CHANGES AND CONTINUITIES

IN SECOND-GENERATION KOREAN AMERICAN FAMILIES

by

SUSAN I. KIM

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York
2007

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Date: 9/20/06 Professor William Kornblum

Chair of Examining Committee

Date: 9/20/06 Professor Philip Kasinitz

Executive Officer

Professor Stephen Steinberg

Professor Pyong Gap Min

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Abstract

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Susan I. Kim

Adviser: Professor William Kornblum

This dissertation explores the impact of immigration, acculturation, assimilation, Confucianism, Westernization, and feminism on second-generation Korean American families. The respondents are drawn by the snowball sampling method in the New York City area.

The main finding is that in comparison with first-generation Korean American families second-generation Korean American familial behaviors reflect the values of equity and mutual help comparable to the standard achieved by average Americans. However, certain traditional Korean family traits such as filial piety, family solidarity, and emphasis on education are retained and reasserted by a substantial number of young Korean Americans. The extent of practice of filial piety varies by class background. There is a trend toward developing a bilateral conjugal family system. Filial obligations of married children are extended to the care of parents of both husband and wife.

While second-generation Korean American families are subject to the

modernizing and liberal tendencies shown by average American families, they have the burden of harmonizing traditional Korean and modern American values and practices even as they try to surmount economic, social, and cultural problems as the members of a racial minority and as women.

This dissertation examines familial behaviors such as division of labor in performing household tasks and decision-making patterns. The majority of second-generation Korean American families practice egalitarian conjugal role relationships in division of labor and decision-making. It is found that a wife's employment status is the most important factor influencing couple's egalitarian conjugal role relationships. There is amazingly little male dominance observed among our respondents. If one can describe Korean families in South Korea and first-generation Korean American families as "a system of patriarchy," one may characterize second-generation Korean American families as "a system of cooperation and equality."

Second-generation Korean American married women combine their professional life and family life by relying on the family and community supports, and by judiciously using their time to their benefit in their unique life circumstances.

This study will serve as a bridge for research on future generations of Korean Americans and other ethnic groups.

Acknowledgments

I am thankful to the members of my Dissertation Committee for their advice and support. I am especially grateful to the Chair of the Committee, Professor William Kornblum, for his guidance and encouragement.

I give special thanks to my respondents for their cooperation. To my mother I would like to express my gratitude for her abiding confidence in me. I dedicate this dissertation to her.

CONTENTS

Abstract....iv

Acknowledgments.... vi

List of Contents.... vii

List of Tables.... ix

List of Figures.... ix

Chapter 1

1. Introduction.... 1

PART I. THEORY AND METHOD

2. Theories of Assimilation v.s. Adhesive Adaptation.... 9

3. Methodology....16

4. Ethnic Associations....32

PART II. ASIAN AMERICAN AND

KOREAN AMERICAN POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

5. Selected Demographic, Social, and Economic Characteristics of the Total U.S. Population, Asian Americans, and Korean Americans: 2000....46

6. Asian Americans and Korean Americans: Their History and Settlement Patterns.... 68

PART III. KOREAN FAMILIES

7. The Traditional Family in Korea.....85

8. Korean American Families..... 105

PART IV. SECOND-GENERATION

KOREAN AMERICAN FAMILIES

9. Retention of Subculture and Filial Piety..... 113

10. Attitudes Toward Marriage and Family Life and Attitudes Toward Intermarriage.....128

11. Changing Attitudes About Gender Roles and Social and Family Roles.....134

12. Division of Labor in Performing Household Tasks..... 145

13. The Family's Decision-Making Patterns: In Consumer Behavior, Child Rearing, Leisure Activities, and Money Management.....159

14. Balancing Family Life and Employment: Strategies Used and Social Policy for Work and Family..... 174

15. Conclusion: Findings, Thoughts, and Future Possible Studies.....189

Appendix 1: Letter of Introduction.....195

Appendix 2: Questionnaire.....196

Bibliography.....213

List of Tables

Table 5-1: Selected Demographic Characteristics of the Total U.S. Population, Asian Americans, and Korean Americans: 2000.....54

Table 5-2: Selected Social Characteristics of the Total U.S. Population, Asian Americans, and Korean Americans: 2000..... 57

Table 5-3: Selected Economic Characteristics of the Total U.S. Population, Asian Americans, and Korean Americans: 2000.....63

Table 6-1: Asian American Population: 1970-2000.....72

Table 6-2: Asian American Population by Age Cohort and Generation: 2000.....73
Table 6-KA-1: Koreans Admitted to the U.S., 1950-1964.....78

Table 6-KA-2: Immigrants and Naturalized Koreans, 1965-1992.....79

Table 6-KA3: Distribution of Koreans by Region and Major States (1980, 1990)... 84

List of Figures

Figure 11-1: Response to Questions About Women's Employment.....143

Figure 11-2: Response to Questions About Women Combining Home and Work...144

Figure 14-1: Declining Population.....187

Chapter 1

Introduction

Purpose of the Study

The United States Congress passed the Hart-Cellar Amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Acts of 1920 and 1924 in 1965. This legislation abolished the national origin system and all restrictions against Asian and Pacific people.

Since the revision of the United States immigration law in 1965, the number of Korean immigrants in the United States has sharply increased. In 1965 there were only 2,165 Koreans, but a dozen years later (1975) there were 30,917 Koreans in the United States.[1] More recent statistics show that there are 1,076,872 Korean Americans (the 2000 census count). While Korean Americans make up only 0.4% of the total U.S. Population, they represent the fifth largest group among Asian Pacific Islanders, or 10.7% of the total 10,019,405 (Census 2000).[2]

Although various aspects of first-generation Korean American families have been studied, there is little research on second-generation Korean American families. There is a need for studying second-generation Korean American families in comparison with first-generation Korean American families and the general pattern of American

families (Min 1998).

This dissertation explores the impact of immigration, acculturation, assimilation, Confucianism, Westernization, and feminism on second-generation Korean American families. Some of the respondents came to the United States with their parents when they were young and some of the respondents were born in the United States. Second-generation Korean Americans have been undergoing acculturation and assimilation processes into the mainstream U.S. society.

Second-generation Korean Americans have been influenced by Confucianism taught by their parents such as the importance of education as a vehicle for social mobility, family solidarity, and filial piety. The young Korean Americans are also subject to Westernization processes such as appreciation of concepts like the dignity of individuals, equality between the sexes, and freedom, to name a few. Second-generation Korean American women have also been influenced by the Women's Movement during their years of schooling in the late 20th century.

The focus of this dissertation is on the family acculturation and assimilation process among second-generation Korean Americans. Special attention is paid to the extent and nature of traditional Korean family traits retained and practical problems faced by second-generation Korean Americans in balancing and harmonizing Korean and American family practices. To this end I examined how my respondents balance work and family life in a challenging society.

Observations and Hypotheses

1. First-generation Koreans by and large maintain the family system that they were accustomed to before their arrival in the United States. Over time, however, and especially as their children mature, many of them gradually adopt aspects of the prevailing American family system while retaining many facets of the traditional Korean family system (Min, 1998 and Kitano, 1988).

2. Second-generation Korean Americans overwhelmingly adapt to American family system and practices. They are more likely to share household tasks and decision-making in consumer behavior, child rearing, leisure activities, and money management with their spouses. In this regard second-generation Korean Americans are more similar to white Americans in family practices (Kitano, 1988).

3. The peculiar features of the second-generation Korean American family system are : 1) The desire to retain and preserve some traditional Korean family practices grows stronger as they discover that the American family system has flaws; 2) When they have children, the need for explaining the Korean identity in American society also increases. In response, they try to retrace their cultural roots and hence also their ancestral family system.

4. Consequently, second-generation Korean Americans are faced with the following

choices:

1) To adopt “the American family system.”

2) To adopt a mixture of American and traditional Korean family systems and practices.

5. Second-generation Korean Americans need to be creative in choosing a style of family life because of the changing social and cultural conditions and their economic and educational standards along with their personal preferences.

6. The future of second-generation Korean American families will be increasingly subject to the influences of multiculturalism, the search for ethnic identity, trans-nationalism, and globalization.

7. The long cherished values of the Korean family system such as family solidarity, emphasis on education as a vehicle for social mobility, and filial piety are likely to be emphasized and retained as long as the consciousness of the Korean ancestry exists in the minds of future generations of Korean Americans.

8. The second-generation Korean American women are more likely to reject traditional Korean patriarchal practices than their male counterparts because of their different socialization practices by their parents at home based on Confucian patriarchal ideology. The younger generation women are likely to reject and rebel against the patriarchal notion

of “namjon yeubi” (respect men and despise women) and “hyunmo yangcheu” (wise mother and good wife) than their male counterparts.

9. Traditionally, Asian American women have experienced “triple oppression” (Glenn, 1983). More recently, feminist scholars in America emphasized the “multiple oppression” of race/ethnicity, class, and gender creating disadvantages and powerlessness ((Chow, Wilkinson, Zinn (eds) 1997; Collins 1990; and Rosenblum 1996).

Although second-generation Korean American women experience “multiple oppression” of ethnicity, class, and gender, many of them are, at the same time, trying to overcome their disadvantages. And some of them have succeeded in creating a new mode of family lives. My own view is that the reality is more complex. First, some of them will maintain traditional Korean family lifestyle and feel comfortable with it; second, some of them are trying to overcome and change them, and thirdly, still others have succeeded in creating a new model of family life in combining traditional Asian and modern American family lifestyles.

10. American family literature indicates that the familial behavior (dependent variable) such as division of labor in performing household chores and decision-making patterns in consumer behavior, child rearing, leisure activities, and money management are influenced by several independent variables, such as age, wife’s education, wife’s occupation (both type and sector), husband’s education and occupation, number and age of children.

The author hypothesizes that significantly related independent variables influencing the "joint" conjugal role relationship in performing household tasks and decision-making are the women's employment status and educational level.

11. I would like to hypothesize that second-generation Korean American couple is more likely to have an egalitarian gender role ideology than their parents who have traditional/patriarchal gender role ideology. Therefore, second-generation couples are more likely to have "joint" conjugal role relationships in performing household chores and in decision-making patterns than their first-generation immigrant parents who are more likely to have "segregated" conjugal role relationships in division of labor and decision-making-patterns.

The 1.5-generation couples are "transitional" in gender role ideology, and therefore, their conjugal role relationships fall somewhere between "joint" and "segregated" ones.

Contribution to Sociology

This study is significant in that there has been little previous study on second-generation Korean American families. By studying inter-generational, gender, and class differences in familial behaviors among second-generation Korean American families, one can understand the process of acculturation and assimilation within the Korean

American family as well as acculturation and assimilation process in the larger mainstream U.S. society.

My study will enrich the sociological literature on immigration, ethnicity, family, women's studies, inter-generational relations, and comparative family structure.

Chapter 1 Introduction

Endnotes

1. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1977 Annual Report. 1979. Washington D.C., Government Printing Office. P. 5.

2. U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000, Special Tabulation. The Asian Population: 2000. Census 2000 Brief Issued February 2002. Table 4. Asian Population by Detailed Group:2000.

Chapter 2

Theories of Assimilation Versus Adhesive Adaptation

The classical assimilation theory was formulated at the Chicago School of Sociology in the 1930s headed by Robert E. Park. Historically the word assimilation had two meanings. The earlier usage meant "to make like" and later usage meant "to incorporate" (Robert E. Park, "Racial Assimilation in Secondary Groups"). The assimilation theorists (Park and Burgess, 1969) envisioned that immigrant groups were inevitably to merge their traditional cultures and loyalties into the mainstream United States culture. And this process is irreversible (Park, 1950).

Milton Gordon (1964) also shared this perspective. His assimilation perspectives will be utilized in the analysis as appropriate, such as, his discussion of Anglo-conformity, the melting pot, cultural pluralism, and especially his classic model of assimilation, the relationship between cultural and social (structural) assimilation; as well as his assimilation typology (cultural, structural, marital, identificational, behavioral, and civic types of assimilation).

Although assimilation scholars did not deny the usefulness of immigrant institutions in adjustment process (Warner and Srole,1945), the theoretical assumptions of these scholars are that survival of immigrant institutions are temporary in the powerful and

inevitable force of assimilation.

In contrast to these "classical" assimilation theories, contemporary scholars in the field of ethnicity and immigrant life have emphasized the notion of adaptation and integration instead of assimilation. Thus, in their study of Korean immigrants in the United States, Hurh and Kim coined the term, "adhesive adaptation" meaning "certain aspects of American culture and social relations are added on to Korean immigrants' traditional culture and social relations."

Betty Sung Lee used the term, "integration not assimilation" in her study of Chinese children in New York City, and more recently Kibria in her study of Vietnamese families in inner city Philadelphia described their immigrant life as "from assimilation to adaptation."

In general, these scholars have focused on the first-generation immigrants and have not examined the patterns of adaptation by second and later generations. It is my contention that different generations of immigrants go through dissimilar processes of adaptation.

Under the influence of multiculturalism and the search for ethnic identity, what is happening is immigrants are retaining some of their cultural traits while adapting to the general mainstream U.S. society. In general, assimilation and retention of traditional culture go hand in hand, but the degree of assimilation and retention of old culture depends on such factors as length of residence in the U.S., age at immigration, educational achievement in the United States, types and sector of occupations, ethnic

identity, experience with prejudice and discrimination, friendship patterns (ethnic vs. non-ethnic friendship), and degree of community participation (Korean American community vs. American community).

By focusing on Korean American families and the roles of women in them, I studied as accurately as I could the process of assimilation and retention of traditional cultural traits. I contend that we have to refine the conception of assimilation and retention of traditional culture in order to describe the reality of Korean American life in the United States.

In certain aspects of family life, such as child rearing, Korean American families combine traditional Korean and American methods. On the other hand, in the division of labor in the household and dietary habits, the traditional Korean patterns seem to persist among both generations, although many of them are adopting American practices. In other words, essentially cultural retention takes place in the broad context of assimilation.`

In my interviews, I made special efforts to find out how second-generation Korean Americans understand and practice the traditional Korean principles governing human relationships.

The major Confucian principles are: 1) Loyalty between the rulers and the subjects, 2) love between father and son, 3) distinction between man and woman, 4) fidelity between friends, and 5) precedence between old and young.
How and whether these principles are practiced in these complex modern American contexts is of utmost significance for understanding second-generation Korean Americans as family members and as individuals.

Of the five Confucian principles, the second and third principles received my critical attention. In considering these principles, I examined the concepts of patriarchy, filial piety, education of children, and family solidarity.

Segmented Assimilation. Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou (1993) introduced a new theoretical framework for analyzing the new second generation, American-born children of the post-1965 "new immigrants." The authors termed it a "segmented assimilation." Based on the case studies of new second generation communities, namely Mexicans and Mexican Americans, Punjabi Sikhs in California, and Caribbean youth in South Florida, Portes and Zhou argue that assimilation does not follow a single path of integration into a major society, instead they observe several distinct forms of adaptation.

The authors write: "One of them replicates the time-honored portrayal of growing acculturation and parallel integration into the white middle-class; a second leads straight in the opposite direction to permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass; still a third associates rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and tight solidarity" (Portes and Zhou, 1993, p. 82).

The "segmented assimilation" theory points out the possibility that some of the new second generation will experience downward mobility. The authors contend that there are three features of the social context encountered by the newcomers that create vulnerability to downward mobility. "The first is color, the second is location, and the third is the absence of mobility ladders" (Potes and Zhou, 1993, p.83).

Since the dominant experiences of Korean families are upward mobility (often

gained through family enterprise) segmented assimilation theory would predict a pattern of growing assimilation away from Korean family practices to American family structure and practices, including suburbanization, secularization, generational conflict, and hyper-gamy. But Korean cultural institutions and practices may actually mitigate these trends in both first and second generation families.

Culture vs. Structural Analysis. In the past, Asian American families have been studied by using cultural approaches. Thus, researchers put heavy emphasis on how the Confucian family system facilitated Asian immigrant families to adopt to the mainstream society, citing family network and solidarity, emphasis on children's education, and filial piety. By contrast research on African American families has put emphasis on the impact of structural conditions (Gutman 1976; Stack 1974).

