and fellow friends as Tse's study shows (1998). As length of stay in the United States increases, friends, ethnic communities, and social climate are likely to play a more crucial role in the ethnic identity formation of generation 1.5 than families. They also practiced them on a daily basis, negotiating their identities in harmony with different situations. It is clear that self-definition is significantly affected by the

environment surrounding these generation 1.5 immigrants.

Individual Factors

Regardless of the length of residence in the United States, most participants show a clear orientation toward Korean culture. Bilingualism may intensify the frequency of Korean cultural practices and their attachment to Korean people. The participants vary in their level of English proficiency. It is plausible that English fluency is positively correlated to age at immigration rather than length of residence in the United States. The younger the participants entered the United States, the higher the level of English fluency they have and the more often they speak English. Also, it was found that English fluency is significantly related to the range of social network. Moreover, the participants with high English proficiency are prone to having a high Korean fluency, high confidence, and developing friendships with diverse people. However, a high level of English proficiency was not related to a high level of social assimilation. When the participants were older at migration (after adolescence), the degree of cultural comfort appears to be more crucial than the level of English proficiency in their relationships with non-Koreans. However, a low level of perceived English proficiency negatively affects self-confidence and social participation among the 20 participants.

Additionally, it is typical that the participants value their cultural heritage and are proud of their ethnic foundation. Perceived discrimination is associated with their attitude toward the host country. The more heavily they experienced discrimination, the less they feel a sense of belonging to the host country. Interestingly, none of participants identify themselves ethnically as simply American. This may be because maintenance of their heritage culture and frequent cultural

practices influence their self-identification, given relatively low frequency of socialization with people from the mainstream culture. For generation 1.5 Korean immigrants, the meaning of being a pure “American” or a non-hyphenated American is to discard their ethnic culture and assimilate to American culture. Moreover, their legal status is somewhat related to self-identification, even though naturalization is not linked to a sense of belonging to the mainstream group. Those who do not have citizenship identify themselves as Korean, although they do not fully feel belonging to and comfort with the pure Korean group. However, the participant’s legal status least influences self perception on ethnic identity. Figure 2 summarizes major variables relating to ethnic identity development of the generation 1.5 Korean immigrants.

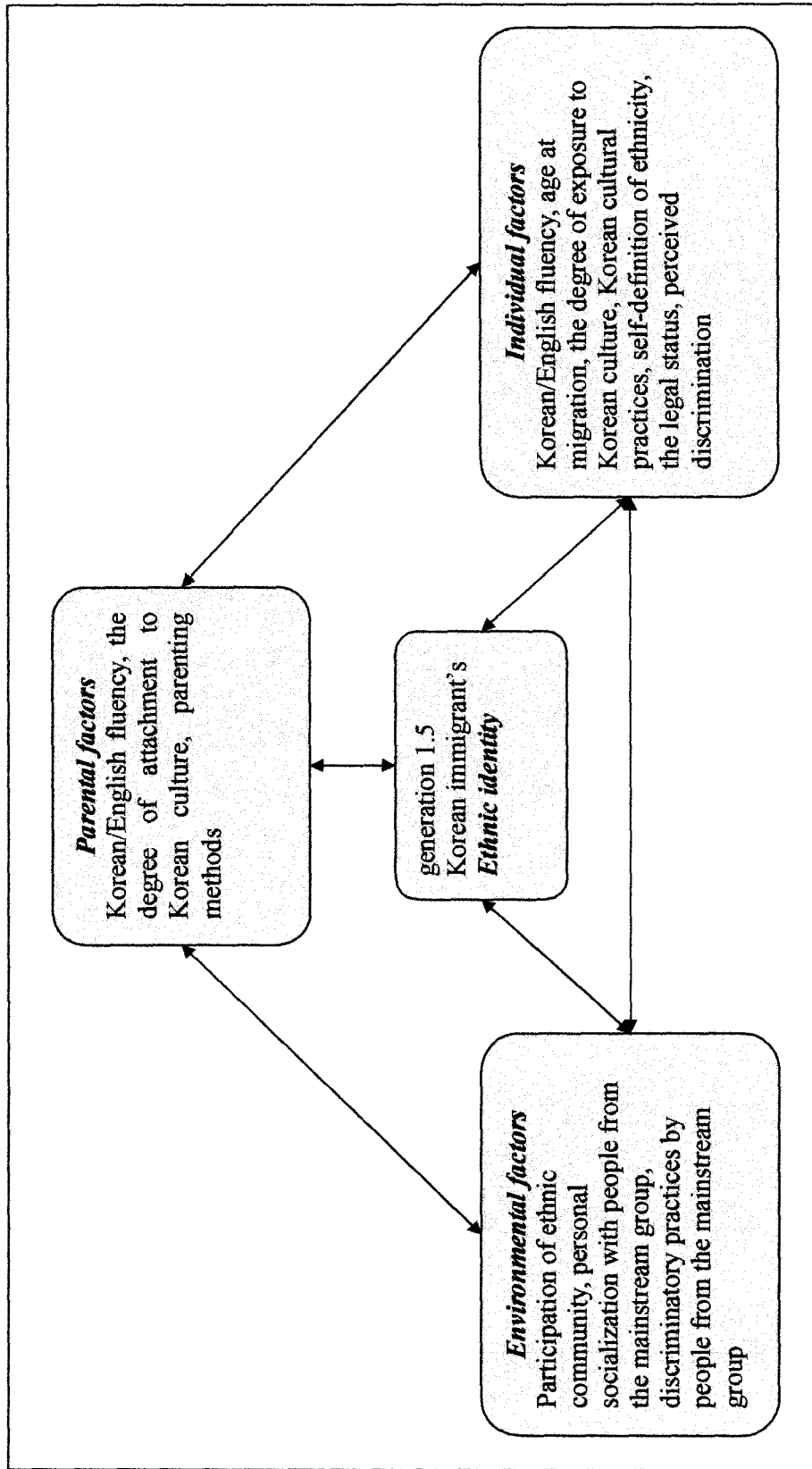


Figure 2. Major variables related to ethnic identity development of generation 1.5 Korean immigrants

As shown in Figure 2, it was found that there were many variables influencing the process of ethnic identity formation. No single, crucial factor can be isolated from other variables because all variables are intertwined to develop ethnic identity.

Implications and Recommendation Based on Findings

The construction of ethnic identity is sophisticated and multifaceted, influenced by families, schools, and ethnic communities to which young immigrants belong. Without consideration of these situational contexts surrounding generation 1.5, we can not fully understand the structure of the 1.5 ethnic identity. In this regard, this study has contextualized the process of ethnic identity development in generation 1.5 Korean immigrants. Based on the findings of this study, generation 1.5 brought their cultural heritage from their native country, and has constantly practiced it even after the move through interactions with parents, ethnic communities, and other Koreans as predicted by previous research (Danico, 2004; Min & Kim, 2005; Sam, 2000; Park, 1999). Preservation of their heritage culture and language harmoniously and simultaneously occurred with adjustment to the host culture, as earlier studies (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Jang, Kim, Chiribog, & King-Kallimanis, 2007; Maloof, Rubi, & Miller, 2006) found.

Interestingly, for generation 1.5 Korean immigrants, the notion of being Americanized may be more related to engagement to American culture than to direct contact with American people, while that of being Koreanized may be associated with orientation toward both culture and people from country of origin (see Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000). They have a tendency to distinguish themselves from other generation Korean-Americans as well as people from the mainstream group. Consequently, they feel most comfortable with people from the same background, generation 1.5

(Danico, 2004; Fail, Thomas, & Walker, 2004; Sobulis, 2006). Not surprisingly, their range of personal socialization seems to be related to competence in English and age at migration rather than years in residence. Based on the findings of the present study, generation 1.5 Korean immigrants seem to have a propensity to socialize with people of their ethnicity regardless of length of residence in the United States. This is in contrast to Schumann's hypothesis (1978). It can be postulated that orientation toward their ethnic culture will be likely to increase as they grow older.

Furthermore, this study supports the idea that a strong ethnic identity is positively related to ability in both their native language and host language (Maloof, Rubi, & Miller, 2006). In this study, high English proficiency interviewees yielded high Korean proficiency and a strong ethnic identity. As previous research (Phinney, 2003; Pigott, & Kalbach, 2005; see also Krashen, Tse, & Mcquillan, 1998; Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000) found, language maintenance seems to strengthen adherence toward Korean culture and people. As Cho and Krashen (1998) hypothesize, lack of heritage language negatively affects relationships with their ethnic people as well as family members. Also, English proficiency appears crucial in the early stages of acculturation as reported by Kim, Brenner, Liang, and Asay (2003). English proficiency and competence in English may be positively associated with early age at migration rather than length of residence as predicted by Cho, Shin, and Krashen (2004) (see also Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000). As for frequency of English use, participants who moved to the United States by age 12 spoke English with siblings as well as with peers (Cho et.al., 2004). Also, the longer the period of schooling immigrants have in the United States, the higher the level of English proficiency they may present.