The scholars of ethnic families recently shifted the research focus from cultural analysis of the immigrant groups to the structural analysis of the "host" society, and ask questions "How do structural factors of "host society" - opportunities and constraints - shape the organizations and dynamics of immigrant family life?" For example, Glenn (1983) in her article on "Split Household, Small Producers, Dual Wage Earners: An Analysis of Chinese American Family Strategies," has focused on the "changing structure of Chinese American families resulting from the interplay between shifting institutional constraints and the efforts of Chinese Americans to maintain family life in the face of these restrictions."

Kibria (1993) in her study of Vietnamese families in inner city Philadelphia also

suggested that "immigrant families must be analyzed in relation to the external structural conditions encountered by immigrants in the "host" society. Min (1998), in his ethnographic research, also has examined the effects of structural factors on Korean American families, indicating that "Korean American immigrants' economic structure - namely concentration in small, family business - have modified their family relations."

For my study of Korean American families, I utilize both cultural analysis and structural analysis and examine the relative importance of the two in shaping Korean American families. I also examine the nature and extent of prejudice and racism in U.S. mainstream society toward other immigrant groups, and study how these forces are shaping the Korean American families.

W.I. Thomas's Four Wishes

In general, I anticipate that the differences between the two generations can be characterized in the following way. To borrow the idiom of W.I. Thomas's four wishes, the first-generation is preoccupied with the issue of providing security - food, shelter, and clothing - for the family, while the second-generation aspires for individual success and self-fulfillment.

Both generations are concerned with the issue of recognition in that the first-generation is more likely to want to be recognized in the Korean American community, while the second-generation seeks recognition in the main U.S. society as well as Korean American communities. In general, the immigrant generation is conservative in its orientation toward social, economic, and political issues, while the second-generation

children are more liberal and progressive in their orientation on social, economic, and political issues of our time.

However, both generations believe in helping the mother country. For example, during the IMF crisis, many participated in the community effort to raise funds to send to South Korea. They also participated in the community philanthropic effort to raise relief funds for starving North Korean children as well as to raise funds for flood victims in South Korea. Although there are differences of opinion, the majority of Korean Americans hope for a peaceful resolution of North Korean nuclear crisis.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Research Design

This dissertation is a pilot study of second-generation Korean American families. The study sample includes married second-generation Korean American women - one-half of them born in Korea and immigrated to the U.S. with their parents before age 12, and the other half born and raised in the U.S. The respondents were drawn by snow ball sampling from Korean American churches and other community organizations in New York City.

I conducted an in-depth interview with the second-generation Korean American women who attend services conducted in English within the first-generation Korean American churches, especially at the Korean Church and the Institute. Also I interviewed the second-generation Korean American women who are members of American churches where the majority of the congregants are young Korean American professionals.

The respondents were also drawn from Korean American community organizations as well as such organizations as the Korea Society where many young Korean Americans attend programs including "Young Korean American Professional Forum." At the Korea Society, many second-generation Korean Americans are working as interns and associates.

I attended Sunday morning church services at the English Language Ministry of the Korean Methodist Church and also went to their coffee hours after the service. The church is located at 115th Street between Riverside Drive and Broadway, across from Columbia University in New York City. I did participant observation during the services, coffee hours, and committee meetings. I visited the church many times over the years to get to know the attendees and feel the atmosphere of the second-generation church.

I also attended Sunday services at the Good Shepherd and Faith Church. It is a first-generation immigrant church, but many young Korean Americans who study music attend this church. It is located west 68th Street , near Broadway and Alice Tully Hall, Lincoln Center. After the Sunday services, they serve lunches - usually Korean food. During the lunch hour, I was be able to converse with elders, deacons, and regular church members of the church including young Korean Americans. During the course of conversations with these people, I was able to find out that their daughters, sons, and daughter-in-law attend the Redeemer Church, an American church where many second-generation Korean Americans are congregants. As a result, I started to attend Redeemer Church at the Hunter College Auditorium.

A questionnaire with both open-ended and semi-structured questions was used. Qualitative data were gathered using tape recording for documenting dynamics and nuances of family relations (La Rosa, 1985; Rubin, 1976 and 1983; Min, 1998).

Questions cover familial behaviors such as division of labor in performing household tasks and a family's decision-making patterns. Their opinions toward marriage

and family in general were examined. And attention was paid to their attitudes about intermarriage. Questions also cover strategies for balancing work and family life. If respondents preferred, questionnaires were mailed out. Where appropriate, comparison with the white population was made.

Division of labor in household tasks. Respondents were asked about the division of labor in performing household chores (task allocation: "who does what?"). The family's current practices were assessed by asking: "Would you please tell me who does the following?" "Is it done mostly by wife, done mostly by husband, or mostly done by both husband and wife?" Nine areas of household chores are differentiated: Cooking, washing dishes, vacuuming, shopping, child care, laundry, gardening, ironing, making beds, and other (please specify).

The family's parents' practices were also assessed by asking: "How was it done by your parents?" Finally, respondents were asked: "What are the biggest changes and why do you think such changes have occurred?" The changes in conjugal relationships in division of labor (generational differences) were examined by introducing independent variables , such as the age of wife and husband, social class, number and age of children, the wife's employment status, and education of wife and husband.

Family decision-making. Since family decision-making is a joint affair, one may design the study to interview both husband and wife to assess the discrepancies between the husband's and wife's reporting on decision-making behavior, and between the expected

and the actual decision making behavior of the couple.

In this study, decision-making patterns in four areas of life - consumer behavior, upbringing of children, leisure activities, and money management - were examined by introducing independent variables, such as social class, wife's employment status, age of the couple, education of the couple especially of wife, the number and age of children. The changes in the marital decision-making patterns (inter-generational differences) were also assessed in the areas of consumer behavior, upbringing of children, leisure activities, and money management.

In labeling a family as having a "joint" or "segregated" conjugal role relationships in decision-making patterns, this researcher counted, for example, in consumer behavior, "the items bought by either couple" and "the items bought by both." If the frequencies of "the items bought by both" is greater than "the items bought by either couple," the family is defined as having a "joint" conjugal role relationships in decision-making patterns in consumer behavior.

Retention of Korean traditional patriarchal practices and Holidays. The respondents were asked whether they observe certain Korean traditional patriarchal practices, such as, "chesa" (ancestor worship), "chusuk" (Korean Thanksgiving Holiday), and Lunar New Year.

This year, "chusuk" falls on September 12, 2000. Usually, family members get together and make "song pyun" (rice cake) in preparation to celebrate Holiday, and they

visit their ancestors' grave. In the Korean American community in New York and New Jersey, they are going to have 19th annual celebration of the events at the Flushing Meadow Park in Queens on September 23rd and 24th, 2000. For the Lunar New Year ("Um Ryuk Sul"), children visit, in their best traditional Korean dress, their parents, grand-parents, and elders to pay respect by bowing to the ground ("kun jul"), a traditional style of greeting elders.

The degree of retention of traditional patriarchal practices was analyzed by the following variables: demographic and socioeconomic variables, ethnic identity, friendship network patterns (Korean friends vs, American friends), and community participation (Korean American community vs. U.S. mainstream society).

3.2 Sources of Data

The sources of data for this dissertation include:

1. Ethnographic research at the second-generation church within the first-generation immigrant church.

2. Also regular attendance at the American church where the majority of the congregants are young Korean American professionals.

3. Regular attendance at the first-generation immigrant church where many young Korean Americans are members of congregants.

4.Attendance at the Korea Society meetings which were sponsored especially by young Korean American professionals. Talked with the young professionals and exchanged contact numbers for future endeavors.

5.Attended the NAKA (National Association of Korean Americans) meetings. Met with young professionals as well as other Korean Americans and discussed civil rights issues of Korean Americans and other issues.

6.Attended activities sponsored by second-generation Korean Americans, such as "Bi" (the Rain) concert at the Madison Square Garden. Both first-generation and second-generation Korean Americans attended as well as many Asian Americans and others.

7. Attended the music performances given by second-generation Korean Americans at the Lincoln Center.

8. Attended associational meetings and Korean American community functions. Talked with leaders and members as well as second-generation Korean American church ministers.

9. Talked with store owners - dry cleaning stores, liquor stores, health food stores, clothing stores, produce stores, jewelry stores, deli stores, and nail and pedicure service stores - about their business and children.

10. Attended the Conference on Second-Generation Korean Americans sponsored by the Association for Koreans Abroad. Many parents as well as students and others attended the conference. Panelists were composed of professors, businessmen, and community leaders. They enjoyed the conference as well as a buffet dinner and cultural entertainment programs at the end of the day. The conference was held in Queens, New York. The venue changes often.

11. Talked with first-generation Korean Americans about their issues and concerns over their children (about fifty people over the years). It was helpful in the construction of

Questions.

12. Talked with second-generation Korean Americans about the pressing issues they face and concerns they have (about sixty people over the years). It was helpful in the construction of questions.

13. Conducted in-depth interviews with second-generation Korean American married women on their family life, their attitudes toward marriage and intermarriage, and strategies for balancing work and family life (twenty people). Some of the respondents initially contacted dropped out of the study due to moving to other states and other countries and to unexpected busy schedules.

14. Regularly consulted Korean American daily newspapers - Jung Ang Ilbo and Hankook Ilbo.

15. Collected relevant information from Radio Korea news.

16. Utilized census data - The United States Census: 2000.

17. Consulted archives of social science literature.

18. Drew on literature on Confucianism as it influenced the Korean family in Korea and Korean American families.

19. Read theses, dissertations, and articles pertaining to Korean American families and Asian American families.

20. Read dissertations and theses pertaining to second-generation Korean American families and Asian American families as well as the second-generation families of other ethnic groups.

21. Researched sociology of family journal articles.

22. Read books and articles on ethnic/minority families.

23. Researched sociological literatures on gender, generation, ethnic identity, and comparative family structure.

3.3 Research Questions

Some of the research questions which guide my study are as follows: What are the major changes occurring in Korean families since coming to the United States for first generation Korean American families? To what extent are second-generation Korean Americans similar to white Americans in family practices? To what extent do younger generation Korean Americans practice egalitarian conjugal relations? Do they share division of labor in performing household tasks and decision-making in family affairs to a greater extent than their parents? What are major generational differences in attitudes and practices toward marriage and family life? What do they think of intermarriage? Are there cultural clashes over it between parents and second-generation respondents? To what extent do families keep the Confucian family system and why? What aspect of the Confucian family system and practices do younger-generation Korean Americans think useful in achieving mobility in the U.S.? To what extent do structural forces, such as economic segregation from mainstream U.S. society and racism toward minority groups shape minority institutions, especially the family? Do the women's movement and feminism play a role in shaping Korean American families? Do women's networks influence changes in the family? What are the nature and extent of parent-child (or mother-daughter) conflict? And how do they negotiate the differences? How does

men's downward mobility contribute to the gender balance of power? Under what conditions does patriarchy persist and/or diminish? How do families balance work and family life? Are there differences by social class and work status, for example? Are there generational differences in maintaining a balancing act (or a juggling act)? How do they negotiate the differences between Asian values and American values? For example, do they feel tensions between the Asian value of filial piety and the American value of individualism?

3.4 Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of the Respondents

Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Age of Respondents

The age of the respondents who were interviewed ranged from twenty-eight to thirty-five at the time of the interview. An average age was 32 years old.

This means that some of their parents came to the U.S. before the enactment of the liberal immigration law of 1965 and some others came afterward.

The Background of the Respondents' Parents

The majority of the subjects' parents had urban backgrounds in South Korea. Those who came before the 1965 Immigration Law were upper-middle class professionals. A few were medical doctors who obtained M.D. degrees in Korea and emigrated to the U.S. under the immigration quota for "occupational preference."

Some other parents came as students and later became professionals such as college professors after receiving Ph.D. degrees. On the other hand, the majority of the respondents' parents operate family businesses, notably grocery stores.

Age and Number of Children

The age of children ranges from 3 months old to 5 years old. The majority of the respondents have two children. One-third of the subjects have one child.

The majority of the respondents delayed having their first child until they completed their education and made an entry into the professional job market. Several subjects who are on maternity leave plan to go back to their jobs.

Several couples reported that they are not going to have any more babies and "stop at two." As one couple left the church after coffee hour, my subject's husband who wears knapsack on his back commented, "that is enough!" pulling the baby-carriage toward the door to exit.

Since more women want to have fewer children and to delay the birth of the first child, they have more opportunities to pursue alternatives to the mothering role such as advancing professional careers, artistic endeavors and other means of self-fulfillment.

Type of Child Care

Type of child care varies. It is noteworthy that about half of the mothers send their children to day care centers. It is consistent with the trend in the larger society. Growth in child care in group for full-time working mothers increased from 8.2% in 1965 to 27.8% in 1991.[1] Other mothers rely on grandparents and babysitters.

Pregnancies Interrupt Women's Careers

Pregnancies interrupt women's careers temporarily. When one of my respondents had her second baby, she took maternity leave from her high-powered work where she is a vice-president of health insurance company. She said that she plans to go back to her job.

Pregnancies as well as changing residence because of the husband's business

relocations also influence women's careers. For example, one of my lawyer respondents had to leave her job in New York City as a corporate lawyer when she had her second baby and her husband had to move to another town for a business reason.

Living Arrangement

The majority of the interviewed couples live by themselves with their children and not with in-laws. But in certain second-generation Korean American families, one can observe traditional Korean patriarchal practices even among professional couples. For example, one young couple had a separate residence when they were married. But later on they moved back to the husband's family because of his status as the first son.

This couple is an interesting case because the young wife, although highly educated by American standards, reverts to the old Korean practice of living with her parents-in-law instead of establishing an independent household. She had to adjust her modern consciousness to the expectation of her parents-in-law even in the U.S.

Socioeconomic Characteristics of the Respondents

The respondents' socioeconomic backgrounds are presented, such as educational backgrounds of respondents, occupations of the respondents, occupations of husbands, household income, residence of the respondents, and parents' socioeconomic backgrounds.

Educational Backgrounds of Respondents

The respondents are highly educated at reputable American institutions of higher learning. The majority of the subjects have professional degrees, such as, M.B.A. degrees, law degrees, and Divinity degrees. Other respondents have M. A. degrees
and college degrees.

Occupations of Wives

About half of the respondents are professionals and managers. One subject has two masters degrees: She has a M.B.A. degree from an elite university and an M.A. degree in public health. She is a vice-president of a health insurance company.
The rest of the subjects are evenly divided among white-collar workers, family business, and homemakers.

Occupations of Husbands

About half of the respondents' husbands are managers and professionals. Others

operate family businesses. And several of them are students working toward M.A. degrees or Ph.D. degrees.

Household Income

Two of the respondents' household income is above $100,000 a year. Two of the subjects' household income is less than $30,000 a year. The median household income for the respondents is $65,000 a year.

Residence of the Respondents

Six of the respondents live in the suburbs - two in Westchester County, one in a Connecticut suburb, and three in a New Jersey suburb. The rest of the subjects live in New York City.

Parents' Socioeconomic Backgrounds

About half of the respondents' parents belong to the upper-middle class. Their parents are professors and medical doctors. The other half of the respondents' parents belong to the middle or lower-middle class. They have family businesses.

Summary of the Socioeconomic Characteristics of the Respondents

Respondents who are children of upper-middle class professionals tend to have professional and managerial jobs, have high incomes, and live in wealthy suburban areas. On the other hand, offspring of middle or lower-middle class parents tend to take

more time to reach their professional goals because they have to work and study with limited income.

Chapter 3 Methodology

Endnotes

1. Lueck, Orr, and O'Connell (1982), Table A; O'Connell and Rogers (1982), Table A; U.S. Bureau of the Census (1994C), Table 1.

Chapter 4

Ethnic Association

1. Korean American Organizations Contacted

The respondents presented here were drawn from various organizations in the Korean American community. [1]

The Korean Methodist Church and Institute

Several subjects were drawn from a church in Manhattan called the Korean Methodist Church and Institute on West 115th Street near Columbia University. This church is the oldest Korean American church in the City of New York, established in 1921. Many famous Korean politicians and educators in Korea attended this church in the 1930s and 1940s while they were students at Columbia University, Teacher's College, Union Theological Seminary, and other universities in New York City.

In this connection I would like to mention Helen Kim who obtained her Ed.D. degree from Teacher's College, Columbia University and went back to Korea in the 1930s. Later she became the President of Ewha Women's University which is now the l

largest women's university in the world. She has contributed greatly to the advancement of women's status in Korean society by empowering women through higher education.

In this church three different worship services are held: (1) The majority of the members who are first-generation Korean Americans attend services conducted in Korean language; (2) The services held for second- and 1.5-generations are in English. It is called The English Language Ministry; (3) Young students from Korea hold their own separate service in Korean. My research is focused on the English Language Ministry.

Redeemer Presbyterian Church

The Redeemer Presbyterian Church is an American church, but it has multi-cultural congregants. According to an assistant minister who is a second-generation Korean American, there are about nine hundred members in its congregation, about half of them are Americans and the other half are Asian Americans, most of whom are Korean Americans.

They have Sunday morning services at 11:00 A.M. at the Hunter College Auditorium in New York. They also have evening services at two different locations. I attended all three services at different times and joined coffee hours after the services. Here I made contacts with a number of young Korean American congregants to arrange interviews for my study.

I noticed that during the Sunday morning services, they include Western classical music, whereas in the evening services, they incorporated jazz music. I observed that some of the young Korean Americans attend both morning and evening services on

Sundays. This is evidence of their acculturation and assimilation into mainstream U.S. society. According to an assistant minister, its congregants like the lecture-style sermon of its minister as opposed to an emotional preaching style.

I noticed that the minister's dress code is informal during the evening services, sometimes dressed in blue jeans and a T-shirt. Every time I attended this church, the hall was packed with people at both east and west side worship services.

In addition to Sunday services, many congregants attend Bible Study classes during the week. There are many church programs including the Kids With a Promise which provide a camp in the Pocono Mountains for young children of New York City's most at-risk communities, Hope for New York City, Fellowship Group, Gospel and Life Discipleship Series .....and many more.

The Korea Society

The Korea Society is a non-profit organization that promotes friendship and understanding between the people of the U.S. and the Republic of South Korea. To this end, the Society provides lectures, seminars, and cultural programs.

One of the interesting programs is the cultural exchange program. Every year many U.S. high school students visit South Korea during their summer vacation to study Korean culture and come back enriched.

Last summer, the Korea Society offered an interesting cultural program at Battery Park as a community service. Performers from South Korea held a "kut" ceremony, a shaman ritual which is rarely seen outside of Korea. Its purpose was to

"comfort" the living relatives and "pacify" the deceased souls of 9/11.

At the Society, I have come in contact with young Korean Americans who provided me with valuable information for my project.

The National Association of Korean Americans (NAKA)

The National Association of Korean Americans is a civil rights organization which holds meetings on issues of civil rights of Korean Americans. At its meetings, I have come to be acquainted with young Korean Americans who became subjects of my study.

2. Church Attendance in Sociological Perspective

Previous sociological studies on the community included church attendance as one of the inquiries in their studies, notably in Lynd's Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture (1929).

Church participation is higher among the 1.5- and second-generation Korean Americans than among other Asian groups. The higher church participation among second-generation Korean Americans is the reflection of their parents' attachment to the Korean immigrant churches. For example, studies found that 17 percent of Filipinos, 32 percent of Chinese, and 37 percent of Japanese regularly attend respective ethnic churches. By contrast, over 70 percent of first-generation Korean Americans attend Korean ethnic churches (Hurh and Kim, 1990; Min, 1992). My respondents in the study

attend church regularly at least once a week.

Second-generation Korean Americans prefer their own churches. They are not fluent in the Korean language and do not understand sermons in the Korean language in the first-generation immigrant churches. And their comfort level is low in socializing with other first-generation Korean Americans. Some of my respondents say that they feel closer to Americans than to first-generation Korean Americans.

Second-generation Korean Americans do not like the hierarchical, patriarchal, and static nature of their parents' immigrant churches. By contrast, they describe second-generation churches as "democratic, egalitarian, and dynamic." [2] Some like fellowship shared with other second-generation Korean Americans. One of the deacons at the first-generation immigrant church mentioned to me that her daughter who is a student at Juilliard School of Music finds her school environment very competitive and enjoys fellowship at the Redeemer Church. She attends morning service at 11:00 o'clock at the Hunter College auditorium and also attend evening service at the West side church (Broadway and 79th Street, this year). According to the Director of Volunteer Services for the west side churches, 90 percent of the congregation at the Hunter College Auditorium morning service are Koreans.

Many young Korean American professionals attend the Redeemer Church. They are medical doctors, medical interns, lawyers, school teachers, writers, and graduate students. One of the elders in the Korean immigrant church told me that his son and daughter-in-law who is an eye doctor attend Redeemer Church. They usually meet after

the church service for lunch and family get-together.

The New York Times writes about the Redeemer Church and its minister, Dr. Timothy Keller when Rev. Billy Graham visited New York City (June 2005) for an evangelical meeting in Queens. The paper mentioned that unlike other evangelical churches in the city, Redeemer Church attracts young professionals. The paper reports that on Sundays they congregate "by the thousands."

An assistant minister who is a second-generation Korean American informed me that young Korean Americans like the minister's lecture type sermon. It is probably due to the intellectual background of many members with college education. The minister gives a sermon four times on each Sunday: two services on the east side (a.m. and p.m. services); and two services on the west side (a.m. and p.m. services).

The church has many volunteer programs and offers counseling services. After the church services, they have coffee hour. Many members pick up the "classified" advertisements. This indicates that this church meets the needs of the commercial as well as spiritual needs of its attendees.

Finally, second-generation Korean Americans do not have many ethnic options. As Kim's study on second-generation campus evangelicals suggests, second-generation Korean Americans (and Asian Americans) do not enjoy as many ethnic options as the children of European immigrants and cannot practice symbolic ethnicity like white Americans.

The growth of ethnic evangelical fellowships on college campuses reflects what she calls an "emergent ethnicity" that is made and remade in America - a process of their continued interaction with their ethnic community and the broader American society. [3]

As long as Korean Americans feel a sense of marginalization, ethnic associations and ethnic churches including second-generation churches will persist. The degree and nature of ethnic identity, as I have argued in this dissertation, depends on the changing relationships between Korean Americans on the one hand, and Americans at large on the other. Harmony and hostility between Korean Americans and the rest of Americans will determine the marginalization process and eventually the viability of ethnic churches.

Since it is unlikely in the foreseeable future that the misunderstanding about and some forms of hostility to Korean Americans will disappear or weaken drastically, Korean Americans will turn to their ethnic churches and religious institutions for fellowship and mutual support.

3. Activities of Second-Generation Korean Americans

Young Professionals Forum: Korea Comes of Age

The Korea Society presented a program entitled: "From Hermit Kingdom to Global Hub: Seoul Reinvents Its Cultural Identity" on Wednesday, March 29, 2006, 6:30 p.m. - 8:30 p.m. in its New York office. Young Professionals Forum was co-sponsored by KAJC, KACF (Korean American Community Foundation), New York Seoul, and y-Kan (Young Korean American Network). [4]

The brochure states that the program intends to explore how young professionals can impact U.S.-Korea relations through cultural activities, policymaking, and business. The panelists brought academic, business, and cultural perspectives to the table, and shared thoughts on how Koreans, Americans, and Korean American professionals can influence and benefit from Korea's rising fortunes.

Many young second-generation Korean American professionals in the audience asked interesting questions during the question and answer period. One of the panelists is Michael Huh who is a vice-president of Imagine Asia TV. He told us that while working in Korea, after finishing school in the U.S., he met his wife and got married. He said that "he felt very lucky" to have met her there. I would like to pursue his statement among others when I have a chance to meet him again. I asked when "Rain" is coming back to New York City, he answered that they plan to invite him again sometime at the end of this year.

Other panelists were: Emanuel Pastreich, the Editor-in-Chief of Dynamic Korea, an adjunct professor of George Mason University, and a visiting scholar the University of Pennsylvania. He is interested in, among other things, North and South Korea and social change in the twenty-first century.

Edward M. Graham is an economist and has been a senior fellow at the Institute for International Economics in Washington, and now an adjunct professor at Columbia University in New York. He authored Reforming Korea's Chaebols, among others. He holds an undergraduate degree from MIT and doctoral degrees from Harvard University.

Theodore Hughes is an assistant professor of Korean Literature at Columbia

University. His publication include “Producing Sovereign Spaces in the Emerging Cold War World Order: Immediate Post-liberation ‘North’ and ‘South’ Korean literature” in Han guk munhak yongu, Fall 2005, among others. He received his Ph.D. from the University of California, Los Angeles. During the social, he informed me that he taught English for six years in various cities in South Korea, and eventually developed his interest in Korean literature and culture.

Entertainment Activities

It is to be noted that the second-generation Korean American entertainment and media companies made possible the U.S. solo debut of Rain (a.k.a., Bi) at the Madison Square Garden on February 02, & 03, 2006 at 8:30 p.m. The entertainment and media companies include: Dreamville Entertainment, J.Y. Park Entertainment, Imagine Asia TV, and Rainstone Live and others. [5]

The seats were sold out and people who wanted seats could not get in. I was lucky enough to see the show the first night. It was a phenomenon. The event was featured in the Arts Section of the New York Times (January 29, 2006). The article was entitled: “A New Stage for Asian Pop Ambassador” : Big in Japan, huge in China, and Legend in Korea, Asia’s Biggest Star is coming to America. His fans are already screaming.”

The pop mega star’s global “Rain Day” tour has already sold 150,000 tickets across Asia. The paper states that “In Rain, Asians might see the spirit of Usher or

Timberlake." As a result of the show at the Madison Square Garden, the Rain appeared live on MTV. And Carnegie Hall is in the process of contacting J.Y. Park Entertainment to do a future concert with Rain combining classical music and pop music.

Bi was selected as one of the 100 most influential people in the world by the New York Times along with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and other luminaries. One of the 100 influential people is a second-generation Korean American, Dr. Jim Yong Kim at the Harvard Medical School. Dr. Kim plans to have a poverty project, and he asked Bi to join him in this cause. Bi agreed to do so at the proper time in the future.

4. Occupational Achievements

There are many second-generation Korean Americans who have achieved success in their chosen fields such as, politics, law, science, journalism, art, fashion, etc.
To name a few, there is a second-generation Korean American woman who became a judge in Maryland. She is the first Asian American to become a judge. The Korean daily newspaper reported that she is proud to be a judge and of becoming a role model to other second-generation Korean Americans. Yet, she longs to be a mother and would like to have a baby and offer her (or him) as a gift to her parents.

The Dean of the Yale Law School is a second-generation Korean American. His name is Edward Koh and he was an Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian Affairs under the Clinton Administration. It is reported that he has six siblings and all of them are

married to non-Koreans.

A second-generation Korean American was elected as a Democratic candidate for a Mayor in Edison, New Jersey. Korean American media reported that he received the support of Jewish Americans, Irish Americans, Indian Americans, and other minority groups to unseat the current mayor. It is also reported that the Governor of New Jersey promised to do fund raising for "June" (June Hi Choi, the candidate's full name) for November election. "It is a rare phenomenon in 50 years," media reports said.

June Hi Choi is now an elected mayor of the city of Edison, New Jersey. Among other things, he plans to have mentor programs in government and public sector services for second-generation Korean Americans.

Ms. Sarah Chang is a renowned violinist and a recording artist and is a second-generation Korean American. She performed many times at Avery Fisher Hall with the New York Philharmonic under the baton of Kurt Masur.[6]

Ms. Hannah Chang is a talented cellist and was invited to perform at Lincoln Center Avery Fisher Hall for the 2005-2006 season with the music director, Lorin Maazel.

Hai-Kyung Suh, an internationally known pianist, was invited to give a piano recital at Lincoln Center's Alice Tully Hall to commemorate the Juilliard School's centennial celebration along with Renee Fleming and James Levine.[7] Her dazzling

performance transports anyone to another world!

She received glowing reviews from the critic Harris Goldsmith. He wrote that "Ms. Suh made it obvious to this writer that ...Ms. Suh has resoundingly made the difficult transition from prodigy to self-confident Old Master." Other reviewers described her performance as "Hair raising virtuosity, imperiously romantic," and "in the grand manner, full of bravura, fire and delicacy." [8]

In sports, female golfers of Korean descent are conspicuous for their numbers and success. There are also Korean athletes who have made their names in competitive baseball game.

Chang-Rae Lee is an author. His writings include: Native Speaker, which won no fewer than six awards including the prestigious PEN/Hemingway Award; A Gesture Life, which was a finalist for the New York Book Award and a 1999 New York Times Notable Book; and a Loft.

As with Native Speaker and Gesture Life, his third novel "is a kind of meditation on location and identity, on what it means to belong to any group that has come here from elsewhere and struggle to create - at great cost- wealth, stability, and the illusion of living out the American dream." [9] As he put it "In some ways, I've written the same book three times." Next, he plans to write a post-Korean War novel.

He came to the U.S. with his parents at the age of four settling, in Westchester County, New York. He is a professor in the creative writing department at Princeton

University.

Prejudice and Discrimination

The respondents were asked whether they have experienced prejudice and discrimination in schools, neighborhoods, and on the job.

One respondent replied that she attended an all-white high school. The prejudice toward Asian children was so “unbearable’ that her mother had to come to school and intervene.

The majority of the respondents said that they did not experience prejudice and discrimination on the job. It seems that males are more likely than females to report prejudice and discrimination on the job. A male professional who is a bankruptcy lawyer whom I met at the church coffee-hour reported that prejudice and discrimination on the job is “subtle.”

I met a corporation lawyer at the Korea Society function. I learned that his father is Korean and his mother is Japanese. He has a law degree from Harvard University. He said that he is working on “M and A” - mergers and acquisitions.

When I asked about his job satisfaction and whether he is satisfied with his rewards including financial rewards, he raised his voice by saying “what financial reward?” I quickly had to change the topic of conversation. It appears that he is not satisfied with the reward on the job especially financial rewards for his human capital investments.

Chapter 4 Ethnic Associations
Endnotes

1. The data reported here are from the field notes taken over the last several years.

2. Kim, Rebecca Y. "Made in the U.S.A.." in Lee and Zhou (Eds.). 2004. Asian American Youth New York: Routledge. p.239.
3. Kim in Lee and Zhou, Ibid., p. 248.

4. I personally attended the meeting and was able to converse with the panelists on the topics.

5. I was able to get the ticket for the February 02, 2006 show. According to Michael Huh, Vice-President of Imagine Asia TV, the first night show was better than the second night show. For the first night show, P. Diddy was invited and greeted the audience.

6. I went to see her mesmerizing performance several times over the years.

7. I attended Ms. Suh's piano recital for the Juilliard centennial celebration. She also gave a piano recital a year before at the Alice Tully Hall.

8. From the program, "Meet the Artist," Saturday evening, May 7, 2005, at 8:00 P.M.

9. "This Way Up: A Profile of Chang-Rae Lee," by Amy Rosenberg. Poets and Writers Magazine, March/April 2004. pp.32-39.

Chapter 5

Selected Demographic, Social, and Economic Characteristics of the Total U.S. Population, Asian Americans, and Korean Americans: 2000

In the following pages, the demographic, social, and economic characteristics of Korean Americans are presented in comparison with those of Asian Americans and the total U.S. population based on the U.S. Census 2000 data.

These comparative data will define the settings of the Korean American families and clarify the problems and challenges they face - - the focal point of this dissertation. Furthermore, they will be useful in future research projects aimed at understanding their demographic phenomena, and social and economic behaviors.

1. Selected Demographic Characteristics of Total U.S. Population, Asian Americans, and Korean Americans: 2000

Gender

According to the 2000 Census, there were more females than males among Korean Americans: 55.4% to 44.6%. This ratio is noteworthy because the female-male ratio for Americans as a whole is 50.9% to 49.1% and that for Asian Americans is 51.7% to 48.3%. There is as yet no acceptable explanation for this phenomenon.

Age

As a group, Korean Americans are younger than the other two population groups. The median age of Korean Americans is 32.4 while that of the U.S. population and Asian Americans is 35.3 and 32.7, respectively.