The structure of a 1.5 ethnic identity is distinguished by generational salience in that they are bilingual and bicultural. This study supports the perspective that generation 1.5 has adopted cultural values from both the home and host cultures and applies them in accordance with social settings to find a balance in between the two cultures (Danico, 2004; Kim et al., 2003; Park, 1999; Yeh, Ma, Madan-Bahel, Hunter, Jung, Kim, Akitaya, & Sasaki, 2005). Moreover, generation 1.5 Korean immigrants are likely to change acculturative strategies to comfort themselves over acculturation (Berry, 1997). Consistent with Fail and Walker's study (2004), especially when the mainstream society does not appear to be accepting of the ethnic minority, they tend to develop a sense of the self as isolated individuals (*constructive marginalization*) or to show a strong orientation toward their own ethnic culture (*voluntary segregation*).

The findings of this study confirm that bilingualism and biculturalism are beneficial for improving the immigrant's self-esteem, life satisfaction, and acculturation, as in earlier research on immigrants' acculturation (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Danico, 2004; Maloof, Rubi, & Miller, 2006; see also Cho, Shin, & Krashen, 2004). Therefore, the society needs to help young immigrants maintain their cultural heritage, but also learn American culture to reduce confusion of ethnic origin and to have a positive attitude toward both the home culture and host culture. Although this study was conducted with generation 1.5 Korean immigrants, the findings of the study may be applicable to other ethnic groups, especially culturally similar groups such as Asians and Latinos, considering that bilingualism and biculturalism are typical among young immigrants (Weisskirch, & Alva, 2002).

Finally, this study has noteworthy implications for the acculturation process of

generation 1.5. The study is intended to illustrate important variables (parental/environmental/individual factors) influencing ethnic identity formation, as well as problems (e.g., language barriers, culture shock, identity confusion, feeling in-between) and changes (e.g., shifting language and culture, intensifying a sense of the self, restructuring an ethnic identity) that help the society to garner a better understanding of generation 1.5. Based on the findings, this study presents recommendations in policy and practice to meet the needs of generation 1.5 Korean immigrants. The recommendations suggested by the researcher may be applicable to other immigrant groups as well.

Recommendations for Generation 1.5's Education

Teachers must understand the unique situations of young immigrants and provide special care for promoting their English skills and social adaptation. As previously discussed, many interviewees had difficulty in communicating with teachers and peers. Especially, in the early stage of acculturation, they typically felt invisible and ignored by teachers and peers. Remedial English programs were likely to make young immigrants feel marked and inferior. According to interviews, informal practices seem to assist young immigrants to enhance English skills without giving them negative feeling. Therefore, youth mentoring programs served by peers should be available for young immigrants to improve their academic performance and interpersonal relationships with teachers and peers in new school settings. This would also meet the emotional needs of young immigrants who have left all their friends behind and feel uprooted. This assistance may be also beneficial in helping immigrant parents, who do not have enough English abilities and time to care for their children, to be equipped to help their children succeed in school.

In addition, educational resources must be available for young immigrant students. Schools can develop educational programs (e.g., anti-discrimination, academic language skills) and provide effective guidance for them to understand potential difficulties they may face in new social settings. Anti-discrimination education would enable generation 1.5 to understand what discrimination is and how they should respond to it, considering that they may never have experienced it in their native country. In particular, generation 1.5 students must be provided with high quality and systematic composition classes to improve their writing skills. According to Ferris (2009), development of writing skills generally takes much longer than other skills in English. She points out that many generation 1.5 students have difficulty with academic writing, even though they function well in everyday conversations. Above all, teachers need to help immigrant students achieve an appropriate grade standard of English writing, and also to provide college-preparatory courses in academic writing. Academic composition classes for young immigrants must be taught by well-qualified teachers with degree credits related to TESOL/applied linguistics and composition studies, and students should have the choice of selecting, either ESL classes or mainstream courses (Ferris, 2009). The class should be focused on improving students' writing skills, not on grading their writing. As in Ferris's study, funding for writing and learning centers both on line and on campus must be made readily available for young immigrant students. Although many immigrant students excel academically, it is apparent that there are some young immigrants with great needs. These centers would prevent disadvantaged immigrant students from being left behind, promote their academic literacy, and supplement the teacher's instruction. These active supports can

improve the academic performance of immigrant students, and provide a safety net to reduce the dropout rate and juvenile delinquency that is prevalent among some young immigrants.

Finally, it is important that society educates people in general to develop awareness of discrimination, race, ethnicity, and cultural differences that exist among them. To appreciate diversity in the community and improve understanding of other cultures, the school can play a role in the centre of movement for cultural awareness, by utilizing the student's ethnic backgrounds through student affairs activities (e.g., creating cultural diversity week, cultural diversity website, and cultural diversity center). This cultural education can nourish an inclusive climate and get rid of prejudices toward other ethnic groups in school and in society.

Recommendations for Generation 1.5's Wellbeing

Asian immigrant students are typically labeled with the stereotype 'model minority'; thus they are less likely to be focused on by teachers and the society (Fong & Mokuau, 1994). However, the recent studies (Padilla, Wagatsuma, & Lindholm, 1983; see also Pelemis, 2006) on relationship between migration and immigrants' health have reported that immigration negatively affects immigrants' mental wellbeing. Social workers and school counselors must be trained on the issue of generation 1.5 to reduce potential mental conflicts among immigrant students. Also, professional counseling services for immigrant students need to be implemented in the school system. Because of language barriers, cultural shocks, and family obligations (e.g., language brokering, strict parenting, obedience to the parent), generation 1.5 Korean immigrants may experience relatively more emotional difficulties and confusions than their counterparts from second generation. For

example, some of them reentered the same grade or were downgraded because of limited English ability; thus, it is likely to cause stress in their school lives. Additionally, they may need more time and effort to get into higher education than mainstream students. Furthermore, seeing their hard-working parents, generation 1.5 immigrants tend to feel an obligation to help them, but also a discomfort with the role reversal. Weisskirch and Alva (2002) explained, "By acting as a language broker, children may feel caught between two cultures or be forced to mediate very stressful or difficult situations" (p. 369).

Although acculturative stress appears to be common among generation 1.5 immigrants, they are unwilling to ask help from professional counselors (Kim, Brenner, Ling, & Asay, 2003). It was found that many interviewees in this study preferred to deal with acculturative stress on their own. This may be because in Korean culture, taking counseling is perceived as shameful, and saving face as important; thus, generation 1.5 immigrants are reluctant to benefit from professional counselors, or to personal problems, especially family affairs, with them. In spite of these mental stresses and conflicts, the 20 participants typically showed advanced academic achievement. This may be because study is given priority in Korean culture, and young immigrants do not want to disappoint their parents. Therefore, teachers and school counselors must recognize that advanced academic achievement does not indicate good psychological health for immigrant students, as Qin (2008) explains. Also, parental education, such as parenting programs, must be provided to promote parent-child relationship for first generation parents given that immigrant parents may have trouble understanding their children because the parents grew up, and had all of their schooling in the home country. Such counseling programs could

help first generation parents to put themselves in their children's situations and to learn how to handle communication conflicts with their children, considering that family bonds and togetherness significantly influence young immigrants' acculturation process (Qin, 2008). Finally, bilingual programs need to be supported and funded to advocate maintenance of heritage cultures and languages. Krashen (1998) posits that heritage language maintenance and development is positively associated with advanced academic performance as long as ones achieve sufficient English proficiency. According to his study, English-dominant bilinguals present socioeconomic success more than mono-linguals. Therefore, bilingualism may help improve young immigrants' wellbeing, especially ones with low English fluency, without a sense of feeling alienated and incapable.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

There are some limitations to this study that need to be addressed. First, participants with limited English proficiency may not fully express their thoughts in an interview conducted in English. Second, the great range of age (from late 10s through middle 40s) among the participants may be an issue as well as that of age at migration. Pehrson, Vignoles, and Brown (2009) argue that immigration policies and national contexts influence the process of ethnic identity formation. It is possible, therefore, that varying national contexts the participants grew up had an impact on their ethnic orientation. Also, the participants who moved here in late adolescence may already have developed an ethnic identity in their native country and may have barely gotten rid of a regional accent. Hence, they may feel more alienated and marked than those who immigrated in childhood. Therefore, the findings of this study should be examined in distinguishing participants by age at

migration and current age. Third, although it appeared that the researcher's ethnicity helped the participants feel close to her, the researcher's bias resulting from her own immigration experiences may have affected the data analysis. Also, *social desirability* might affect the participants' responses to questions about difficult issues in respect to family relationship, discrimination, and personal problems. Despite these limitations, this study has contributed to the literature on ethnic identity formation of immigrants, especially generation 1.5, overlooked by researchers on acculturation. First generation parents of generation 1.5 Korean immigrants could benefit from the results of this study. This study may help them to acknowledge the child's expectation of the parents and understand the confusion of living in two culturally different worlds. Moreover, people who work with young Korean immigrants such as teachers, school counselors, and social workers, may benefit from this study. Understanding the experiences of generation 1.5 regarding identity confusions and acculturative difficulties, they will be able to meet young immigrants' needs and to help them to adjust to the United States successfully.