A higher proportion of the U.S. population (14.7%) is 62 years and over than the Asian Americans (9.7%) and the Korean Americans (8.5%).

Household Types

There are more married couple families among the Asian Americans (60.6%) and Korean Americans (58.2%) than the total U.S. population (51.7%). On the other hand, there are more household headed by females (12.2%) among the total U.S. population than among Korean Americans (9.4%) and Asian Americans (9.1%).

There are more singles among the total U.S. population (25.8%) than among Korean Americans (21.7%) and Asian Americans (18.7%). Average family size is slightly higher among the Asian Americans (3.61) than among the Korean Americans (3.30) and the total U.S. population (3.14).

Housing Tenure

Sixty six (66.2%) percent of the total U.S. population own their houses, while only 40.7% of the Korean Americans do so. The Asian Americans fall in between these two groups with 53.4% owning their houses. More Korean Americans are renters (59.3%) than Asian Americans (46.6%) and the total U.S. population (33.8%).

2. Selected Social Characteristics of the Total U.S. Population, Asian Americans, and Korean Americans: 2000

Educational Attainment

(Population 25 years and over)

About thirty percent (29.1%) of Korean Americans have a bachelor's degree, while 26.7 percent of Asian Americans and only 15.5 percent of the total U.S. population hold the degree.

A higher proportion of Asian Americans have earned graduate and professional degrees than the total U.S. population. The percentage of Asian Americans who have earned graduate and professional degrees is 17.4%, while the same figure for the total U.S. population is only 8.9%. The comparable figure for Korean Americans is 14.7%.

Marital Status

More Asian Americans (60.2%) and Korean Americans (59.6%) are "now married" than the total U.S. population (54.4%). About thirty percent of all three groups are never married.

The divorced in the U.S. account for ten percent of the total population. The corresponding figures for the Asian Americans and the Korean Americans are much lower, 4.2% and 4.6%, respectively.

Grandparents as Care Givers

Forty-two percent of the total U.S. population have grandparents who are responsible for care of their grandchildren, while comparable figures for the Asian Americans and Korean Americans are 20% and 21%, respectively.

Nativity and Place of Birth

The majority (77.7% or 833,454) of Korean Americans (N=1,072,682) are foreign-born, and 22.3% (or 239,228) are native-born. Of the foreign born Korean Americans (N=833,454), 311,733 entered United States between 1990 and March 2000.

The majority of the total U.S. population are native-born (88.9%) compared to 31.1% of the Asian Americans and 22.3% of the Korean Americans.

Region of Birth of Foreign Born

It is interesting to note that more than half of the total U.S. foreign-born population were born in Latin America (51.7%). By contrast, 26.4% of them were born in

Asia, and only 15.8% of them were born in Europe. The majority of foreign-born Asian Americans and Korean Americans were born in Asia, 96.9% and 99.1%, respectively.

Language Spoken at Home

Only 18.1% of the Korean Americans (N=1,014,424) speak English only at home, and the majority (81.9%) speak language(s) other than English. About a half (50.5% or 512,378) of Korean Americans speak English less than "very well."

A higher proportion of Asian Americans speak English only at home than do Korean Americans (21.0% vs. 18.1%). And a higher proportion of Korean Americans than the Asian Americans speak English less than "very well" (50.5% vs.39.5%).

Among the total U.S. population, the majority (82.1%) speak English only at home, and 17.9% of them speak language other than English. About one in ten (8.1% or 21,320,407) Americans speak English less than "very well."

3. Selected Economic Characteristics of the Total U.S. Population, Asian Americans, and Korean Americans: 2000

Employment Status

Sixty four percent (63.9%) of the total U.S. population were in the labor force in 2000. The comparable figures for Asian Americans and Korean Americans are 63.3 percent and 59.7 percent, respectively.

In the same year, 7,947,286 people, or 3.7 percent of the total U.S. population, were unemployed. The unemployment figures for the Asian and Korean Americans are 3.2 percent and 3.2 percent, respectively.

Occupation

About one-third (33.6%) of the total U.S. population were engaged in managerial, professional, and related occupations. Higher proportions of the Asian Americans (44.6%) and the Korean Americans (38.7%) were in these fields.

About one-third (26.7%) of the total U.S. population and the Korean American population (30.2%), and one-fourth (24.0%) of the Asian Americans had sales and office occupations.

About fifteen percent of the total U.S. population (14.9%) were engaged in the service occupations in 2000. Similar proportions of the Asian Americans (14.1%) and the Korean Americans (14.8%) were in this field.

About fifteen percent (14.6%) of the total U.S. population were engaged in the production, transportation, and material moving occupations. And a smaller proportion of the Asian Americans (13.4%) and Korean Americans (12.2%) were in this field.

Class of Workers

The majority of the workers are private wage and salary workers among all three groups. (U.S.,78.5%; A.A., 81.2%; and K.A., 75.3%)

More Korean American workers are self-employed (14.1%) than the total U.S.

population (6.6%) and the Asian Americans (6.1%). And Korean Americans have more unpaid family workers (1.4%) than Asian Americans (0.5%) and the total U.S. population (0.3%). This is due to the fact that the first generation Korean Americans were largely confined to small business because of their limited financial resources and language barrier.

Income in 1999

The median family income of Asian Americans is $59,324.00. The comparable figures for the total U.S. population and the Korean Americans are $50,046.00 and $47,624.00, respectively.

Per capita income for the total U.S. population was $21,587.00 in 1999. The figures for Asian Americans and Korean Americans were $21,823.00 and $18,805.00, respectively.

The median earnings for the Asian American male full-time year-round worker was $40,650.00, the highest among the three groups compared. The Korean American male full-time year-round worker earned $38,776.00. In comparison, the figure for the U.S. male full-time year-round worker was $37,057.00.

The median earnings for the female full-time year-round workers were less than those of the male full-time, year-round workers among all three groups. The median earnings for the Asian American female full-time year-round workers was $31,049.00, the highest median earnings among the three female groups. The median earnings for the

Korean American female full-time year-round workers and the U.S. female full-time year-round workers were $28,403.00 and $27,194.00, respectively.

Poverty Status in 1999 (below poverty level)

About ten percent (9.2%) of U.S. families lived below poverty level in 1999. The comparable figure for the Asian American families was 9.7%. The Korean American families had the highest level of poverty (13.2%) among the three groups.

About fifteen percent (14.8%) of the Korean Americans (individuals) lived below the poverty level in 1999. The comparable figures for the total U.S. population and the Asian Americans were 12.4% and 12.6%, respectively.

Table 5-1:

Selected Demographic Characteristics of Total U.S. Population, Asian Americans, and Korean Americans : 2000*

Table D-1:

	Total U.S. Population	Asian alone	Korean alone
Total Population	281,421,906	10,242,998	1,076,872
Sex and Age			
Male	49.1 (%)	48.3	44.6
Female	50.9 (%)	51.7	55.4
Median Age	35.3	32.7	32.4
18 yrs & over	74.3 (%)	75.9	75.7
21 yrs. & over	70.0	71.3	70.7
62 yrs. & over	14.7	9.7	8.5
65 yrs. & over	12.4	7.8	6.4
Male	5.1	3.3	2.5
Female	7.3	4.5	3.9

*Source: DP 1 - Profile of General Demographic Characteristics:2000
Data Set: Census 2000 Summary File 2 (SF2) 100 percent Data
Geographic Area: United States
Racial and Ethnic Grouping: Asian alone
Racial and Ethnic Grouping: Korean alone

Table D-2: Household Type

	U.S.	A.A.	K.A.
Total Number	105,480,101	3,130,263	338,196
Family households (Families)	68.1(%)	74.5	71.3
married-couple family	51.7	60.6	58.2
female householder, no husband	12.2	9.1	9.4
Non-family households	31.9(%)	25.5	28.7
household living alone	25.8	18.7	21.7
householder 65 yrs. & over	9.2	3.3	3.8
Average family size	3.14	3.61	3.30

Table D-3: Housing Tenure

	U.S.	A.A.	K.A.
Occupied Housing Units	105,480,101	3,130,263	338,196
Owner	66.2(%)	53.4	40.7
Renter	33.8(%)	46.6	59.3

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Table 5-2:

Selected Social Characteristics of the Total U.S. Population, Asian Americans, and Korean Americans: 2000*

Table S-1: Educational Attainment

	U.S.	A.A.	K.A.
Population 25 yrs. And over	N=182,211,639	N=6,640,671	N=694,343
Bachelor's degree	15.5 (%)	26.7 (%)	29.1 (%)
Graduate or Professional degree	8.9	17.4	14.7

*Source: DP-2 Profile of Selected Social Characteristics :2000
Data Set: Census 2000 Summary File (SF 4) - Sample Data
Geographic Area: United States
Racial or Ethnic Grouping: Asian alone
Racial or Ethnic Grouping: Korean alone .

Table S-2: Marital Status

	U.S.	A.A.	K.A.
Population 15 yrs. And over	221,148,671	8,156,126	864,711
Never married	27.1 (%)	30.0 (%)	30.5 (%)
Now married	54.4	60.2	59.6
Separated	2.2	1.3	1.2
Widowed	6.6	4.3	4.2
Female	5.4	3.7	3.9
Divorced	9.7	4.2	4.6
Female	5.6	2.7	3.4

Table S-3: Grandparents as Care Givers

	U.S.	A.S.	K.A.
Grandparents living in household			
with one or more own children under 18 yrs.	5,771,671	359,709	24,857
Grandparents responsible for grandchildren	42.0%	20.0%	21.0%

Table S-4: Nativity and Place of Birth

	U.S.	A.A.	K.A.
Total Population	281,421,906	10,171,820	1,072,682
Native	88.9 (%)	31.1 (%)	22.3 (%)
Foreign born	11.1	68.9	77.7
Entered 1990 to March 2000	4.7	30.0	29.1
	13,178,276	3,049,574	311,733
Naturalized Citizen	4.5	34.4	39.5
Not a citizen	6.6	34.5	38.2

Table S-5: Region of Birth of Foreign Born

	U.S.	A.A.	K.A.
Total	31,107,573	7,012,157	833,454
Europe	15.8 (%)	0.5 (%)	0.2 (%)
Asia	26.4	96.9	99.1
Africa	2.8	0.5	0.0
Oceania	0.5	0.2	0.0
Latin America	51.7	1.6	0.4
Northern America	2.7	0.3	0.2

Table S-6: Language Spoken At Home

	U.S.	A.A.	K.A.
Population 5 yrs. and over	N=262,375,152	N=9,520,205	N=1,014,424
English only	82.1 (%)	21.0 (%)	18.1 (%)
Language other than English	17.9	79.0	81.9
Speak English less than "very well"	8.1	39.5	50.5
	(21,320,407)	(3,763,925)	(512,378)

Table 5-3:
Selected Economic Characteristics of the Total U.S. Population, Asian Americans, and Korean Americans: 2000*

Table E-1: Employment Status

	U.S.	A.A.	K.A.
Population 16 yrs. and over	217,168,077	8,020,330	847,747
in labor force	63.9 (%)	63.3 (%)	59.7 (%)
unemployed	3.7 (%)	3.2 (%)	3.2 (%)

* Source: U.S. Census Bureau
DP-3. Profile of Selected Economic Characteristics: 2000
Data Set: Census 2000 Summary File 4 (SF4) - Sample Data
Geographic Area: United States
Racial or Ethnic Grouping: Asian alone
Racial or Ethnic Grouping: Korean alone

Table 2: Occupation

	U.S.	A.A.	K.A.
Employed civilian population of 16 yrs. & over	129,721,512	4,786,782	474,905
Managerial, professional, & related occupations	33.6 (%)	44.6 (%)	38.7 (%)
Service occupations	14.9	14.1	14.8
Sales and office occupations	26.7	24.0	30.2
Farming, fishing, forestry occupation	0.7	0.3	0.2
Construction, extraction, & maintenance occupation	9.4	3.6	3.9
Production, transportation, & material moving occupation	14.6	13.4	12.2

Table E - 3: Class of Workers

	U.S.		A.A.		K.A.	
Private wage & salary workers	101,794,361	78.5%	3,884,689	81.2%	357,444	75.3%
Government workers	18,923,353	14.6	587,389	12.3	43,924	9.2
Self-employed workers in own not incorporated business	8,603,761	6.6	289,729	6.1	66,781	14.1
Unpaid family workers	400,037	0.3	24,975	0.5	6,756	1.4

Table E- 4: Income in 1999

	U.S.	A.A.	K.A.
Median family income (dollars)	50,046	59,324	47,624
Per capita income (dollars)	21,587	21,823	18,805
Median earnings (dollars)			
Male full-time, year-round workers	37,057	40,650	38,776
Female full-time year-round workers	27,194	31,049	28,403

Table E - 5: Poverty Status in 1999
(below poverty level)

	U.S.	A.A.	K.A.
Families in poverty percent below poverty level	9.2	9.7	13.2
Individuals percent below poverty level	12.4	12.6	14.8

Chapter 6

Asian Americans and Korean Americans

Asian Americans

A Brief History

Asian immigration began more than 150 years ago when Chinese laborers came to California to work in mining and railroad construction. However, because of the U.S. government's anti-Asian exclusion laws in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Asian American population was invisible. In 1960, U.S. census data showed that Asian Americans numbered less than 900,000 (Venos, Gardner, Barringer, and Lein, 1987). U.S. census data in 1970 showed that Asian Americans were composed of only three ethnic groups - Japanese (41 percent), Chinese (30 percent), and Filipino (24 percent). (See Table 1.)

A series of anti-Asian exclusion laws - particularly the Chinese Exclusion Act and National Origins Act of 1924 - distorted natural population growth and Asian American community development, producing over-representation of single adult males. There were bachelors' societies with few women and children (Chan, 1991; Takaki, 1989).

The gender ratio for Chinese was about 27 males per female in 1890, and dropped to 9:1 by 1910. By 1940s, males still outnumbered females by more than 2:1 (Zhou, 2003a). Unlike Chinese, Japanese did not suffer gender imbalance. Owing to the 1908

Gentlemen's Agreement, which aimed to curb labor migration from Japan, the wives of Japanese laborers already in the United States were allowed to join their husbands. As a result, Japanese immigrants settled in the U.S. as families and developed family-based communities, engaging in farming in California and Hawaii (Nishi, 1995).

Immigration Act of 1965

The U.S. Congress passed the immigration Act of 1965, known as the Hart Celler Act, which abolished quotas based on national origins; allowed aliens to be admitted as immigrants using three criteria - occupational immigration, family reunification, and their vulnerability to political and religious persecution; and set an equal 20,000 per country limit.

As a result, between 1970 and 2000, nearly seven million immigrants were legally admitted to the United States as permanent residents from Asia. Although the majority of the recent immigrants are either family-sponsored migrants (about 80 percent), or employer-sponsored skilled workers (about 20 percent), Southeast Asian refugees have constituted a significant Asian immigration. Since 1975, more than 900,000 refugees have arrived from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

Diverse Socioeconomic Background

Unlike earlier immigrants from Europe and Asia, who were low-skilled laborers, contemporary immigrants from Asia include those who fill the labor market demands for high-skilled occupation in the U.S.; those who come to join their families; those who

invest their capital in the U.S. economy; and those who escape war and political persecution.

The 2000 U.S. Census showed that Asian Americans have made remarkable socioeconomic achievements. Their medium household income is $55,525, the highest of all racial groups, even surpassing that of whites. Their poverty rate is a low 10.7 percent, the lowest of all racial groups.

Skilled professionals - scientists, engineers, physicians - tend to be over-represented among Indians, Chinese, Taiwanese, and Filipinos, while less educated and low skilled workers tend to be over- represented among South-East Asians, especially Lao, Hmong, and Cambodians.

The New Second Generation

The new second generation refers to the children of post-1965 immigrants. The studies have covered the U.S. born children as well as foreign-born children who arrived in the U.S. before adolescence (Gans, 1922; Portes, 1995; Rumbaut and Cornelius, 1995). The latter group is also called the 1.5 generation or "one-and-a-half generation," a term coined by Ruben Rumbaut to characterize the children who travel the old and the new world but are fully part of neither (Rumbaut, 1991). A similar analogy was made when social scientists were referring to the early European immigrants at the turn of the 20th Century as the "marginal man" who did not belong fully to either world - the old world they left behind or the new world they inhabit.