Future study may profit from a larger sample size of Korean immigrants, using longitudinal investigation, given that self identification can change over time as length of residence increases and acculturation proceeds. This study would have benefited from the inclusion of participants from different regions, especially white-dominant places. California is very diverse; thus, the participants' responses to questions about ethnic orientation and attitude toward the dominant group may differ from those of their counterparts' elsewhere in the United States. Further investigation of this generation will help us better understand the configuration of ethnic identity of immigrants. It is hoped that this study will contribute a starting

point for cross-cultural studies of varying ethnic groups as well as Korean groups.

Conclusion

Being “Generation 1.5”

Throughout this study, I, as a researcher may not have been perfectly distant from generation 1.5 Korean immigrants who talked about their difficulties in cultivating their roots in a new country. However, being Korean enables me to have access to the Korean community and get deep and reliable responses from them on immigration. Based on their interviews, people in generation 1.5 are different in the degree of orientation toward and engagement in cultural heritages over time. During the process of acculturation, the ethnic identities of generation 1.5 naturally are developed by interaction between social contexts and individual immigrants. The ethnic identities of first generation parents seem stable and static because they developed their ethnicities in their own country and started their new lives in rather familiar circumstances (ethnic enclaves). In contrast, generation 1.5 may have relatively flexible and fluid ethnic identities, since they constantly deal with culturally and linguistically different situations between home and school in daily lives. Hence, generation 1.5 show more ethnic confusion and more feeling “in-between” than other generations.

At the very least, according to this study, in the early stages of acculturation, many young immigrants make an effort to assimilate linguistically to the host culture for survival, because a low level of English proficiency places a great impact on their daily lives, more seriously than other differences between the home and host cultures. During this period, families and parents strongly affect children’s ethnic identity development. Immigrant parents tend to practice their cultural heritage at home and

infuse them into their children. However, as children grow up and expand their life boundaries, the influence of parents on their children's acculturation may decline. Hence, they may no longer be able to prevent their children from losing their heritage culture and becoming Americanized even if they try to force them to retain their cultural heritage. After childhood, instead, fellow friends and ethnic communities play a crucial role in reconnecting young immigrants to their ethnic culture. Reaching adolescence and young adulthood, generation 1.5 is likely to socialize with their ethnic people voluntarily and to be involved in cultural practices. By participating in ethnic communities, they broaden their social network and maintain their heritage culture. Therein lies an explanation for why generation 1.5 Korean immigrants have preference for their ethnic culture.

It is plausible that cultural practices in daily life influence self-identification of generation 1.5. They define themselves ethnically as Korean-Americans. According to them, it means that they are Koreans who have been living in the United States. For generation 1.5 Korean immigrants, the meaning of ethnicity may be more related to country of origin than a sense of belonging. Hence, they are not likely to prioritize a sense of belongingness. From the current study, they are inclined to develop a sense of self rather than a sense of belonging to a group, balancing between the home culture and the host culture. Language is closely linked to immigrants' identities. In other words, maintenance of ethnic language may be positively related to ethnic identity and a level of target language fluency to national identity. They can act like Koreans with Koreans, speaking Korean; like Americans with Americans, speaking English. Whether belonging to a group or not, they have positive attitudes toward the two cultures, feeling comfortable with their ethnic

identities. This positive and flexible attitude likely results in a high level of life satisfaction among the participants in this study (The researcher defined the term *successful adaptation* by the participant's subjective life satisfaction).

As discussed previously, generation 1.5 is eventually bilingual and bicultural. Based on the findings of this study, it turns out that generation 1.5 Korean immigrants vary in the degree of bilingualism and biculturalism according to the environments to which they have been exposed. Generation 1.5 with a high degree of bilingualism and biculturalism, freely shifts languages and cultures consistent with social settings, negotiating identities and playing language brokers. Unlike them, immigrants with low perceived English fluency may present poor social and cultural adaptation. Compounded with the level of language proficiency of both ethnic and target language, ethnic identity significantly affects successful adaptation in generation 1.5 Korean immigrants. It should be said that immigrants need to feel proud of their ethnicity, rather than feeling ethnic inferiority about achieving successful adaptation (Danico, 2004; Sam, 2000). In referring to the successful acculturation stories of generation 1.5 Korean immigrants, it is hoped that this study will help people in society to gain insight into the construction of ethnic identities of generation 1.5s and to support them to become productive citizens of society.

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Appendix A: The summary of generation 1.5 Korean immigrants' interviews on acculturation

<i>Domain</i>	<i>Subdomain</i>	<i>n=20</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
<i>Pre-immigration experiences</i>	• Immigrated to the United States for a better life	19	Typical
	• Heard about immigration less than six months earlier	12	Typical
	• My parents did not prepare me for the immigration	16	Typical
	• Korean education was stricter than American	11	Typical
	• Had good memories of Korea	13	Typical
	• Was interested in the move	12	Typical
<i>The parent's acculturation</i>	• My parents stressed my native language and roots	9	Variant
	• They preferred me marrying a Korean	8	Variant
	• Their parenting style was Korean	12	Typical
	• They asked me to obey their decisions	12	Typical
	• They had socialized with Koreans	11	Typical
	• They could not speak English well	17	Typical
	• My family became closer after the move	9	Variant
• Their parenting style changed to become more American	10	Typical	
<i>Attachment to Korean culture</i>	• Had engaged in Korean foods/song/TV/tradition	16	Typical
	• Was influenced by Korean norms and values	8	Variant
	• Visited Korea	16	typical
	• Had fun during the stay in Korea	6	Variant
	• Felt alienated in Korea	7	Variant
	• Had had contact with Korea	11	typical
<i>Adaptation</i>			
<i>Social adaptation</i>			
<i>i. Voluntary association</i>	• Had participated in Korean community	18	Typical
	• Met other Korean-Americans in Korean community	12	Typical
	• Hung around with Koreans/Korean-Americans	13	Typical
	• Felt comfortable and close with Koreans	13	Typical
	• Ethnic background of my friends had changed	11	Typical
	• In my workplace, people were not diverse	6	Variant

<i>Domain</i>	<i>Subdomain</i>	<i>n=20</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
<i>ii. Involuntary association</i>	• Took ESL/ELD classes	11	Typical
	• Felt separated from regular students in a ESL class	8	Variant
	• Felt welcomed	3	Variant
	• Participated club activities	11	Typical
	• Hung around with diverse friends	8	Variant
	• Felt a sense of belonging to school	8	Variant
	• Saw students keeping apart depending on ethnicity	10	Typical
	• Felt different from Americans	10	Typical
	• Hard to be friends with Americans because of language barriers	10	Typical
	• Hard to be friends with Americans because of cultural differences	6	Variant
	• Wanted to be friends with diverse people	11	Typical
	• Socialization was not my priority	8	Variant
<i>Linguistic adaptation</i>			
	• Home language was Korean	14	Typical
	• Spoke Korean with close friends	10	Typical
	• Korean was more comfortable than English	3	Variant
	• Felt comfortable speaking Korean and English	17	Typical
	• Spoke English more often than Korean	11	Typical
	• My friends helped my English most	9	Variant
	• Felt thankful for people correcting my English	6	Variant
	• My English got worse the more often I spoke Korean	11	Typical
	• Needed to improve my English to be like native speakers	15	Typical
	• Felt incapable because of lack of English skills	6	Variant
<i>Cultural adaptation</i>			
	• Glad to immigrate to the U.S.	15	Typical
	• Felt comfortable living in the U.S.	10	Typical
	• Felt difference between Korean and American cultures	13	Typical
	• Americanized (individualism, rationalization, critical thinking)	11	Typical
	• Americanized (e.g., food, hobby, and clothes)	5	Variant
	• open to marrying interracially	12	Typical
	• Satisfied with my cultural competence	7	Variant
	• Needed to improve cultural competence	4	Variant
	• Successfully adjusted to the American culture	14	Typical

<i>Domain</i>	<i>Subdomain</i>	<i>n=20</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
<i>Self-identification</i>	• Felt pride in ethnicity	10	Typical
	• I'm Korean-American.	12	Typical
	• I'm Korean	6	Variant
	• Citizenship did not affect my ethnic identity	7	Variant
	• Experienced discrimination	17	Typical
	• Had stereotype of American (good or neutral)	15	Typical
	• Had stereotype of American (negative)	4	Variant
	• Had stereotype of Korean (negative)	5	Variant
	• Felt part of the society	5	Variant
<i>Characteristics of generation 1.5 Korean immigrants</i>	• Understood both cultures and languages	13	Typical
	• Found out good/bad sides of the two cultures.	8	Variant
	• Shift languages/cultures depending social contexts	10	Typical
	• Knowing two cultures is not beneficial	4	Variant
	• Felt in-between the two cultures	14	Typical
	• Different from 1 st /2 nd	14	Typical
• Enabled to adjust to anywhere	7	Variant	

Appendix B: A sample interview (An interview with *Jinsun*)

- 20 Korean immigrants were interviewed in this study. Because of limited space (each transcript is about 20 pages long), this part of appendix contains one sample interview with Jinsun. The following is a full transcript of Jinsun's interview. In order to protect the privacy of the individuals who participated in this study, the researcher has assigned pseudonyms to all participants and places.
- ***: difficult to understand sounds
- I: the interviewer
- J: Jinsun, the interviewee

I: would you tell me about memories of Korea before you came here?

J: I have a lot. I don't know how much you like me to give you in detail. I remember everything that I experienced from my elementary school, my preschool, my teachers, my classmates, streets, my houses, grandparent's house, public parks we went to, markets, rice-cake stand *Duck-bok-gi* like, but, personally I have a really good memory. I'm not sure everybody remembers everything, but I remember everything. So, I hadn't been to Korea for 11 years. This past summer, before school year started, I went there for a week. And first time I'd been over a decade, and I remembered more than my own sister, who is two year older than me, you would think she remember more than me because she was older when she was there, but I wasn't. I was that's when we were walking, that's where aunt *I-mo*, used to live.

I: did you like the trip to Korea?

J: yes, I wished it was longer. Because, only a week, but we tried to do everything, we went to, there's a mountain, there's a pole you go up to see, Nam-san-Towel, and we went to bus tour, and Korean war museum, we went to every relative house. I went to *Nam-dae-mun*, I went to everything. So, it was a really busy week. and so, it was really tiring. The more time, it would be better.

I: did you feel you were same as other Koreans or different from them at that time?

J: I was very different from them. I looked different first of all. Because I, I noticed all women wear heels, everyone wears heels in Korea, and everyone looks very nice all the time, and here you wear jackets, jeans, flip flops, and you're gonna, that's it. I looked different, you know, and when I was talking with my sister in traveling, I was speaking Korean and English, that's a big difference, you know, I don't know. I always thought, I was good at Korean. Being there, I realized that I need to do a lot to get better in Korean, so, my sister's Korean got better ***. She was there for two or three months in teaching English. She got better, but, I don't know.

I: do you wanna go there some time?

J: yeah! I would be going back. I think the biggest reason I wanna go back is I spend time with my relatives because, if only my mom die, my sister and I would be in the

US, Nobody else. my grandparent, and my uncle, everybody is in Korea. I feel I'm very isolated in that sense, so, seeing them is really cool, you know, they got so much older, so sad, I really wanna go back and make sure we make a connection to learn a lot from them before they pass away, you know.

I: your memories of Korea are good?

J: I mean, the majority is good. it makes me smile, makes me take my kids there, raise them for a couple of years and they can learn Korean really easily by going school there, like only bad memory I have, it was my grandfather and my grandmother lived in ***, *Si-gol*, farmers, and they were very upset that I was born, a girl, and they told me that you should have been 'a boy.' I was horrified. Now it isn't like that. I went back, they loved me, that was a really small memory. You know, everything else is good. Even the things, that now, I look back now, that was bad like, you know, pesticide truck's legal. They fumigated neighborhood. All the kids in neighborhood, ya, then it was really fun. Now, I, that was unhealthy.

I: what made you come here?

J: my dad, my dad's words. He used to work in *Samsung*. They put him in Boston, Chicago, California, so.

I: when did you know you're gonna come here?

J: I didn't, they just kind of aloof of me. like hey, we're moving, so say a good-bye to friends. So, it was very sad, there wasn't like in two years we're gonna move. Get ready, there wasn't like that.

I: did you feel sad or excited?

J: I think I was mostly sad to say a good-bye to friends. You know, kids, the only thing that they really make up your world is friends, and that's it. You don't understand. It was really bad. Now I look back on it, I realized that it really messed up my psychologically, like, friendship can be a long term, because I moved around so much, and had to say a good-bye. I don't have that experience that people talk about "oh, I remember. My friend, Megan from the Kindergarten, take bath together, now we're in the same college like that." That doesn't happen for me. I mean it was really sad.

I: you didn't have any time to prepare something for moving here?

J: only thing that I remember is my mom made me a big poster. I did say 'good-bye *An-neyung*' on it, and then she told me to go to school, had friends' signing good-bye, and I was like, I wasn't thinking about that. I was 'okay', I guess, I brought it, People like writing stuff like "remember me *Gi-uk-hae-ra*", I said 'Okay', that was the only real thing that symbolized that I'm moving. Otherwise, it was just kind of, they packed for me, you know, there's really nothing like.

I: what's the first problem which you faced in the United States?

J: making friends, because you can't speak English very well. Because one thing really bother me was we were supposed to be in ESL classes, and they'd taken us out from regular classes. You know, it was like separate time for us, extra time, it

was like, I remember I'd been seen to all regular students, some teachers come in, pop up heads, "Tina, come out." You know, that was really hard because that totally set me apart from regular classmates and kind of showed to those kids, 'Tina' is different.' You know, instead of, like, bring us together.

I: how did you get language proficiency? How long did you take to get it?

J: It was a little easier for me because I went to pre-school in America, for like less than a year. So, when I was a kid, I was in Korea, born in Korea, they brought me to Sunnysvale, and had a preschool, and went back to finish a preschool in Korea, and kindergarten for the first, second, and third grade, and then moved for real, and so then, that little chunk, really helped, I think. You know, I know that kids pick up a language better, so, having a couple of months, exposure to English, made it easier when I was in Korea, you need to take Korean classes, everyone says, oh, Tina's been to Korea. She already knows well, but I didn't know anything. I understand a little bit, I couldn't say, read, write it well, but those a little basic, when I was back in the fourth grade in Chicago, it was a little easier. I picked it up about a year.

I: after one year, there was no problem to communicate with your friends?

J: Yeah.

I: how about following the classes?

J: fifth grade? I can talk fine. Nobody knew that I was from Korea. So, I could blend in better. But then, you came into writing assignments, it was hard. So, writing was the hardest to get. But, talking and understanding, I don't know, I read a lot to try to make up for.

I: at that time, who helped you at most?

J: in the fourth grade, it has to be my ELS teacher, and just my family, you know, with my homework, my sister, my mom and dad. They all tried to help me. but, my mom *** she didn't speak English, either.

I: what ethnic group was the majority in schools?

J: my school in my fourth grade, the majority was white I would say, some Asian kids, but when I moved to the fifth grade in California, it got a little bit mixed, Asians and Whites were majority, but, there were still Mexicans and some other ones, and during middle school and high school, there was much more variety, but the majority were Asian and white kids. College here is great. I love it so much, everything.

I: Which group did you hang out usually?

J: in the fourth grade, I didn't have many friends. You know, first year here, I can't even say, you know, I would say, White kids in the fourth grade. White kids in the fourth grade, fifth grade, Indian girl, Korean girl, Chinese girl. We are group of four. And then, I went to middle school, sixth grade, actually my best friend were black girl, Japanese girl. And then, in the seventh grade, it was a whole different bunch of Asian girls.

I: did you choose friends based on color of skin or language something or background?

J: it was more, mostly, they were nice, and we were willingly to talk and not treated me differently. So, race was never like, now I think about race, but back then, I think, especially for kids, race doesn't even exist to kids in my opinion. It didn't even occur to me when I was with Indian and black best friends and just they were very friendly. You know, 'oh, we can be friends.' I don't know, it was just connected, probably a lot in common, I don't know.

I: did you participate in many school activities in schools?

J: well, every year was different. In the fourth grade, obviously not. Fifth grade, no, I took Spanish class. That wasn't really anything. Starting middle school, middle school is sixth, seventh, eighth grade. And I played in Orchestra. That was fun. That was how I got involved.

I: did you feel you were part of school at each level of schools?

J: yeah, I think so. I think, I keep coming back to the fourth grade, the first year, being backing from Korea, probably not that year. Anything was more like 'what is this school? how do I fit in?' you know, but once I got to California, I started my fifth grade and beyond all through, middle school, high school, I felt 'I'm part of the school.'

I: is it more comfortable that school is diverse rather than White-dominated?

J: yeah, yeah.

I: why? looks similar?

J: no, just because like, there are so many different people, you don't feel like there's you, them, like only black and white, two different things. There's more 'there was everybody.' So, like, it's nothing to compare to it because there're so many people, like because it's only white people, or it's only Asian people, it makes more animosity. Like in middle school, it was like an Asian group, popular an Asian group, popular White kids, there were white kids in the Asian group, there would be white washed Asian girls in the White group, you started to call it an Asian group or an White group and because there were two dominated races in my middle school, it caused a lot of problem, you know, and I think, one day, so diversity, there is no chance that anybody says, no, this is a raced group, you know, just be like, those kids like to go skates, these kids like to go studying, maybe more like, interested, instead of race-based group, you know. I think that's what I like it. The mixed place is better.

I: would you tell me the worst memory in school?

J: wow, I have too many, what grade you're talking about?

I: through middle to high school, all grades,

J: including high school?