According to Min Zhou, the Asian population is young except Japanese and

Chinese. “All other Asian groups have relatively high proportions of children and young adults compare with the general U.S. population; about 25 percent of the Asian population is under the age of 17, 10 percent between age of 17 and 24, 65 percent over the age of 24.”

Among the second generation and especially among the new immigrant groups, the average age is even lower. For example, “the under 17 age cohort accounts for 70 to 89 percent of all second-generation Asian Indians, Koreans, Vietnamese, and other Asians based on estimates of the 2000 Current Population Survey data. This finding confirms once again that the new second generation is very young and just coming of age.” (Zhou, 2004, p.39)

The Asian Population on April 1, 2000

The question on race was changed for Census 2000. The respondents were asked to report one or more races they considered themselves and other members of their household to be. Therefore, the data collected by Census 2000 on race can be divided into two broad categories: the race alone population and the race in combination population.

The total U.S. population was 281.4 million on April 1, 2000. Of this total, 11.9 million, or 4.2 percent reported Asian. This number included 10.2 million people, or 3.6 percent, who reported only Asian and 1.7 million people, or 0.6 percent, who reported Asian and at least one other race. Within Asian in the combination group, the most common combinations were “Asian and White” (52 percent), followed by “Asian and some other race” (15 percent).”

Table 1 Asian American Population: 1970–2000

	1970*	%	1980	%	1990	%	2000	%
Chinese	435,062	30.2	806,040	22.7	1,645,472	22.6	2,879,636	23
Filipino	343,060	23.8	700,974	19.7	1,460,770	20.1	2,364,815	19.9
Japanese	591,290	41.1	700,974	19.7	847,562	11.7	1,148,932	9.6
Asian Indian	—	—	361,531	10.2	815,447	11.2	1,899,599	16
Korean	—	—	354,593	10	798,849	11	1,228,427	10.3
Vietnamese	—	—	261,729	7.4	614,547	8.4	1,223,736	10.3
Other**	70,150	4.9	364,598	10.3	1,091,015	15	1,161,535	11
Total	1,439,562	100	3,550,439	100	7,273,662	100	11,906,680	100

* Asian Indian, Korean, Vietnamese, and other Asian-ancestry subgroups were not tabulated in the 1970 census.

** The "other" category included Pacific Islanders.

Table 2 Asian American Population by Age Cohort and Generation: 2000*

	Total			Second Generation		
	Under 17	17–24	25 and over	Under 17	17–24	25 and over
Chinese	21.3	8.8	69.9	45.3	9.9	44.8
Filipino	27.6	9.8	62.6	63.6	12.9	13.5
Japanese	17.2	7.5	75.3	22.8	6.5	70.7
Asian Indian	26.6	11.8	63.6	70.4	14.5	15.1
Korean	29.9	9.9	60.2	78.9	10.1	11.0
Vietnamese	28.3	10.2	61.5	88.5	8.3	3.2
Other Asian	41.9	10.9	47.2	87.1	4.8	8.1
Total	2,276,600	826,900	5,263,631	1,732,764	272,766	723,704

*Percentages were weighted.
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey: 1994–2000

Korean Americans

Immigration History of Korean Americans

The Korean community in the New York metropolitan area and elsewhere in the United States are preparing for the centennial celebration of Korean immigration to the United States. January 13, 2003 is the date of the centennial celebration. Their arrival in 1903 to the United States is celebrated by various programs and publications under the banner of Centennial Festival of the Korean Immigration to the U.S. John Liu, the first Asian

American New York City Council member, congratulated Korean Americans' on the centennial anniversary over the radio (CBS, 880, New York City) and said that "Korean Americans are celebrating freedom and economic opportunity."

The Period of Early Immigration (between 1903 and 1949).

The first wave of Korean immigrants came to the U.S. between 1903 and 1905. More than 7,200 Koreans came to Hawaii to work on sugar plantations. (Min, 1995, p.200) Between 1900 and 1905, Japanese workers conducted many strikes, and many of them left plantations for other areas of Hawaii or moved to California. In need of cheap labor, owners decided to recruit Koreans to meet the labor shortage (Choy, 1979, p.73).

Economic hardship can be considered a push factor for the first wave of Korean immigrants. There was a nationwide famine in Korea in 1901 and the government relaxed the emigration law. Horace Allen, who was the American minister to Korea, played a

key role between the Korean government and the Hawaiian Plantation Association in Honolulu. Like other Asian immigrants to Hawaii and California, the early Korean immigrants were admitted through the contract labor system. Contract labor was a system in which an immigrant was "indentured to an employer for a period of usually seven years at wages lower than those paid to American citizens." (Patterson, 1988, p.23)

Most of the early immigrants were sojourners who plan to return to Korea as soon as they earned enough money. They were young males who had lived in urban cities in Korea. The majority of them were Christians in Korea, and they attended Korean churches in the United States (Choy, 1979). Their exposure to American missionaries in Korea was one major factor that influenced their decision to immigrate to the United States. (Patterson, 1988, pp. 108-109). Ethnic churches became the most important ethnic organization for early Korean immigrants, helping them to maintain cultural tradition and social interactions. Also Korean churches were centers of the Korean independence movement against Japan (Lyu, 1977).

About 2000 more Koreans came to Hawaii and California before Asian immigration was completely banned in 1924. The Koreans who came between 1906 and 1923 were "picture brides" from Korea and Korean political refugees and students. The political refugees and students played a leading role in the Korean independence movement.

President Syngman Lee was one of the students and a community leader who later served as the first President of the Republic of Korea in 1948. The Korean labor immigrants and their picture brides remained in the U.S. permanently, but a majority of

political refugees went back to Korea when Korea became independent of Japanese colonization at the end of World War II in 1945.

The Intermediate Period (between 1950 and 1964).

The national origins quota system came into full effect in 1924, completely barring Asian American immigration until the end of World War II. But as a result of the Korean War in 1950, about 15,000 South Koreans came to the U.S. between 1950 and 1964. (See Table 1.)

During the Korean War, more than half a million U.S. soldiers were sent to South Korea. After the war ended, many of these service men brought Korean wives home (Lee, 1991; Shin, 1987). Wives of servicemen made up more than 40% of all Koreans admitted as legal immigrants between 1950 and 1964. War orphans constituted another immigrant group during this period. U.S. servicemen stationed in South Korea adopted these children and brought them home. Between 1950 and 1964, 27,459 Koreans came to the U.S. as non-immigrants, and the majority of them were students.

The Period of New Immigration (1965 to present).

With the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, the number of Korean immigrants increased in the 1970s. Between 1976 and 1990 more than 30,000 Koreans came to the U.S. annually, constituting third largest immigrant group during this period, following Mexicans and Filipinos. The peak year was in 1987 with 35,849 Korean

immigrants coming to the U.S., then slowly declined its number to 19,359 in 1992. (See Table 2.)

The motivation for immigration was primarily for economic opportunities in the 1970s and 1980s. Also many Koreans moved to the U.S. to give their children better educational opportunities, particularly for college education (Kim and Min, 1992; Min, 1995a; Yoon, 1993). In 1990 the number of Koreans in the U.S. were 798,849, a ten-fold increase since 1970 (69,155). The main reason for immigration in the 1990s may have been more educational opportunities for their children rather than economic motives since South Korea has increased economic prosperity.

The Los Angeles riot has slowed the influx of Korean immigrants to the U.S. The number of Korean immigrants was only 19,359 in 1992. Furthermore, due to the expanding South Korean economy, average middle-class Koreans are not motivated to emigrate from South Korea, where per capita income reached the $10,000 mark in 1995. In fact, South Korea attracts U.S. educated professionals including second generation Korean Americans. The return migration of the U.S. educated professionals and second generation Korean Americans would make an interesting sociological inquiry.

Another notable change in recent Korean immigration is the low socioeconomic background of the immigrants. The changes in immigration law in 1976 made immigration of professionals difficult. Since then, more than 90% of Korean immigrants have been admitted each year based on family reunification.

Table 2.1 Koreans Admitted to the United States, 1950-1964

Year	*Immigrants*	*Nonimmigrants*
1950	10	335
1951	33	187
1952	127	808
1953	115	1,111
1954	254	1,270
1955	315	2,615
1956	703	3,552
1957	648	1,798
1958	1,604	1,995
1959	1,720	1,531
1960	1,507	1,504
1961	1,534	1,771
1962	1,538	2,111
1963	2,580	2,803
1964	2,362	4,068
Total	15,050	27,459

SOURCE: Immigration and Naturalization Service (1950-1964).

Table 2 Immigrant and Naturalized Koreans, 1965-1992

Year	*Total Korean Immigrants*	*% of Korean Occupational Immigrants*	*Koreans Naturalized*
1965	2,165		1,027
1966	2,492	18.4	1,180
1967	3,356	38.1	1,353
1968	3,811	27.8	1,776
1969	6,045	30.0	1,646
1970	9,314	30.8	1,678
1971	14,297	41.9	2,083
1972	18,876	45.0	2,933
1973	22,930	32.2	3,562
1974	28,028	33.5	4,451
1975	28,362	22.2	6,007
1976	30,830	14.6	6,450
1977	30,917	8.6	10,446
1978	29,288	11.8	12,575
1979	29,248	5.2	13,406
1980	32,320	2.9	14,073
1981	32,663	8.3	13,258
1982	30,814	3.5	13,488
1983	33,339	8.3	12,808
1984	33,042	8.8	14,019
1985	35,253	7.8	16,824
1986	35,776	8.6	18,037
1987	35,849	3.4	14,233
1988	34,703	8.9	13,012
1989	34,222	9.0	11,302
1990	32,301	9.9	10,500
1991	26,518	11.9	12,266
1992	19,359		8,297
Total	676,118		242,690

SOURCE: Adapted from Immigration and Naturalization Service (1965-1978, 1979-1992).

Distribution of Koreans by Region and Major States (1980, 1990)

As seen in table 3, 44.4% of Korean Americans were settled in the West Coast. California is the largest Korean state with 259,951 Korean Americans settled there. About 200,000 Koreans resided in the Los Angeles-Long Beach metropolitan area in 1990 (Min, 1993a). The percentage of Korean Americans in California increased 29.3% in 1980 to 32.5% in 1990.The establishment of Korea town as a territorial community in Los Angeles seems to have attracted Korean immigrants.

In 1990 12% of Korean Americans were settled in New York State, an increase of 2.4% since 1980. About 80,000 Koreans were settled in New York City, and 70% of them in the borough of Queens. Nearly 20,000 Koreans were settled in Flushing, Queens, accounting for 25% of the New York City population. Flushing has emerged as the Korea town of New York. There is also a Korean business district around the vicinity of 32nd street of Manhattan.

The Urban and Middle-Class Backgrounds of the New Korean Immigrants

Korean immigrants came from the middle-class strata of the Korean population. Korean immigrants' educational level is higher than that of the U.S. population. The U.S. Census indicated that 34% of Korean immigrants who were 25 or older had completed four years of college and that 80% had completed high school (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993b:84). In contrast, 20% of the U.S. population had received a college education and 75% had completed high school (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1993b:72).

It is found that most Korean immigrants held professional and white collar jobs in Korea. A Chicago study reported that nearly half of their respondents had reported their pre-immigration occupation had been professional, administrative, managerial or technical, and only 7 percent said that they were engaged in blue collar occupation (Hurh and Kim, 1988). A survey of Korean immigrants in Los Angeles also showed high pre-immigration occupational backgrounds. Fifty four percent of respondents held professional, administrative, executive, and managerial jobs, and only 4 percent had been employed in blue collar jobs (Min, 1989).

Most Korean immigrants came from an urban background. About 1,800 prospective immigrants were interviewed in 1986 at the U.S. Consulate in Seoul at the time of their visa interview. More than half of the respondents reported that they live in Seoul (Park, et
al., 1990:31). The study also indicated that more than three-fourths lived in the five largest cities in Korea.

Reasons for Migration

1. Economic Opportunity

The majority of the Korean immigrants have come to the United States to improve their economic opportunities. Recent immigrants came to the U.S. in the 1970s because of their expectation for a higher standard of living (Hurh et. Al., 1979). The standard of living in the U.S. was about ten times as high as that of South Korea in 1975.

2. Opportunity for Children's Education

"Educational opportunity for children's education" is a frequently cited reason for coming to the U.S. next to "a better economic opportunity" (Hurh et al., 1979; Min, 1983). From 1988 the Korean government abolished the qualification examination and allowed even high school graduates to go abroad for further study.

3. Freedom from the Political Unrest and Fear of War

South Korea was ruled by two military governments first by Park, Chung Hee regime (between 1961 and 1986) and next by Chun, Doo-Hwan regime after 1979. The military governments oppressed opposition parties, intellectuals, and radical students. Many came to the U.S. in the 1970s and 1980s to escape political oppression. Many students did not return to Korea upon completing their higher education in the United States.

There has been a constant fear of war between North and South Korea even though the Korean War ended in 1953. At the present, North Korea's nuclear program created another crisis situation, and it is getting the world's attention again after 50 years.

4. The Korean War and the linkage between the U.S. and the South Korea

After the Korean War ended, many Koreans were exposed to the American culture. The military and economic involvement of the U.S. in South Korea is important for the mass exodus of Koreans to the United States. A large number of Korean women as wives of U.S. servicemen have emigrated to the United States. And they, in turn, invited their relatives to the U.S.

5. "Investment Immigration"

There are Koreans who have been granted the immigrant status because of their investment over $250,000 in the U.S. They are typically managerial and professional ``Koreans of the economic means to invest in the U.S. and thereby acquire the immigrant status. Many of them claim that they have taken such a step to provide educational opportunities for their children in the U.S.

Table 3 Distribution of Koreans by Region and Major States (1980,1990)

Region	State	1980 N	1980 %	1990 N	1990 %	Increase Between 1980 and 1990 N	Increase Between 1980 and 1990 %
U.S. Total		354,593	100.0	798,849	100.0	444,256	125.2
Northeast	Total	68,151	19.2	182,061	22.8	113,910	167.1
	New York	34,157	9.6	95,648	12.0	61,491	180
	New Jersey	12,845	3.6	38,540	4.8	25,695	200.0
	Pennsylvania	12,502	3.5	26,787	3.4	14,285	114.3
Midwest	Total	62,214	17.5	109,087	13.7	46,873	75.3
	Illinois	23,989	6.8	41,506	5.2	17,517	73.0
	Michigan	8,714	2.5	16,316	2.0	7,602	87.2
South	Total	70,381	19.9	153,163	19.2	82,782	117.6
	Maryland	15,089	4.3	30,320	3.8	15,231	100.9
	Virginia	12,550	3.5	30,164	3.8	17,614	136.6
	Texas	13,997	3.9	31,775	4.0	17,778	127.0
West	Total	153,847	43.4	354,538	44.4	200,691	130.4
	Washington	13,083	3.7	29,697	3.7	16,614	127.0
	California	103,845	29.3	259,951	32.5	156,096	150.3
	Hawaii	17,962	5.1	24,454	3.1	6,492	36.1

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1983a, Table 63; 1993, Table 277).

Chapter 7

Traditional Family in Korea

One of the most noteworthy facts about the family system in traditional Korea before Confucian orthodoxy was established was the high degree of equality between the sexes. A few historical examples will illustrate this fact. During the Silla dynasty (4th Century A. D. - 918) historical records indicate that three women occupied the royal throne and queen mothers frequently served as regents for young kings. Women actually holding the highest political position was not barred in sharp contrast with Confucian practices.[1]

Under the influence of Buddhism in the following dynasty, namely the Koryo dynasty (918-1392), women were allowed to have some social contacts with men outside their own families. Another indication of the absence of extreme male superiority over women was the custom of bridegrooms moving into the homes of brides and living there until children were born and raised. More remarkable was the fact that property inheritance was equally divided between male and female heirs.[2]

1. Confucian Orthodoxy During The Yi Dynasty (1392 - 1910)

It was in the middle of Yi dynasty (1392 - 1910) that Confucian orthodoxy was firmly established with the full authority of the state. As a result the family system underwent a drastic change. Accordingly the roles of husband and wife and the roles of men and women shifted in the direction of male superiority. [3]

In order to understand how Korean families in Korea and Korean American families in the U.S. really function it is necessary to determine the nature and the functions of the traditional Korean family system. To this end in this chapter a broad survey of the traditional Korean family system will be offered. This survey will be helpful to identify the enduring and changing features of the Korean family system

By determining the historical roots of the Korean family system, it will be possible to grasp the elements of continuity and change in family life with which Korean Americans are confronted at the present time.

Up to very recent times the traditional family life patterns were strong and did not admit modifications. But with the modernization of education and the changing international environment, Korean family practices were put under great pressures. More importantly when Koreans emigrated to the U.S. their families were burdened with the difficult task of modifying and adjusting their family practices in the light of their

American experiences. The crux of the matter is how to retain or defend old accustomed family practices even when adopting some of the prevailing "norms" of the American family system.

The most conspicuous aspect of the traditional Korean family system is the overwhelming influence of Confucianism during the Yi dynasty (1392 - 1910).[4] The basic principles of Confucian orthodoxy are to be found in the basic texts of Confucius: The Analects and Mencius. The Analects is compilation of the teaching of Confucius (ca. 551-479 B.C.) by his disciples after the master's death. Here the notion of filial piety and the importance of the family as the central concern of Confucianism were expounded.

For the purpose of this dissertation, the Mensius contains the most important passages for guiding the social relations and family of Confucians. The Mencius is a compilation, in a way similar to the Analects, the statement of Mencius (ca. 371-289B.C.) As recollected by his disciples, Mencius inherited and enriched the basic ideas of the founder of Confucianism, namely Confucius.

The essential principles known in East Asia as the cardinal principles of human relationships are stated in the Mencius as follows: "Love between father and son, duty between ruler and subject, distinction between husband and wife, precedence of the old over the young, and faith between friends."[5]

Five human relationships:

1. Love between father and son:

In Chinese:

In Korean:

Transliteration of Korean sentences: Bu ja yu chin

2. Duty between ruler and subject

In Chinese:

In Korean:

Transliteration of Korean sentences: Gun sin yu eui

3. Distinction between husband and wife

In Chinese:

In Korean:

Transliteration of Korean Sentences: Nam nyo yu byul

4.Precedence of the old over the young

In Chinese:

In Korean:

Transliteration of Korean sentences: Jang yu yu so

5. Faith between friends

In Chinese:

In Korean:

Transliteration of Korean sentences: Bung wu yu shin

The passage most relevant to this study is the meaning of the term translated "the distinction between husband and wife." The original Chinese word for distinction - - can also be rendered as separation. Accordingly there have been controversies as to whether Mencius meant merely that man and woman or husband and wife had different functions within a family and society or whether he intended by this phrase to indicate the subordination of women to men.

The principles which are most relevant to the Confucian family system are those dealing with father-son - by extension to the parent-child relationship and with man and woman- by extension to the husband and wife relationship. It is very clear that Confucius stresses an affectionate relationship between a parent and a child. Without going into the many implications of this principle, it is enough to point out that this principle was interpreted to signify the responsibility of parents to nurture children and the duty of children to obey and care for their parents.

Turning now to the relationship between husband and wife or man and woman, the essential point is whether the principle as stated in the Mencius requires the subordination of women to men or merely to states that males and females play different roles in the family and society. [6]

The complex reasons why Confucian orthodoxy was adopted by the Yi dynasty

are a matter of controversies among historians. What is important to bear in mind is the fact that the rulers and scholar officials of the second half of the Yi dynasty found Confucianism the most convenient and effective philosophy to mold and control Korean family and social life.

It is quite obvious that the Yi dynasty were convinced that neither Shamanism nor Buddhism had the range and persuasiveness of Confucianism as far as family, society and the state are concerned. In Korea, perhaps because of the smaller size of the territory than China, it was possible to enforce the basic Confucian principles by means of state power. Thus, Confucian principles have became deeply ingrained in the minds of the Korean people to the present day.

Eui-Young Yu in his article entitled, "Women in Traditional and Modern Korea" summarizes the characteristics of the traditional Korean family system and women's roles based on the work of Yunshik Chang as follows: The Confucian ideology accorded women to an inferior position. Man was linked to the heaven - superior, dominant, and strong; woman was associated with the earth - inferior, submissive, and lenient.[7]

From the beginning of the Yi dynasty, enormous resources and efforts were directed to train and indoctrinate women to conform to the Confucian ideals. The major mandates regulating women's lives were as follows:[8]

1. Marriage was arranged by parents.
2. At marriage, woman belonged to her husband's family.
3. Women were not to have names but were to be identified by positions relative to men

or by the place of their origin.

4. Women were not to carry on the family line. When there was no son from the first wife, either a male relative was adopted or the husband brought in another wife to bear a son.

5. Widows must not remarry. Women were expected to look after their in-laws even after the husband's death.

6. From the age of seven, a boy should not sit with a girl. When a girl reached the age of ten, she could not move at all outside the house.

7. Outside the house, women were required to veil their face.

8. Married women were not to speak to strangers directly.

Without defending the merits of these characterizations, it is necessary to point out that Yunshik Chang does not explain how these features of the traditional family system and women's roles are interrelated. One might argue that the fundamental cause of these features is the male superiority principle in Confucianism, for it is possible to cite many other practices and customs which can be explained in terms of the deeply rooted Confucian idea of separation of the sexes.

Women in the Yi dynasty were governed by the Confucian family system which has been characterized as patrilineal and patrilocal.[9] The expected role of women was above all to be the bearers of sons. Thus, women in Korea in the pre-modern era were subject to patriarchy even more conspicuously than in China and Japan as exemplified by

the strong desire to have sons rather than daughters. In Korea only the first son was designated as an heir. Furthermore, adoption of a son was generally limited to a boy having the same surname and clan, whereas in Japan a total stranger could be adopted.[10] Even though women were expected to hold a subordinate position to men, mothers and mothers-in-law were entitled, equally with their husbands, to filial piety from their children.

The three cardinal principles of women's conduct upheld by instructional books in the Yi period were loyalty of the people to the rulers and household heads, filial piety and chastity. The principles were known as the three obediences. It demanded her obedience to her father before marriage, then to her husband after marriage, and to her son(s) when widowed or aged. [11]

An ideal woman was passive, quiet, and chaste. Folk heroines depicted by the Yi dynasty were an obedient daughter-in-law, filial daughters, faithful wives, and dedicated mothers, and this image of the ideal women is still deeply entrenched in Korean values. And it reinforced the male dominated family system which has persisted in its main form into the present time.

2. New Perspectives

Several social historians have presented new evidence concerning the Yi society and family system and challenged the previously held notion of family system and

women's status in the Yi dynasty (Ch'oe Chae-sok 1972, Peterson 1983, [12] and Wagner 1983).[13] Peterson, Wagner, and others have presented new evidence about early Yi dynasty family practices. Some of the new evidence delineated by Koh are as follows: [14] (1) Lineage was not only defined through men but also through women; (2) Inheritance was divided equally among sons and daughters; (3) Daughters as well as sons had responsibility for ancestral ceremonies; (4) Married couples lived both at the bride's home and at the groom's (suggesting that Korea was not a patrilocal society); (5) In genealogies, women as well as men were listed, and both male and female children were listed according to their birth and sibling order; and (6) Remarriage of widows was common. Thus, according to contemporary social historians, Korean women prior to 1650 were relatively equal to men, and their status was much higher than in the later part of the Yi dynasty, when Confucianism took a strong hold.

Even though Koh's thesis has many merits, my observation is that even when Korean women enjoyed a considerable degree of equality as she claims before and after the period between the mid 1600s to the late 1800s, the goal of full equality between the sexes as we understand it today was not practiced.

Kinship Solidarity

Under the guidance and security provided by parents, brothers and sisters in a family developed a strong sense of mutual help and solidarity. Furthermore, children were taught from their early childhood to link up with their cousins and other relatives to form a solid alliance of kin. This kinship system, based on Confucianism, has been a cause of

social cohesion and stability.

Family clans, of course, competed against each other and the tensions between them were moderated by the ideals of Confucianism.

"Chesa" is for male ancestor worship; Shaman's "kut" is for all ancestors

Kendall noted the shaman ritual called "kut," especially an ancestor sequence ("chosangkori") that unlike "chesa", which is male oriented ancestor worship, "kut" is sponsored and officiated by women, involving several families related through women. [15] In her article, Koh emphasized the importance of "kut" ritual as the women's development of human ties, not only through their ties to their own dead kin but also to reaffirm the bond between themselves and their living kin. Furthermore, they actively cement their own significant human relations, while the official principles of the Korean family system would exclude them, thus validating and reinforcing ties through rituals.

In the following passages regarding the women's ritual "kut" ceremony, we can observe an

inclusive and an egalitarian concern of the "kut" ceremony. [16]

> " The ancestors and "ghosts" receiving offerings at a "kut" ceremony include those who are objects of veneration at male oriented "chesa" rituals, plus the many souls who were never included in "chesa" nor considered worthy of their offerings..... Thus, in a women's "kut" there are no hierarchical differences, such as the eldest son versus other sons; natal versus affinitive members; adults versus children; married or unmarried; men or women; kin or non-kin; fortunate or unfortunate. These differences are strictly observed in the male oriented "chesa"' and they reflect real life situation. But women's preoccupation with preventing malevolence from restless ancestors and spirits who might inflict harm, causes them to include in their "kut" all known dead whom they consider to have had unfulfilled wishes, or "han." Thus women are guardian of the underdogs."

3. The Family System Since 1945

With the defeat of Japan in 1945 Koreans expected that their long held aspirations for an independent and free nation would come true. But the division of the country along the 38th parallel left one half of the nation under Soviet domination and the other half under U.S. influence. In South Korea democracy was enthusiastically promoted but the age-old customs and ways of life were difficult to uproot rapidly. The traditional family system was reexamined and the demands for reform to conform to democratic ideas were put forward by various groups including women's groups.

Under the Japanese colonial rule over Korea between 1910 to 1945, reforms on family laws including outlawing of concubinage were installed without, however, significantly altering the Confucian foundation of the Korean family system. [17]
One of the beneficial consequences of the Japanese adoption of the Western system of education in both Japan and Korea was extension of compulsory primary education for both boys and girls. [18] Women with the benefit of the modern Western educational system naturally gained a new consciousness of their dignity and worth even though their aspiration for gender equality could not be satisfied.

Thus, the U.S. military government which governed South Korea until 1949 and the Government of the Republic of Korea which was inaugurated then carried out reforms to elevate the status of women and to improve women's educational and social opportunities. [19]

In what follows, some of the important changes affecting women and the family life

will be discussed to determine the nature of the Korean family system in Korea so that we can understand in what kind of family system the Korean American youth in the U.S. are raised. It is because first-generation Korean immigrants to the U.S. brought with them the family system which prevailed in Korea at the time of their immigration.

4. The Family System Since 1960s: Impact of Industrialization

The most important factor responsible for changing the Korean family system and the roles of women in Korea is the dramatic transformation of Korean economy and society due to a rapid economic development since the 1960's under the leadership of the Park Chung Hee regime.

Rapid industrialization, urbanization, and economic development have occurred since the 1960's, replacing an agrarian economy in a single generation. The agrarian economy has been replaced by an industrial economy characterized by export-led industries that depend on low-wage labor as a result of rural-to-urban migration. The gross national product (GNP) grew at an average annual rate of more than 8 percent during 1962 - 1986 (EPB 1987). [20]

Urbanization has accelerated as well. The urban population has grown from 28

percent of the total in 1960 to 74 percent in 1990; it is projected to reach nearly 81 percent by the year 2000. (NSO 1991). [21] The economic development was to a significant degree made possible by the freeing of both rural and urban women alike from the bonds of their families. Before that time women's place was mainly confined to their families and their social mobility was strictly restricted.

Along with economic development, illiteracy has been virtually eliminated. The rising educational opportunities for girls has been the important development. About one-third of college students are now females. [22]

Modern educational elites dominate society instead of Confucian scholars. The traditional class system based on ascribed "yangban - sangmin - chunmin" status (upper-class, middle-class, and lower-class) has been replaced by a modern stratification system based on education, occupation, and income.

The industrialization has had profound effects on the Korean family, reducing the stem families (that is, patrilineal, three-generation families) from 31 percent in 1955 to only 10 percent of all Korean households in 1990, and by 1990 the nuclear families had risen from 63.5 percent to 68.0 percent. [23] Furthermore, the average numbers of household shrank from 5.5 persons in 1966 to 3.8 persons in 1990. [24] And the difference in family size between rural and urban areas has disappeared. And the total fertility rate fell from 6.0 children per woman in 1960 to 1.7 by 1990. [25]

The traditional role of married women has basically remained the same. The husband earns a living and the wife is a full-time homemaker. Even when the wife is employed,

the husband does not help with housekeeping. The wife usually gets help from her mother or the maid if the family can financially afford it.

Most studies conducted during the 1960's and 1970's were on the effects of industrialization, comparing rural and urban families, nuclear with stem families, and wife employed with wife unemployed families. The male dominated authority structure in traditional families prevailed both in rural areas and cities alike. The traditional division of labor between the sexes persisted. J. Choi (1982a) reported that urban wives performed 63.8 percent of the cooking, 61.8 percent of the laundry and 53.9 percent of the bed making. Less than one percent of husbands shared cooking or laundry. The rest was performed by housemaids. [26]

The persistence of the traditional women's role has been reinforced by the exclusion of married women from the labor market. Although the female labor force increased from 29 percent in 1960 to 35 percent in 1970, the majority of them are single women in the industrial sector in the urban area, and married women in the agricultural sector. [27]

Women experience severe discrimination in wages and promotion, and are usually excluded from responsible decision-making positions. Under these circumstances, the majority of female workers leave their jobs upon marriage and become a full-time homemaker. The experience of married women in Korea is depicted in the following passage by women sociologists.

"The first place of women is believed among Koreans to be her home and family. Many a woman is not involved in economic activity outside the home throughout her life. Others give up their work outside the home upon marriage to become a full-time wife. Still others have the problems of reconciling the demands of work with those of housework and childcare." [28]

Love marriage is becoming popular. The consanguine relationship gradually gives way to the conjugal relationship especially in the city. The preferred method for mate selection is "children first, parents later" method over "parents first, children later" or an arranged marriage.

Despite these changes the traditional family system persists. The majority of Koreans prefer sons over daughters. Not having a son is a source of severe emotional strain for women. Son preference has a practical meaning: A birth of a son gives a women status within the family; it is essential for economic support in old age; and most of all, it provides a successor for the family (male) lineage (Arnold 1985). [29] Support and care by children are especially important in Korea because there is only limited health insurance and medical care, and there is no social security system for older Koreans.

However, the value of children, including son preference, has been changing slowly. For example, a 1990 survey reported that about 41.7 percent of the respondents said that they do not need children to succeed them or that daughters could provide the necessary succession, whereas in a 1959 survey only 22.6 percent of the respondents expressed these views. [30]

Divorce was rarely permitted before, but customs governing marriage and divorce have undergone major changes. Today, wives can sue their husbands for divorce, but they have no legal right to their children's custody in the event of divorce. The new law enacted in 1991 provides that, if there is no will, the spouse of the deceased is to receive one-half of the property, and the other half is to be distributed equally among the children regardless of sex and marital status. [31]

Despite economic and social changes, Korean families still display strong patriarchal characteristics. Studies done on the impact of industrialization on family values and behaviors in the 1960's note that "changes have not been accompanied by improved social, political, and legal status for women." The notion of male superiority still prevails in Korean society. The father is the boss and the mother is an obedient assistant. Traditional value emphasizes the importance of sons.

Feminism exerts minimal influence in Korea. Sexism and paternalism remain very much alive in Korean society. Recently President Kim Dae Jung of South Korea nominated Ms. Chang Sang (President of Ewha Women's University) for the position of prime minister - the first woman ever nominated for the job. However, The National Assembly overwhelmingly rejected President's Kim's choice after "a bruising debate on everything from her real estate dealings to her educational background." [32]

Exposure to Western influences including Catholicism, Protestantism, science and technology along with South Korea's economic boom during the 1960's and 1970's have played a decisive role in transforming the country from an agrarian to a modern industrial society. However, the Confucian influence on the Korean family is still strong, as indicated previously by the male superiority and female subordination, preference of son(s) over daughter(s) , and strong kinship bond. Even though children live at a separate residence, they plan to live with their parents when their parents grow old and need help. In Korea, the Confucian heritage is still alive and changing slowly.