I: yes,

J: oh, I often thought about elementary and middle school. I don't know. I think the worst memory, in elementary school, was just, in general, okay, I have a specific one. So, in the fourth grade, we, for father's day, we had to write in a paper. We think 'our fathers are great.' And we got to go to a computer lab, I was writing, all these kids were writing, pages, like my father does this, we do this together, I have the thought in my head, but, I don't know how I write it, so I had to describe to somebody, write for me, but then, they wanted me to do on my own, 'no, you have to do it on your own,' I can't, I don't know how, in so, I had two sentences or something like 'My dad is great', something really pathetic, and I felt horrible. Because you see two lines on the top of right computer, the rest is just blank, and it's like, it makes me feel bad for my dad, it makes me a bad daughter, and I don't want to show it to anybody. And so, I remember that it made me so stupid, made me feel I'm not as good as other kids. I hated it. But, in middle school, the worst memory in middle school, I think, I don't know. middle school was tough. Everything is, technically, you know, it's puberty, everyone tries to be cool. Girls start to like boys. It's ugly. God, I don't know. I think, six grade, I feel pretty bad. There is a thing, social, after school, all carnival stuff, ice cream, people just come and hang out. There was a boy I like, and some how, I told somebody, they told him, but I thought he didn't know, I felt horrible because he, basically the cutest, the most popular, you know, you know, I only knew two friends, there was no a chance he would like me back, I remember feeling so stupid, hadn't told it to anybody. It was so much different from now, when you are confident, you realize you can date people, you know, back then, like, it's, you have nothing, because you don't like how to dress like American, you don't know how to flirt, you don't know how to do anything, you know, you just like not intimate to cultural norms, it was bad. In high school, oh my gosh, I can't miss saying this. It's a rumor. You know, in high school, it's very stereo-typical, like drama. The worse one, it was like, when a girl that I didn't know very well, just did acquaintance by name and face, she spreaded a rumor, I did drugs, like, it happens in high school, it's really bad. In high school here, people spread rumors like you're a gay, a guy is a gay, a girl is a lesbian, she has a sex with somebody, she did, do you know, she cut herself, you know, crazy, crazy stuff, so, it gossiped around me, I remember horrifying me because in high school, whenever somebody says something, it spread, like wild fire, even though people are very cliquey, there're different groups of people, when it comes to rumor, some how they communicate, they all find out, so I remember I'm walking out, to my usual hang-out spot with my friends, and walking through, like every group I pass, they stop talking and they're just talking about me. You, I get to my friend, they're talking about it, they're mad at me, they don't believe me, they believe her, and I couldn't talk to my sister, because she is such a nice person, she would be like, 'oh, my god' she probably thought, I thought, 'it's so mean. it's so horrible.' Nobody was on my side.

I: it was just gone, disappeared?

J: yeah, it takes time, it takes a lot of time. Then because they move on to another rumor, they move on to another kid to make fun of another kid, to make their lives miserable. So, it was time, I think, but it was hard for me, lots of crying, lots of skipping classes, you know,

I: did you experience 'identity crisis' in school?

J: in terms of Korean-American?

I: yeah, or 'who am I?'

J: yeah,

I: when and how?

J: when and how, it's a hard question. Let me think. Who am I... I think... I guess one, I think, you know, identity crisis, it happens, I don't think, I think it keep happening. I don't think there is one crisis. Then, right after you get passed it, you know who you are perfectly, you know, you're constantly changing and growing, so like, my small identity crisis, that was a big zoom at the time. It was seventh grade because I remember, up to seven grade, I told you a guy when I liked him whatever, I was definitely considering me as a loser, no friends, no popular at all. I remember, coming to the seventh grade, I know it sounds very funny now, but I really made it conscious choice, 'I'm going to make friends, I'm going to be popular, I'm going to be liked by people', and I said that to myself, I was thinking it. And, I purposely dressed in a certain way I thought I would fit in, of course that was still ugly. I went to the first day of the seventh grade, and I realized it quickly, 'no, this isn't working', I went shopping with mom, changed what I wore to what other girls wore, got contacts, and all these things to mold myself into what would fit in. I succeeded. I did it. In the seventh grade, I was in the Asian group I'm talking about, it was fine. I was, I think that's a big identity crisis because I wasn't really being me, I tired to be something, you know, back then, I could calculate what a co-person was, they had this kind of issue, they wore this kind of pants, shirts, how their hair was like this, or wore make-up like this, and that's not being a person, that's completely opposite of identity you mold yourself to a calculated person. That's what I was doing. I think that's a huge identity crisis, and just kept on going. My second one came in high school. It was like, I think, at the end of the freshman year, that was a lot of things going bad. How? I think, making friends with all kinds of people, I don't wanna, I see all kinds of people, because I don't wanna describe them as all kinds of bad people, all good people, you know, just all kinds of people, some of them were, you know, different recreational choices, some more drug users, I didn't do anything, but just trying all out, being with all kinds of people, putting myself in all kinds of situations, sneaking out at night, you know, going to the place people are drinking, or vandalism, you know, try everything, you know, exploration, I think, and by the end of the freshman year, I realized what I didn't wanna do, what I didn't wana be, 'no, I don't wana be that kind of a person, I didn't like him, I didn't

like her, no, no, no' by the process of elimination, I think this is what I'm into, starting to mold really what kind, who am I, and then, through the sophomore year, that got better. From my philosophy, what's right and wrong, so I kept excluding and including whatever everything around me, in that that's how by the end of the sophomore year. I realized I'm done with high school. What I mean by that, I think, high school is a great institution, I think I enjoyed more than most people did in terms of I got involved, I loved rallies, you shared school spirit, you know, all these things, but, I came down to, people make the institution, people make group building. People were sucks. They were not really at the stage what I was. All of them still were, really enjoyed drama, still enjoyed rumors, still spread, still fattened, and they just back studying, people, they were really just all kinds of bad people. I was like, I'm over it, I'm out of my stage for life, I'm outgrown from this stupid things, so, I applied to go to the special program called *** middle college, basically we were students, a group of actually around 13, we were selected from Fremont Union school district to attend the community college for the last two years of high school. They still get the high school diploma, everything is normal. And you can still apply to college at your senior, at the end of senior year, it's just you don't go to high school any more. And I got in, so I say, piss out, I'm left, that's the move I made, I love *** college, and so,

I: your identity crisis is about who I am rather than ethnic issues?

J: I think there was never the specific time for that. It was all through out. I think, for me, being Korean, being Korean-American, it's so fundamental. I've never faced it, ethnic identity crisis. It was just constant, I don't know, like, everything I'm talking about Korean-Americanism, my race was based for it throughout. So, I was always molding it, touching based of thinking about it throughout all these years. I think, really thinking about it, it's more recent. Why? because marriage, dating makes think about it more. Because my parents, I personally know, I love Korean culture, I've never worried about it. I play Korean drum Jang-go as I was in high school, in a Korean band *Pung-mul-tim* and I was talking to my relatives on the phone, we always write Korean Christmas cards, and used to eat rice cake *Duck-guk* every New Year. Even though even parents, me, and my sister, every morning prayer *Yae-bae*, what is it, right, bow, we did every thing, *Song-pyen*, *Duck*, even though I'm doing at school, even though drama, friends, identity, like as a whole underneath all, all this is happening, you know, staying and touching the Korean culture, always speaking Korean to parents, like, so, it was always rooted in me, always I knew that I wanted to teach my kids Korean, I wanted to cook Korean food, I loved *Kimchi-soup* *Kimchi-chi-gae*, you know, it was never crisis, 'Oh, my God, am I a Korean or not' I'm a Korean, I love it. It's such part of people. But, the only reason of becoming crisis is because who I'm gonna be married because my parents want me to marry a Korean guy, I understand why, I know they are not racists. It's mostly the fact that they want to be able to talk to a Korean guy, they want to, they believe

that marrying a Korean man, the only way is sure my kids know Korean, but I'm trying to show them, it should be about a person, regardless of whom I marry, I'll make sure my kids are intimate to Korean culture, so my ex-boy friend was a white guy, they hated him, they worried so bad, no, no, he doesn't know Korean, and I'm dating with a black guy, and I'm not telling them about him because I realized that they can't handle it. It's really sad because I always imagined that 'Hi, this is my boyfriend.' We can have a family dinner, you know, but they can't handle it. That's the difference between one first generation and 1.5 generation, you know. They're still not completely open-minded and Americanized. Yeah, so, I don't know, that's the only thing, and also, religious thing. I'm a Christian, this guy cares about family religious relationship, I talk about many possibilities. God doesn't look at race. We're all humans. We are all children of God. And so, he'll support our relationship as long as I believe that we love each other. Regardless of relatives not supporting us, we can get through it. That gave me peace. I'm okay with it. So, we'll see what happens.

I: what topic or issue have you disagreed with your parents?

J: even a little thing. A sleeping over in friends' houses. Korean culture, you don't do that, you sleep on your own bed. You don't go out at night. You're very at home, that was a big issue. 'what! All my American friends are sleeping over, they're doing this, they're doing this. They're going to dance at night. I thought it was really unfair. I got to fight against them. But, their mind sets were all Korean culture, you know.

I: how had you handled arguments with parents?

J: handled them badly, because we always fought, you know, argued verbally, it was very bad. You know, also, I realized that in Korean culture, my parents, they did not talk and sit down with kids. "Hey, this is what we need to talk about. So, my point of view, your point of view, how can we compromise? Let's speak out a plan. Both are happy." No, their thing is, "my way, no, you shot up, listen to what I'm saying, listen to parents." so, it doesn't work. So, it was bad. Even if let say, I handled well, I say, "let's talk about it.", they would've been like "no, you need to listen." So, I think, I don't see a negative thing now. I kind of accepted it. That's the way they raised. If anything I can take away from it, how I do different to my kids, I definitely would utilize a whole compromising and talking about it, Koreans do not talk about it. I don't know, that was bad. He hit me all the time. Oh, my god. I don't wanna do that.

I: when you parents forced you to follow your decision, what did you do?

J: when I was younger, I had to follow them. As I got older, I started to rebel more and fight more until they gave it. I still did it, they were mad at me. I dealt with consequence. But, they came to the point where, you know, I realized that, even if I do disobey, they'll still be there. Those things came into my mind. When you are younger, 'they're gonna kill me', you know. You realize they will not kill you, you

know. When I get older, I just leave it, either tell a lie. In high school, even middle school, I told them, 'I am going to Jennifer's home to study,' I wouldn't study, we go out for party. You know, there's a way to go around it. You start to work a system with your parents. Now, I don't tell them anything.

I: so, your parents' parenting style is more close to Korean?

J: what do you define the Korean style?

I: Korean parents have dignity, for example, Parents make a decision for their kids, and Kids have to follow it. Children don't express their opinions and talk back.

J: in that sense, I'm different. I think personality is also. Even when I was younger, I was in Korea, I was really outspoken. This is me. I think, that's why it's hard for us. I had a really rough childhood. I spoke out a lot. That's why I got hit more. I didn't stop. In my head, 'this isn't fair, this isn't right', you know. 'Why are they just telling it?' I always say "Why?" "Don't say, because I'm your parent." "It's not a good reason. Tell me, I want logic, the reason behind what you're saying." They say, "I don't need to explain to you. Because I say it is true." I say "What! You make no sense. Did you go to college?" I was so upset. But, now, I understand it. That's the way they are. I'm working around it, you know. The biggest thing is 'not to tell them.'

I: do you think they have changed compared to the early stage of immigration?

J: they have, they had to. I don't think they would survive if they didn't learn to change because they can't make a little Korea here. And I see it, it was really hard for them, you know. If you go my house, *** they punched it. They got it. The big way I can see that, one time, I asked mom, "what would you do if I brought a black guy home? This is a man I'll marry" and I remember my mom said, "What! What are you even thinking that way? If you think about it, that's gonna happen. Don't say it. Don't ask me. That won't happen." I said, "No, that's not what I'm talking about. What if? I need to know. You'll love and support me in whatever marriage if I brought home a black guy whatever." She was like, "Okay, fine. Every man that you bring home, before marriage, I will not like him. He will be a bastard, but, the moment you marry him, I'll love him because he is now part of the family." That's she said. I think it's a big improvement. Because many years ago, she wouldn't even say it. You know, you just told me 'no'. That way, I saw improvement. But, that's also worse. As far as I know, she also learned I did to work around me. She might just be saying that she just knows what I wanna hear. For all I know about marriage about a guy, she might like get out of my face. you know? I feel like they won't. I feel it. I feel that they have realized that we're different. We're not Korean, you know, young adults they were. I don't know.

I: have they experienced acculturative issues since they moved to the United States?

J: I know my dad. For my dad, it was easier for him. Before he married, my mom, he was doing business trip, back and forth. For him, it was a little easier. Specially, because he learned English through the company, and in his college. So, him, I'm

not worry about. He was okay. He was prepared. He found out he needed to move. He was the obvious father, controlled everything. But, my mom was hard. Because, I'm sure before she married him, she didn't even think about America. She got into college in Korea, she had a job as an art professor in Korea, she was doing fine, and then she married him, he was like, let's go. I know that, I talked to her recently, the biggest thing hard for her, was not able to speak English, but it was food. In Boston, there was no Korean Market whatsoever, and she tried to make *Kim-chi* out of Chinese or American vegetables. She said it was so hard for her. She'd crave a certain food, but she couldn't make it. She didn't know where to get that ingredient, and so, it happened in Chicago, also, she found really small, liquor store, *** bought tofu *Du-bu*. She was excited. Here are more Korean people in California, in the Bay area, so, she found *Kyo-po* Market, Korean Market, Hue! She was really excited. But, it was hard for her. But, she learned to adapt to.

I: when they had problems, did they ask you to help them?

J: not anything big. Because I think also, Korean adults don't ask kids for help, you know. They don't tell their problems. When my parent was going through financial issues, they wouldn't, I don't know, pride thing, or kids aren't ready to handle it, what the mind set is *** they don't talk about it. My father, for a long time, he didn't tell me what his job was, I didn't even know what he did. That is because it's not something you discuss with kids, you know. They didn't really ask us for help anything except my mom and me at home, dad wasn't around us, she would say, 'can you call this person, and ask this in English?' because this is what I'm getting better, but she didn't, like doctor's appointment, whatever, I don't know, she asked me to do a phone call, picked up telemarketers, and I'd tell them, you know, 'she's not home.' you know. That's how I helped her or helping her right things.

I: how about your father?

J: no.

I: do you think the relationship with your parents would be different if you were in Korea?

J: I think it would be different for my dad because, if we stayed in Korea, it would be encouraged his attitude of how he was. You know, man is best, man is a household figure. All those like, I'm not saying that negatively, but my opinion is kind of Korean father image, he would stay that way because there is no need to change in Korea, you know. All co-workers would be the same, neighborhood would be the same kind of dad, distant and unemotional, doesn't show any sort of physical attention, no hugging, you know, like that, I think that's how he had been. Because he is in America, and seeing how fathers here are, that the fathers that represent in Television, in media here, or what I keep speaking out, saying that I want it. I used to fight with "why don't you tell me this is good?" Bring him a A's paper, he said, "Okay, do the same next time" *Da-um-e-do Dok-ga-chi-he*", I'm, "What? you didn't even say a good job. If you did something bad, "What? What's wrong with you?"

when I did something bad, I got his attention. If I did something good, “okay” you know. So, he changed. I felt if he stayed in Korea, he wouldn’t. But here, he did it. That’s how he would be different. Also, for my mom, here, our relationship would be different. Here, she was humble, more and she relies on us more, and because me and my mom are the biggest friends. It’s hard for her to make friends here. In Korea, it would be different. It would be like America for us, for her there, friends from high school, from college, in church in Korea, she could talk to them easily, go to a café, you know. I’m sure she wouldn’t have been so much more attached to us. I mean, obviously you attach to your kids, that’s your kids, love them, but different sort of attachment as a companion. That happened because he forced to move to a foreign place.

I: How do you and your parents handled your problems in daily life?

J: I think my dad had handled by himself. He captained himself. My mom, my dad is a big resource to her. She did find help from Korean churches. That’s why she found about the Korean Market. Other Korean church members who were here longer. For me and my sister, you know, I don’t know how we dealt with. I don’t know kids dealt with problems. Like that time, I told you in the fourth grade, I wrote that paper to my dad, I wrote just first page. I didn’t tell it to anyone. I just hated it. I found me a crab. I don’t know. I think in that time, how do I do this? It’s not gonna away, not gonna tell it. It’s just me, and it’s my problem, because I don’t know how to write English, you know. Anything made me do well in ESL classes. I don’t know there isn’t anybody that I specifically talk to. Every situation is different. I don’t know.

I: do you prefer to deal with your problems by yourself?

J: I think I prefer to hand it by myself if I can. If I can’t, you know, talk to somebody. Situation is different. Like, because I’m much like, if there is a problem, you know how to fix it, fix it. You can talk it about it. You realize how to fix it. You know, I’m not sure that’s how it is, back then. I’m sure it’s all personality, also. I do not like drama, I do not like lying, I do not like a secret. I’m very like, I have a bad experience, and negative effects of stupid things created, you know, ***. Now there’s an issue, we address it even with him. I just squash it, immediately address and communicate. That’s my biggest philosophy. Even with friends, teachers, you, parents, the moment it happens, talk to them and be done. That is the easiest way.

I: have you experienced discrimination because of your color of skin?

J: I don’t wanna say it discrimination, but I’d been made to feel out of place. It was my senior year. I think my senior year, junior year, but, it was a prom. We were going to shopping. I’m trying to find a fabulous dress. I go on line to try finding a store, and I find one ABC which is a very nice plaza, very upscale, and find a dress store. I’ve never been there, so I don’t know it looks like. All I know is it looks nice on line. So, I tell her, my mom about it. She drives me there, just me and my mom, we go in, only people inside are Caucasians, even workers and managers, all the

girls there, because it's prom times, a lot of girls and moms, there is not one black, Mexican, Asian, mixed, nothing, just white. And I felt so uncomfortable. And I'm very diverse. I'm not like that at all. I felt so out of place because nobody talks to us. Nobody help us. Workers walk right by, help, and assist other white people, and I was just, 'this is weird.' I've never thought this in America, 'are we still in California?' You know, "Mom, don't worry about it. Let's just go. I don't even like anything in here." It was a really small thing, but, I remember it because I've never thought like uncomfortable before. It wasn't like anybody "get out of here! You *Chine* like that." something racist, it's just indifference, atmosphere you don't belong here, just feeling, and so, I wanna get out of there. I don't know.

I: do you have any perception about 'typical American'?