The Confucian family system and social structure begin to be challenged by the

introduction of Western ideas, especially individual dignity and equality between men and women, since the end of the nineteenth century. [33]

In the modernization of Korea the contributions of foreign missionaries (both Catholic and Protestant) who arrived in Korea in the second half of the nineteenth century were of incalculable value as they spread not only Christian messages but the Western idea of equality and freedom. [34]

In the following chapters, the stresses on /////contemporary Korean-American families and how they are coping with them will be studied systematically.

Chapter 7 Traditional Family in Korea

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Chapter 8

Korean American Families

Previous research on Korean American families indicates that Korean families remain extremely patriarchal and this persistence of the traditional Confucian family structure is due to the economic segregation from mainstream U.S. society, high participation rate in the Korean churches, and men's resistence to change (Min, 1998).

To what extent do Korean American couples share the division of labor in the household and decision-making?

Hurh and Kim (1988) studied Korean immigrant families in the Chicago area and found that although Korean women participate in economic activities, they also do most of the housework and this "double burden" invites stresses and strains in their family lives.

Another study on Korean American families in New York City (Min, 1997) indicates that although Korean women work long hours in family businesses, "their economic contribution has not significantly increased their marital power and status." Two reasons were given: One reason is that women work for family businesses as unpaid family workers and the other reason is Koreans' concentration in small business hinders

both wives and husbands from altering the traditional gender role ideology.

In the same article, he maintains that exposure to the U.S. work environment is likely to help Koreans alter the traditional gender role ideology. To examine the effects of the Korean sub-economy on the maintenance of traditional Korean gender role orientation, he compared three groups of respondents - full-time housewives, working wives in the Korean ethnic market (those self-employed or employed in the Korean-owned firms), and wives employed in non-ethnic firms - on gender role attitudes and marital power.

The research findings show that the respondents in the general labor market had more egalitarian gender role attitudes than those who work in the ethnic labor market, who in turn had more egalitarian attitudes than housewives. The study reveals that although there is no statistically significant difference between homemakers and those who work in the ethnic market, there is a statistically significant difference between married women working outside of the ethnic market and housewives.

The study further shows that Korean women employed in the mainstream U.S. labor market maintain more egalitarian relations with their husbands in terms of family decision making than either of the other two groups. This is due to their having a higher level of education and a longer residence in the United States than the other respondents.

Second-Generation Korean American Families

There were not many studies done on second-generation Korean American families at the time of this research. However, characteristics of second-generation Korean American families are found in P. G. Min's article on "Korean American Families" in Minority Families in the United States: A Multi-cultural Perspective (Edited by Ronald L. Taylor, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1990).

He delineated family characteristics of foreign-born Koreans, native-born Koreans, and the white population in the United States using the 1990 census data. The 1990 census data reveal that there are significant differences between American-born Koreans and foreign-born Koreans in family characteristics. For example, American-born Koreans have a much higher divorce rate than their foreign-born counterparts, and native-born Koreans have a higher proportion of female-headed families than foreign-born Koreans.

The divorce rate for native-born Koreans is 19.6%, while the divorce rate for foreign-born Koreans and white Americans is 8.4% and 16.9%, respectively. The proportion of female-headed families among the native-born Koreans is 15.1%, while the proportion of female-headed families for foreign-born Koreans and white population is 11.1% and 12.3%, respectively. American-born Korean Americans are much more likely than their parents to accept divorce as an alternative to an unhappy marriage.

The 1990 census data also indicate that native-born Korean women (25 to 34 years old) have a much lower fertility rate than their foreign-born counterparts. For the native-

born Korean population in the 25 to 34 age category, there is a 0.7 fertility rate per woman, compared with 1.1 for foreign-born Korean women. For the older women (35 to 44 age category) however, there is no difference in the fertility rate between the native-born and the foreign-born.

Mate Selection

Sara Lee studied the partner choices and constraints among second-generation Korean Americans in New York City (Lee and Zhou, pp. 285-298). She found that class and gender play important roles in choosing their mate and it overrides race and ethnicity.

Middle-class Korean Americans prefer coethnic partners because they have social networks for coethnics, and are familiar with the cultural norms, experiences, and sensibilities of Korean Americans, the majority of whom are middle-class. By contrast, because working class Korean Americans live in racially and ethnically diverse and less affluent areas, they feel closer to other working-class minorities, such as blacks and Latinos, than to middle-class Korean Americans. Working-class Korean Americans are open to dating and marrying across racial and ethnic lines because their class status is more salient in their lives than ethnic identity.

Lee also finds that gender matters. The negative stereotypes of Asian males affect the dating patterns for both Korean men and women. She reminds us that while individuals may have the free will to choose their spouse, it is important to note that cultural and social factors play a significant role in selecting their mate.

What my study shows is that a sociological law of propinquity matters. What I

mean is that the majority of the couples met their spouses at the school they attended - colleges, graduate and professional schools - and in the churches or work places.

Child Socialization: The Case of Korean American and Jewish American Families

Confucianism has had a profound effect on child socialization practice in Korea along with the practice of filial piety. One of the major reasons given by many immigrants for coming to the U.S. is providing better opportunities for their children's education. Therefore, Korean parents are more likely to put a greater emphasis on children's education than white Americans.

Some scholars have indicated that the value put on children's education is one of the defining characteristics of Jewish Americans; and it differentiates Jewish Americans from other ethnic groups (Heilman, 1982; Sklare, 1971). However, a comparative study of Korean immigrants' and Jewish mothers' child socialization (Rose and Min, 1992) showed that Korean immigrant parents may put more stress on children's success in school than even Jewish-American parents.

The study found that "the majority of the secondary school children of the Korean mothers attend private institutes specializing in mathematics and English in the previous summer, whereas only 6 percent of Jewish children attended such programs. Thirty percent of the Korean children participated in extra curriculum study programs, in comparison to 11 percent of the Jewish children." The same study also found that Korean mothers pressured their children to study longer hours after school and to get better grades than Jewish mothers (Mindel, p.241).

While both Jewish and Korean parents manifest their tradition of relying on education as a means of social mobility, the sense of insecurity felt by Korean immigrants because of the history of discrimination against Asian Americans in the U.S. may account for the extraordinary preoccupation with education of Korean American children.

Japanese American Family

To understand the situation of Korean Americans it will be instructive to review the experience of Japanese Americans. Kerrily Kitano and Harry Kitano studied the cultural changes found between three generations of Japanese Americans. While first-generation have kept traditional the Meiji family system in Japan, third-generation Japanese Americans have totally absorbed into mainstream American society, sharing similar family structure and practices. The authors state that fourth-generation Japanese Americans have no ethnic identity.

The first-generation Japanese American family system and practices are similar to those in traditional Korea. Kitano and Kitano present the characteristics of the first-generation family system which is derived from the Meiji era in Japan. This period of Japanese history corresponds chronologically to the late Yi Dynasty in Korea. (See chapter on the Traditional Korean Family.)

The Kitanos present the characteristics of the first-generation Japanese American

family system borrowing from the Yanagisako's summary (1985) as:

1. Absence of choice in the selection of spouse (arranged marriage)
2. Interaction based on obligation
3. Strong involvement in other family relationships
4. Priority of filial bond over conjugal bond
5. Male dominance
6. Rigid division of labor by sex
7. Emotional restraint, with emphasis on compassion, respect, and consideration
8. Stability
9. Little verbal communication

The authors provide Yanagisako's (1985) assessment of marriage. Some of the contrasts between Isssei and Nisei views of marriage provided are: "exposure to American molds meant that for the Nisei there was much more freedom of choice of spouse, the concept of romantic love, relative freedom from other family relationships, priority placed on conjugal bonds over filial bonds, greater equality of the sexes, more flexibility in sex roles, higher emotional intensity with emphasis on sexual, romantic expectations, and greater instability....." The Kitanos state that "it is a common process faced by all immigrant groups - the retention of ethnic ways and the attraction of the new culture." Generally, Nisei Americans prefer the more "American ways."

K. Kitano and H. Kitano state that the Sansei and subsequent generation born in the U.S. showed total acquisition of most American culture. The Sansei follow the model

of love as the primary reason for marriage. Compare to the Nisei generation, there is much more "openness about sex, about the role of males and females, and the division of labor in marriage among the Sansei." And priority is given to the husband-wife relationship over kinship ties.

K. Kitano (1996C) sums up the waning of Japanese ethnic identity among fourth-generation Japanese Americans as follows:

> "I think that the Issei family was close. They spoke Japanese and their friends were other Issei. My parents were close to the Issei, especially as they grew older. There were a lot of family gatherings, and they kept in touch with other Nisei, especially those from the same World War II camps. I grew up as a Sansei and feel quite` American - I don't know Japanese and my friends are not exclusively other Japanese Americans. But I know that I am a Japanese American, but my kids have almost no ethnic identity."

Chapter 9

Retention of Subculture and Filial Piety

Previous studies on immigrant families have indicated that traditional Korean values rooted in the Confucian philosophy influence the shape of family structure, family relations and gender roles (Kim and Hurh, 1987, 1988; Min, 1992; Yu, 1987).

In this section, I would like to selectively cover the retention of Korean subculture, including elements such as patriarchy, filial piety, first-generation parents' legacy, celebration of traditional Korean Holidays, etc.

Patriarchy:

1. Importance of a son in inheriting the family line.

The question was asked: "How important is it to inherit the family line?"

. No longer important to continue a family line.

. Only a son should inherit the family line.

. A daughter should inherit the family line if there is no son.

. Adopt a son from family members - from father side and from mother side.

. Adopt a son from outside of the family OK.

. Other opinion.

The majority of the respondents indicated that a daughter should inherit the family

line if there is no son. Some of the subjects answered that a family can adopt a son from other family members. A few subjects answered that it is not important to continue a family line.

2. Preference of a son over a daughter

A question was asked: "Do you prefer a son over a daughter? Why?" There are three categories of answers to this question: (1) Some respondents said that they do not have preference of a son over a daughter; (2) the next group consisted of interviewees who expressed an opinion that they prefer a son over a daughter because they feel that a son can provide more economic security than a daughter. One respondent quoted her parents saying, "if you have a son, you feel 'deun deun ha da,' meaning feel secure, can rely on or depend on; and (3) still other group of interviewees indicated that they prefer a daughter over a son because a daughter can take care of parents better than a son.

3. "Chesa" (Ancestor worship)

Many respondents indicated that they do not observe "chesa" but they will observe a memorial service. However, many parents of respondents observe "chesa" even though they attend church services. One of the respondents' father is a Christian minister, yet his family observes "chesa." This reflects the deep-rooted culture of Confucianism.

Traditional Korean Holidays

1. Lunar New Year

Some of the respondents said that they observe the Lunar New Year with their parents. They celebrate by preparing the feast. Both adults and children alike wear traditional Korean dress, and children bow to the parents and elderly as part of the celebration.

2. "Chusuk" (Korean Thanksgiving Day)

Some of the second-generation families observe "chusuk" and other families do not. In Korea, usually extended family members gather together and make "song pyun" (rice cake with red bean or sesame seed inside). In the U.S. everything is commercialized now. One can buy "song pyun" at the Korean supermarket few days before or on Thanksgiving Day.

A special telephone call to relatives in South Korea on the traditional Thanksgiving Day became part of the celebration. "Did you eat 'song pyun'?" is part of the greetings.

Birth Day Celebration

Birthdays are celebrated by preparing a feast, and both Korean foods and American foods are served. Both mother and children wear Korean dress, and take many pictures. One of the subjects said that she feels very happy when she wears traditional Korean dress.

In addition to a regular birth day, many families celebrate “paik il” (one hundred days after birth). One of my respondents displayed her son’s “paik il” picture in front of the cash register in her store.

The majority of second-generation families give both a Korean name and an American name to their children.

Korean Food

Second-generation Korean American families enjoy Korean food several times a week. When they have visitors and guests from Korea, they visit Korean restaurants.

Some families live in the suburban area. One of the interviewees who lives in the suburbs said that there is no Korean restaurant nearby. She cooks Korean food herself. She said that she cooks such dishes as “bulkogi”, “kalbi” (both beef dishes carinated with special souce), “kimchi” (hot cabbage), “mi yuk kuk” (seaweed soup), “den jang ji ge” (bean paste soup with vegetables, bean curd, and some meat or sea food), “bi bim bap” (a lot of vegetables with meat or sea food and an egg in the center). One U.N. food official visiting South Korea recommended Korean food as very healthy food, especially “bi bim bap” and “den jang ji ge.” According to Stephen Steinberg (Ethnic Myth, 1981), food is the “last bastion of ethnicity.”

Traditional Korean Wedding

Many respondents reported that they had both an American wedding ceremony and the traditional Korean wedding ceremony when they got married.

In New York City, there is an institute called "Ye Ji Won." One can learn about the traditional wedding ceremony including how to dress in a traditional wedding gown, learn traditional wedding procedures, and how to bow, etc.

In Seoul, South Korea, the Institute of Decorum and Wisdom offers a bridal course including how to maintain a good relationship with the mother-in-law. The "Ye Ji Won" in Seoul, South Korea is described as "the unchanging corner of a fast-changing society where the gap between the generations - and the gap between women's qualifications and their role in society - grows wider everyday." ("A Crash Course in Tradition," New York Times, June 25, 2004.)

The supporters say that it is necessary to teach modern Korean brides timeless traditions and customs in a time of high divorce rate. For others, it is an old practices that hold back women who could lead South Korean society.

First-Generation Immigrant Parents' Legacy

The question was asked: "What parents' legacies would you like to keep?" The majority of the respondents expressed an opinion that it is important to keep the parents' legacy of "strong family ties," "emphasis on education," and "hard work" exemplified by the first-generation immigrant parents.

1. Family solidarity

To a question, "How often do you call or visit your family members or relatives?", the majority of the respondents answered that they have frequent contacts with their families by calls or visits. This includes families of both sides - family of orientation and

husbands' families (in-laws).

They practice mutual aid in many forms including moral support, gift giving, and direct financial aid.

2. Importance of Education

The majority of the respondents expressed an opinion that their parents considered education very important and made many sacrifices to provide them with the education they have. Many of them have graduate degrees from the elite universities in the U.S.

All of them think that education is the basis for social mobility in the United States. Many respondents said that their children's education is very important, but they will not insist that they have to "go to Harvard" or "study medicine or law" as their parents insisted that they do. Instead, they will value more the individual talents and aspirations of their children.

The majority of the subjects think that it is extremely important to get a higher education, and become "competent professionals," or "do well in their own field," or "the best way they can be" and have "economic security." They think this is the meaningful way to "contribute to the American society."

Korean Heritage: History, Language, and Culture

The majority of the interviewees said that it is important to keep Korean heritage. The second- and 1.5-generation need to know Korean history, language, and customs, yet adapt to American dreams. One of the respondents said that Jewish people are a good model. She said: "Look at the Jewish people. They went through a lot. Yet, succeeded in

an American dream."

It is interesting to note that the majority of the subjects disagreed with the following statements: "Koreans living in the United Stats should adopt the American way of life, even if it means giving up the Korean way of life." And "It is necessary to give up one's Korean heritage in order to be successful in the United States."

Now, let us turn our attention to their ethnic identity, role of second-generation, and their attitudes toward U.S. society.

Ethnic and Racial Identity

Question was asked: "Do you identify yourself as a
Korean, Korean-American, Asian-American, Third World People, or American?"

The majority of the respondents identified themselves as Korean-Americans. A few subjects said that they are both Asian-Americans and Korean-Americans. One interviewee answered "I am an American, well... I am a Korean-American." None of them identified themselves as Third World People.

It is interesting to note that: (1) my respondents have more Korean-American friends than American friends; (2) only a few respondents participate in American voluntary organizations; and (3) many consult family members first rather than talk to American friends or seek professionals when and if they have problems.