J: a little bit harder now, because going to San Jose state, because students in here, in general, broke that perception, there are so many different kinds, and they all are Americans, you know, that's what threw me off. If I'm trying to be 'very stereotypical American', I don't know. Love TV? Eat out, very pet-loving, all about pampering themselves, self. I think Americans are very luxurious, very self-source, very comfortable, very moved from the worldly concerned about how bad other places are doing. It's all just how you do well, here and now, how can you get more, that's the American, I think of, you know, track path of going the school, get a good job, make a big money, you know, that's the American, I think.

I: do you think you're Americanized?

J: I think, I am Americanized in the most ideal settings, ideals being that Americans are very open minded to cultural diversity, Americans accept everybody, we are all people created equal, we all are great citizens of America, I think that way, I think I'm Americanized because I hang out to that idea, I'm trying not to separate myself just Koreans, anything like I'm an ordinary Joe trying to live in every day life, with all kinds of people, in that way, I'm Americanized. Because, non-Americanized person would probably be frightened and uncomfortable in some situations you're in with different people. Non Americanized person, you know, I don't know, I think that's why I'm Americanized compared to Korean person like I'm aware more out there, you know. If I was in Korea, I don't think I've been to a Motion concert, if I was in Korea, I don't think I've gone on a train by myself with friends to San Francisco, just spend a day, I wouldn't consider dating with a white guy, or a black guy, I was still in Korea, I'm sure I wouldn't learn snow board or long board. You know, a little thing that, I've been given more opportunities to broaden my interest because I'm in America. Because there are so much more you can't do it. You're gonna stop because you're race or age, just your gender. If I wasn't Americanized, I would be restricted, I would be skinny, pale, heels, studying and going on meeting with other Korean boys and girls, maybe I'd have a very stereotyped Korean image. I mean, I don't know, might be, I don't know,

I: you define yourself as Korean-American, not American. Why?

- J: okay, in most situations, I say, I'm American. People really start, you know, I think I'm Korean-American. I don't know.
- I: because other Americans perceive you as Korean-American or because you label yourself as Korean-American?
- J: I think, this is a good way to play. I'm not American. I say, I'm Korean-American because we are all American here and if you say, you're American here, it's kind of, people say, hello, America has no people. All came from different countries. 'where are you?' you know, so, I am from Nigeria, I'm from Japan, I'm from Scotland, you know, but when I go off the country, that's what I say I'm American. Because, when I went to Spain, some Spanish people was asking me 'I'm American. No, what is your race? Okay, I'm Korean-American. You know, when I go off the country, I'm American. But, here, I think I'm Korean-American. I don't know.
- I: do you feel different when you speak Korean and when you speak English?
- J: I think Korean makes me more intimate, make me more, it's more exclusive, it's more intimate. I don't know. like, example I can give, there is a guy's name, Duck, he goes to college ministry on campus with me. When I'm with him, I even think I starting speaking Korean. It's not even important conversation, a little mannerism, you know, in English, you should say, 'oh, my gosh!' 'oh, shoot!' little ticks like that, I would say it in Korean. That thing comes out. It makes me and him closer, make us different, you know, I feel more intimate, it's like, more important or not, it's like only we can understand. You know, it like, makes me cooler, I don't know, makes me feel closer to that person.
- I: what parts of Korean culture still affect you strongly?
- J: the male figure is, like a top figure, it still affects me. When I interact with Korean-Americans here, I'm very much aware of it. And I see different degrees of how that part of the culture, it's strong in that person. I mean, some guy who very recently came from Korea, even they don't identify strongly with it, that view on male is very strong. When they interact with me, I feel, talk down to, or degraded. I don't like it. I don't wanna associate with them. When I meet a more Americanized Korean, I start to feel more equal, and they talk to me differently, their tone, what they choose to talk to me about, and that part of the culture still affects me. That's one of reasons why I don't really like to marry Koreans. I probably won't because a lot of them have some of the cultural biases that I can't stand. I can't live with a man who thinks a better than me because of his gender. I mean, maybe I can look up and respect my husband, because he's older and he's more mature, he's smart, whatever, he has Ph D. You know, just based on he's a man, he's better? That's just stupid. That part of the culture affects me. Another one is like, Korean culture's not like piecing and tattoo, that affects me. Yes, it does, I love tattoos and pierces. You can tell! When I go to a Korean Market, some Koreans, I know, I feel like they probably tell kids, "look at her! Don't do that. If you do it, you're a bad person. It's ugly." For me, no, here, everybody else is like that. It's comfortable. So, that's

another thing. When I raise my kids, I think I won't encourage it. "oh! Go and get a tattoo!" but, I won't say "no" I'd be like, say, "why do you want it? Do you really want it? What do you want?" talk to them, "Okay, this is your body, you make that choice, but you have to live with that choice." You know, that's how I teach them. I'll see. These things wouldn't be on my face forever. I know when I graduate, work, it will come off, that's different part of life, you know.

I: How do you define 1.5 generation Korean-American in your terms?

J: one foot in the Korean door, one foot in the American door. It's on the fence. I think the coolest one, because first generations are too Korean. You can bring them down. If you can't adapt, you know, can't adjust. And then, second generation can be bad, they can lose touch from the first generations and from Korean culture. I know so many second friends of mine at my age, they can't speak Korean. Some of them can't eat *Kim-chi* because it's too spicy. And that's so sad. You know, that's what I thought '1.5 generation is so cool', because they can see both, they can understand both, they can respect both, and balance it if they can. I'm not saying all of them, but from my view on it, 1.5 generation has the best for both. They can choose what they don't like about them, they can choose what they like about them.

I: what is disadvantage of 1.5 generation?

J: extra stress to try to balance it maybe, I mean, and confusion, maybe just being a male and a woman. The disadvantage is coming with marriage. You know, first generations, you say, you know you're gonna marry a Korean man. Second generations don't care. You pass that point. You're completely Americanized. Marriage doesn't have to be thought about in terms of race any more, because just marriage period. But, 1.5 generation's disadvantage is that you are thinking how this affects the Korean's thought about me, how affects the American's thought about me, so much more brain killer. You know, try to think about it. In that sense, it's not, as a clean-cut decision.

I: which group do you think you fit into well? 1.5 generation, Korean-American?

J: I think 1.5 Korean-American. I know in everyday daily life, I seem to fit into second generation, completely American, like even almost like black, Mexican, you know, everything just because, I can interact with everyone. So, I talk to them, in their slang, and all that stuff, but if you really talk to me in conversation, in my deep rooted, my morals and values, care Korean. So, I think, that's why I think, 1.5. I don't know. Because too Korean person might, she is so non-Korean. To another person, No, you are not FOB, Fresh Off the Boat, at all. There is a term FOB in American culture. It's a derogatory term as bad as Chink or Negro. It's really bad. It's kind of basically saying, you just immigrated off a boat. Nobody immigrates off boats anymore. Korean-Americans use it to each other in a friendly way. It's not offensive. "That guy dress so FOBBY." We make jokes like that. If somebody else calls me FOB, I don't appreciate it. That's me. I'm not FOB. To me, I'm 1.5. That's not you parade around you, project, and you show it, hey! I'm 1.5. Can you tell, can

you tell? You know what I mean? It's so subtle. That's how I relate it. I'm sure everyone has a different opinion, not with me.

I: do you feel proud of Korean culture?

J: yes. I'm proud of my Korean culture because we have culture, like real, written down, concrete culture. You know, how people are confused about American culture, it's so new. It's such a culture so something, it's an idea. You know, American culture is an idea. It's about what we wanna become, it's all about philosophy. There is no American culture getting, July 4th. It's solid American culture. There isn't not much that. But, in Korean culture when you say that, you can write it down. Happy New Year, you do this, on birthday you have sea weed soup *Mi-yuk-guk*, that's a real culture. You can, King *Se-jong Se-jong-dae-wang*, all those things, that's why I am proud of it, because it's solid. It's something I can refer to like. I don't know. I'm part of it. I know people always say, diversity is great. Diversity is the most important thing. But, the whole point of diversity is to, see like if you stay with Korean culture, I stay super just only with Korean friends, only practice Korean culture, hate on every things else, how that makes Korean culture any better if anything would project negative idea about Korean culture. If I made myself diverse, people think we're gonna lose Korean culture, you're gonna become melting pot of nothing. But my opinion, if I'm always bouncing off by other cultures, talk with different kind of people, seeing out there, that makes my Korean culture stronger, because I can see "Oh, look how different we are, how similar we are." My Korean culture gets more and more defined stronger and I can see that's how I'm different, you know, and makes me appreciate what I have more, that's what I think diversity, being culturally strong in Korean, going hand and hand. People say, you can't do both, but I think we can.

I: how do you decide to learn Korean drum *Jango*?

J: It's actually a funny story. I was bad at math. I had a math tutor. He used to come to my house to teach me a hour or two. It was in my sophomore of high school. He drummed on the table. One day, what is that? We both drummed on the table with fingers. And I thought 'this is cool.' He took me to *** high school. I just picked it up and started it. I loved it, we used to perform it. I bought clothes for it. We used to hang it and dance. We had a little group of Korean-Americans kids. I think I'm most Americanized out of them. Most of them were very FOBBY. It was weird. That helped me. We only spoke Korean very much, they still practice 'take off shoes', you always greet, when you have drink stuff, the older get it first, and I get it, the younger get it last.

I: have your feeling about U.S.A changed compared to the early stages of immigration?

J: I think the biggest thing that I changed is that, I think, I was either intimidate or scared of American, U.S.A. like because it was just like so big. And interaction I had when I first came in *** school, it's a lot of, you know, 'I don't fit in, I can't

talk to them, they don't like me, or I'm not cool, we can't understand each other,' so, it's a lot of intimidation, scared, so, those little interaction formed my bigger idea of U.S.A. That's, this is scared. I can't understand it. But, then, now, it's like, you know, completely different. You know, I'm very much comfortable, I feel like I'm an American. You know, I help, shape, what U.S.A. is, you know, another phase, helping the diversity, people try to be well here, but I don't know. That's the biggest I changed. You can imagine anything else.

I: do you feel comfortable living here?

J: yeah,

I: when/ what made you feel that way?

J: I think I felt comfortable even at the end of the fifth grade. I feel comfortable living here. Because I tried to distinguish between feeling comfortable with my body as a person, you know, because it's so hard, I think what's hard thing of 1.5 generation is that you move to another country, you're already having normal like changing issues being out of lesson. You know, your body changes, social changes, like cognitive changes, just as a person. When you're on top of that, you are supposed to move and make sense of another foreign country, you know, so a lot of times, when you asked questions, it's kind of hard because, it's kind of, two are on top of the other. I can't sometimes, did I feel uncomfortable because in America, in Korea, just because of kids, just life situation, you know, what I think about is that, I think it is okay, I think I was fine, almost I enjoyed in my fourth grade, like school was hard, because of English problems. But, I had great memories of Chicago in the fourth grade, you know, snow was fine, we played ice hockey, I had good memories, I had fun, but I think that it comes to be kids. You're so easily entertained, easily move on, and adapt, and try to make the best of every thing. That's the way kids are. When I was a kid living there, in the fifth grade, I'm sure the fourth grade, just right after, it was bad, I still missed my friends in Korea. Moving to California, no, I can do it. Nothing wrong would be here. When I was younger, I still, I remember having thought, for sure I'm moving back, when I'm older with my kids, they can live in Korea for three or four years, like I did, they're gonna learn Korean, but now, I like realistically how it gonna happen, I'm gonna work here, my husband's gonna work here, that scares me, because I want them to know Korean, but I don't know how I can teach them. You know, I don't think Korean school here, do a perfect job to teach them,

I: are you a person that easily adapt to a different culture?

J: yes, I do. You know, that comes with having moved so much. You know, I know people who have moved in other whole lives. They have problem with that, but I think having moved around so much, having to make friends each time, new situation in schools, everything, that transfer over a culture also, I'm no problem with that. Like, even if I meet with different friends, different culture's friend's home, or their family functions, barbecue, birthday parties, there are so many

people, certain type of people, how they celebrate it, or have their meals, it's different, I'm Okay, and I can roll and punch it. I think it comes the fact that I forced to adapt. You can not be like "I don't like this! This is the way I used to do it" You can think like that. I don't, That's why I was very smoothly able to. I don't know.

I: did you push yourself harshly to adjust to the U.S.?

J: I think you have to do both, you need to nudge yourself, 'come on, I don't wanna do this' at the same time, practice a little bit naturally, just like of, you know, *** put on a good face, smile, and just, no matter what it is, eventually, used to it, it doesn't come soon, just, I don't know, so vague. I don't know.

I: do you satisfy your English ability and cultural adaptation ability?

J: yes, I'm very satisfied with it.

I: how about cultural adaptation competence?

J: I'm very satisfied with it now, at present. Very much so,

I: do you think you successfully adjust to the U.S.A?

J: yes.

I: in what aspects?

J: I think because that's really weird. What aspect? Every aspect. In different aspect, what? my personal life, yes, I'm Americanized. I'm not discriminated who I'm personally associated with based on race in terms of dating or friendship. I think I successfully adapted. In school, also, I don't know everyday interaction with classmates, teachers, courses that I take. I think I successfully have because I chose to live on campus, I love residential life, all different interactions, and different students, people came from everywhere, and I'm part of living there, the third and next year. So, I love that, I don't know.

I: living in the dorm?

J: I've lived there last year in ***, this year in ***, next year in ***. Every years different building, and every year different facility, last year just freshman, the first time experience, this year, I'm a community mentor for the global theme community, and next year, I'm the residential whole association president elected, so, I'm gonna be working, I'm excited. I think I'm doing very well. That's why I think I've culturally, gotten in well like I don't know. I know it's shallow, even recreational activities, even a long boarding, you know, that's very Americanized, I think, all being able to enjoy it, American food, you know, past time in college, going up the fraternity party, drinking, drinking is all kinds of non-sense, all Americans really, in so, a whole myself up and home, only watch Korean drama, anything you know, I think I did OK.

I: why are you living in the dorm?

J: I insisted it. Because I knew that if I lived with them, it's gonna be bad, it's gonna be hard. As much as I say, they changed to be American, but we still have a problem. We still don't understand. We understand each other, we can't change.

You know what I mean? They understand that I'm more out there, open-minded culturally aware, crazy I do things, piercing on my face, you know. That doesn't mean they didn't like me. I know they're stuck in their way, that makes me, help me to understand them. That doesn't mean I can get it, respect it. Okay, go with what you say. No, we're still *** and fight, and I knew when I got to college, we got the fact, I am not living at home, that would be so much help like, and I'd want to have college experience, living on campus. You know, in the dorm life, so mixed those things. It worked out great. That's why they like it, supporting it, they are okay with paying it this year, and next year, and I mean our relationship is better this way. We do see each other like, hi, how have you been? yeah, we talk better.

I: your parents support you financially? Did your parent let you work?

J: I always have part time jobs. I always work. I don't like to ask money from them. I like to be independent. Having paid my college and sister's college, he started his own business and stop working for ***, so it was harder. I like that I can pay when I go shopping, when I go eat. Personal expense I want to pay for myself. They didn't like it at first. They worried that it affected my grade? But, they're Okay with it. I think they realized they're a little different. I think, that comes, they're moving also, they're willing me to try things. I remember when I tried to do softball which is women's version of baseball, they bought me a ball, it was 'go for it' I never go play a softball team in school anything but, I thought that was cool. It shows they're willing to let me try a new thing. I don't know.

I: what made it possible?

J: I think, learning English is for sure, you can't even begin to tap into the social world of America, if we can't even communicate, communication is a key, being able to understand, speak it, get rid of accent, you know, it doesn't sound you're part. And, read, and write, that helped to success. Also, not taking ESL classes any more, being forced to be in regular course work. It can be hard, you just put your extra time or cheat whatever, being forced it, because, even if American kids, trouble in school, it's hard, it's awkward, being forced to face it, and going through it, I think, there is no magic solution, it didn't happen, I told you, I was a loser until the seventh grade, you know, but I think it's also helpful to find the interest culturally tied, like meet and play hockey, or ice skating, playing with my friends, those things happen, regardless of my race, Korean culture, or American culture, so that made life here enjoyable, you know, even if school is suck, I was even bad at English, those thing made my days bearable, because I had fun, that's kids need to have fun, not care, not worried I can't speak, somebody's activities don't need you to speak. So, that encourages me and then picking up English, just being able to go out for there.

I: what is the most important thing to adjust to the United States?

J: don't be afraid. Some body new came, they want to be in a comfort zone. I can see them finding Korean people, only hanging out with that group of people. There's an

opportunity to watch movies, go after-school activities, they don't wanna do it. They're afraid. You know, that's it. Step out of your comfort zone, that's what I'd tell them. I know you want to, it's gonna be so much easier, you say no to those things, say yes to Korean friends, stay at home, start chatting with Korean friends on line, don't do it. Even though it sucks, you're scared, just push yourself, hang out with those people, be the first one to say hi, and I need to help this, you might show it me, little things, I think that would make the process speed up, if you fight it, you're like, no, stay in, I'm not doing it, I'm going with Korean friends from a church, that makes the process longer for you to adapt, so, that and get rid of Korean clothes, get rid of it, no, no, no. boys are wearing like girls, their hairs are all pretty, I can't stand it. Don't do that. No, they dress well.

I: why did you make your English name?

J: I like it, it's so simple, so short, there's no way, anybody mispronounces *Ashley*. Nobody says *** You can't. That's why I love it. Nobody can say it wrong.

I: do you feel same when you are called with Korean name, and when with English name?

J: get me in a different way. *Jinsun* goes down really deep, you know, because I grew up with, all my relatives call me, parents call me, and my sister calls me sometimes when she tries to get my attention. *Ashley* is more casual, more like new me, American me, as *Jinsun*, more historic. You know, it's weird. It sounds funny. To get more intimacy, someone, my American friends, learn my name *Jinsun*, they say it to me. I like it, I don't mind. Now more choices that they made to call me that, instead they have to say it because that is my name. They say it wrong. They know how to say my name right *Jinsun*. They make an extra choice to call me *Jinsun*.