My respondents are socially segregated in the American society voluntarily if they attend Korean American churches. One respondents mentioned that "even though our

family makes a six-digit income, well...we are socially segregated. We come to the Korean church every Sunday." The English Language Ministry was established for second- and 1.5-generation within the first-generation Korean American church.

Role of Second-Generation Korean Americans

A question was asked: "What do you think is the role of second- and 1.5-generation Korean Americans?"

The majority of the respondents expressed an opinion that the role of second- and 1.5-generation is: (1) to keep Korean heritage, (2) do well in one's own field of occupation, and (3) become full participants in the U.S. society.

Attitudes Toward the U.S. Society

A question was asked: "Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?" "There is discrimination in economic opportunities." The majority of the respondents agreed to the statement.

Yet, the majority of the respondents agreed to the following two statements: "Non-whites have equal opportunities." And "The United States is the best country in the world."

As we have observed, second-generation Korean Americans have the burdens and challenges of combining multiculturalism and an assimilationist world view. Their success will depend on in part how well they balance changes and continuities, and create a new way of life for themselves.

It should be emphasized that ethnic identity and consciousness of the Korean Americans is sharpened and strengthened not only by the attitudes of the rest of Americans toward Korean Americans but also the reputation of Koreans in the Korean peninsula. Thus, for example, the image of Korean Americans was boosted when South Korea hosted the Summer Olympics in 1988, and when the South Korean soccer team achieved semi-final status in the World Cup four years ago (2002). And the recent election of Mr. Ban Ki-moon as the Secretary General of the United Nations boosted the images of South Korea and Korean Americans.

Filial Piety

Filial piety has been a cultural norm in Korea, Japan, China, and other Asian countries influenced by Confucianism. It regulates the inter-generational relationships between parents and children.

Traditionally, filial obligation of children has been institutionalized in the patrilineal extended family system. Under this system a married son and wife is obliged to serve the husband's parents' needs including: 1) physical care, 2)social-psychological comfort, 3) respect for and consultation with parents concerning important family and personal matters, 4) honoring and glorifying parents through the son's outstanding achievement, and 5) faithful observance of important ceremonial occasions, such as ancestor worship, parents' wedding anniversary or birthdays. An ancestor worship is required after parents' death and sons are required to observe three years of mourning ritual.

In South Korea, the norm of filial piety is widely accepted and practiced. Min (1998, p.27) reported that 80 percent of elderly persons in South Korea live with their children (Korean Census), and 66 percent with their married children (Eu, 1992).

In the United States, filial piety is deeply embedded in the minds of most first generation Korean immigrants. Hurh and Kim's Chicago study in 1986 reported that three-fourth of Korean immigrants (20 years old or more) in the sample (462, 74.6%) believed that the primary obligation for supporting elderly parents should rest on their children rather than the government or parents themselves.

More than 90 percent of the sample (571, 92.4%) said that respect was due elderly parents, and a similar proportion of respondents (556, 90.1%) indicated that a wife should treat her parents-in-law as her own parents.

Hurh and Kim recommended the "modified expectation of filial piety" since it is very difficult to practice traditional filial piety in the United States. They proposed a restricted range of filial piety which mainly encompasses physical care and social-psychological comfort. The latter part includes respect for the parents, celebration of parents' birthday, and wedding anniversary. Ancestor worship is considered an outmoded ritual of filial piety.

Two observations can be made as a result of interviews with second-generation Korean American families regarding filial piety.

1. Class Differences

One finding is that there are class differences in elder care. One of my respondents visits her parents' grocery store regularly. Often she has been asked to translate bills and other English documents for her parents. She reported that her grandmother cooks breakfast, lunch, and dinner. Her grandmother also does laundry and helps in the store.

There is a serious gap between the traditional expectation of filial piety and current social reality. Han observes Korean immigrant parents' experience (Han, pp. 18-19):

> " Traditionally, older parents live with their eldest son and his family in an extended family system. As a head of the family, they are served, respected, consulted by their children about family matters. When they came to the United States, their role and status are reversed. They are no longer served and consulted by their adult children; rather they have to serve and consult their children. Most of their adult children go to work for long hours in order to settle down securely in their new land. The tasks of the parents are usually to take care of the grandchildren and do such household chores as preparing meals, cleaning the house, washing, and sometimes working as a store hand in their children's store. They see their status generally being diminished in the family as well as in the new environment."

Furthermore, they are socially isolated especially in the suburban areas. As a result of language barrier, they are isolated in their own home because American-born grandchildren barely speak Korean. They are not able to watch T.V. or read newspapers.

However, among the upper-middle-class families, the elderly Korean immigrants are cared for by traditional standards of filial piety. To them, fulfillment of the traditional expectation of filial piety is "what it means to be old."

They are well taken care of physically, financially, and emotionally. They hold high status volunteer positions, such as, as elder in the church, or have leadership

positions in the community and receive great respect. Usually, their children have professional and managerial occupations.

2. Trend Toward Bilateral Conjugal Family

The other observation made is that the second-generation Korean American family system has started to change toward the bilateral conjugal family. Therefore, filial obligation of married children and spouse have to be extended to the care of parents of both husband and wife.

For example, in one of my respondents' families, one can notice the evidence of traditional loyalty and attention to the husband's family in addition to the frequent contact with the wife's parents. She visits her parent-in-law's house twice a week with her husband and her two children. She also has close contact with her own parents. They visit her house regularly and her father gave both Korean and Christian names to her children. She likes very much poetic Korean names.

Meaning of Filial Piety

To the question, "What does filial piety mean to you?", the responses varied. The majority of the respondents agree that it is very important to respect the parents regardless of their demographic and socioeconomic backgrounds.

Some respondents replied that filial piety means making a connection between the generations. A mother of two children replied: "Filial piety is a complex matter. For one, it means to keep alive the connection between not only yourself and your immediate

family. I work hard at this by being present with my family through the phone and gatherings. My two sons are always meeting with their grandparents. Filial piety also means letting your family know that you are available to them to help and just be there."

Caring for Old Age Parents

To the question, "When your parents get old and need your help, what do you prefer to do?"

1 .send to Aged Home

2. live in the same neighborhood

3 .live in the same household

4. share responsibility with other siblings

5. Rotate residence with each different siblings

The majority of the respondents' favorite answers was "share responsibility with other sibling." None of the subjects answered that they will send their parents to the Aged Home. However, many respondents also said that they will take care of their parents when they need their help.

To the question, "What do you expect from your children?", it is interesting to note that none of the respondents mentioned children's "obligation and devotion" toward them. Many said that it is a "pure joy" to have them.

Living with the Parents-in-Law

It is found that not all of the second-generation Korean American families are

conjugal families. Few respondents live with parents-in-law with special challenges. They are first son who have special responsibilities in the patriarchal family system.

One subject reported that she has a conflict with her mother-in-law regarding child rearing practices. For example, she has a baby girl who cries a lot. Her husband says that it is good to cry and they leave her alone crying for about 20 to 30 minutes. But her mother-in-law says that it is not good to cry that long. 'Mother has to pick her up and see what is wrong." Now, a compromise has been made: They let her cry about 10 to 15 minutes before she comes for baby's rescue. What do 21st century child-rearing experts have to say on this issue?

Filial Piety Association ("Hyo Do Hwe")

There is a "Hyo Do Hwe" in Flushing, Queens, New York. During their annual meeting, prizes are presented to those exemplary adult children. Politicians and civic dignitaries of both Korean and American communities are invited to attend. A few years ago, New York U.S. Senator Charles Schumer was invited to give a talk. Congressional representatives are also invited. Venues change from time to time. Two years ago, the "Hyo Do Hwe" had their annual meeting at City Hall.

The purpose of the Filial Piety Association is to spread the importance of filial piety among both the Korean American community and American society at large.

Youth Culture

In the United States, the youth culture is predominant in the mass media and in the

psyche of Americans. Youth culture means “young look, being innocent, and inexperienced.” (According to Dr. Joy Brown, Psychologist and Radio Talk Show Host at WOR, New York City) And she asks: “How long do we want that? Or is it even useful?”

Maybe it is time to appreciate the wisdom of East Asian countries where they confer voluntary respect, love, and devotion to their parents and the elderly.

Summary

Retention of subculture and change vary depending on socialization, demographic characteristics such as size, socioeconomic characteristics, ethnic identity, degree of acculturation and assimilation into the American society, and the immigration policies of the United States.

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Chapter 10

Attitudes Toward Marriage and Family Life and Attitudes Toward Intermarriage

In this chapter, we learn about the respondents' attitudes toward marriage and family as well as their attitudes toward intermarriage.

Respondents were asked to choose one category on each variable.

Marriage:

A must for women

Not a must, but an individual choice

Women are better off being unmarried

Other

Perception of an ideal life as a woman:

Being a good wife and mother

Being a successful career woman

Other

Importance of husband, children, and self to a woman's life:

Both husband and children are critical

Only the husband is critical

Only the children are critical

Women's self is more critical than husband and children

Other

Importance of inheriting a family line:

No longer important to continue a family line

Only a son, even by adoption, should inherit the family line

A daughter should inherit the family line if there is no son

Other

Married woman living with parents or parents-in-law:

It is equally desirable to live with woman's own parents or parents-in-law

It is equally undesirable to live with either own or husband's parents

Living with husband's parents is reasonable, but living with own parents is not

Living with own parents is reasonable, but living with husband's parents is not

Other

The following findings were observed:

On marriage. The majority of the respondents expressed an opinion that marriage is not a must, but an individual choice.

On perception of an ideal life as a woman. The majority replied both "being a

good wife and mother" and "being a successful career woman."

On importance of husband, children, and self to a woman's life. More than half of the interviewees reported that "both husband and children are more critical" than "woman's self is more critical than husband or children."

On importance of inheriting family line. The majority of the subjects indicated that a daughter should inherit the family line if there is no son.

On married woman living with parents or parents-in-law. A few respondents said that under certain circumstances, it is equally desirable to live with woman's parents or parents-in-law. The majority of the subjects, however, indicated that it is equally undesirable to live with either own or husband's parents.

About the similar responses were found in Moon's study of the women of Korean descent in the United States, Japan, and Korea.

On divorce. The majority of the interviewees expressed an opinion that they approve of divorce if their spouses abuse them emotionally, mentally, and physically. Others mentioned that they approve of divorce when there is "nothing in common" or have "different values."

Expression of mutual affection. None of the respondents reported that they saw their parents kissing in public. Unlike their parents, second-generation Korean American women indicated that they show mutual affection in public places.

Attitudes Toward Intermarriage

In this section, I would like to explore the attitudes toward intermarriage among second-generation Korean American respondents and their parents. I expect to find differences of opinion on the topic of intermarriage between the two generations since it is an indicator of an assimilation into the society at large.

The question was asked: " Do you approve of intermarriage?" "Do you prefer certain racial/ethnic groups over others in choosing a spouse?" "How about your parents? Do they approve of intermarriage?" "What are their preferences like?"

Previous study reports that there are preferential hierarchy of choice for marital spouse. For example, Bang, in her study of the San Francisco Bay Area, raised a question:

> "My father who is an immigrant to the U.S. once told my two sisters and me- all 1.5 generation- that he wanted us to marry Korean men, but if you could not find Korean men who you could love, to marry Asian men; and if you could not find Asian men whom you could love, to marry White men, then Mexican, then Black. Did you grow up on the similar appeal? And if so, preferential hierarchy look the same?"

It is found that, in general, first-generation immigrant parents disapproved of intermarriage, while second-generation Korean Americans approved of intermarriage. Although the majority of the respondents approved of intermarriage, no one mentioned preferential hierarchy. The answers varied depending on their upbringing and socioeconomic backgrounds.

One upper-middle-class subject responded that her parents wanted her to marry only a Korean man. Her parents told her: "Just marry a Korean man. Period." She never

entertained a thought of intermarriage. Her qualifications of a mate included: One has to be in love; he has to be a Christian; and he has to be loyal to the family. She did not mention the spouse's educational achievement nor occupational preferences. She was also asked: "If your children were to marry other than Korean, would you approve of it?" She said that she prefers her children to marry another Korean, but if they are in love, she will approve of it. She added, "I will have to tolerate it."

A blue collar class respondent replied that she approves of intermarriage. "As long as they are in love and like each other, that is fine with me." But she worries that "the mixed kids have hard time growing up." They can be "confused " at times. " I married to Korean because I like to have Asian babies." She added, "I used to date an American man. They treat you very nicely. If I ever divorce my husband, I like to marry an American man."

A corporate lawyer-to-be responded that she approves of intermarriage, but she thinks that children of an intermarried couple will have problems in terms of language and culture.

Another question on intermarriage was asked: "Do you approve of intermarriage? If approve of it, what are the positive aspects or advantages of intermarriage? Do you anticipate any problems raising children of intermarried couples?

The majority of the respondents approved of intermarriage. And they indicated the positive aspects of intermarriage including raising children of an intermarried couple. For example, one interviewee answered: "Yes, I approve of intermarriage. Positive

aspects.....One is that each has more open views of the other's culture. Better understanding of other cultures. Yes, I approve of raising children of intermarriage couple."

Another respondent expressed an opinion that she approves of intermarriage. "Positive aspects are one's life gets enriched by more than one culture." In regard to raising children, "I wouldn't say that there will be problems as much as challenges..... Their burden will be great as they will take on more cultures and traditions as they grow. But I think this will only make them better persons and make them more prepared for a global community which is getting smaller in many ways."

Chapter 11

Changing Attitudes About Gender Roles And Social and Family Roles

I. Changing Attitudes About Gender Roles

The most significant attitudinal change in American society has been the greater acceptance of women's participation in the public sphere, notably women's employment outside the home and receptivity in women's election to political offices.

Women's Employment

The following three questions were asked about women's employment.

1. (Women should take care of home.) : Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Women should take care of their home and leave running the country up to men.

Agree_____ Disagree_____

2. (Disapprove of married women working): Do you approve or disapprove of a married woman earning money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her?

Agree_____ Disagree_____

3. (Vote for women president): If your political party nominated a woman for President,

would you vote for her if she were qualified for the job?

Yes_____ No_____

Source: National Opinion Research Center (1993), items 198-200; Farley (1996).

Figure 1 presents responses to questions about women's employment. As seen in Figure 1, the proportion of those who say that they would vote for a woman for President reached about 90 percent in 1993. The proportion of those who agree to the statement that "women should take care of the home and leave running the country up to men" has declined dramatically over the two decades since 1973. The proportion of those who disapprove of married women working has also declined (Spain, p.181).

The majority of the respondents in my study also showed similar positive attitudes toward women's employment. They also indicated that they would vote for a woman for President if she were qualified.

Women Combining Home and Work

The following three questions were asked about women combining home and work.

1. (More important for a wife to help her husband's career):

It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have one herself.

Agree_____ Disagree_____

2. (Working mothers can establish warm relationships):

A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children

as a mother who does not work.

Agree_____ Disagree_____

3. (Better for everyone if man achieves outside home):

It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and woman takes care of the home and family.

Agree_____ Disagree_____

Source: National Opinion Research Center (1993), item 252; Farley (1996).

Figure 2 shows responses about women combining home and work. The public opinion polls have shown a steady increase in positive reactions toward combining family life and employment. The proportion of those surveyed agreeing to the question, "working mother can establish warm relationship" has increased from about 47% in 1977 to 65% in 1993.

The attitudes toward the importance of a woman's career have improved with a comparable decline in the belief that the husband should be the one to achieve outside the home (Spain, p.183).

The similar attitudes about combining home and work were observed among my respondents. They have reservations, however, about the mothers of preschool children working.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Dual-Career Relationships

The respondents were asked to list two or three items from the lists in order of

importance. Carlisle's lists were provided. Advantages are: income, self-esteem, greater respect, greater cohesion, equal power, and autonomy. Disadvantages are: work overload, relationships, role conflict, career leveling, and social pressure.

The three most frequently cited advantages of dual-career relationships by the interviewees are income, equal power, and self-esteem. The two most frequently mentioned disadvantages of dual-career relationships were work-overload and role conflicts.

II. Social and Family Roles

Respondents were asked the question: "Do you think that men and women play different or same social and family roles?" It is found that about half of the respondents said that men and women have similar social and family roles, while the other half of the interviewees said that men and women have different social and family roles.

An interviewee who has one son replied: "Nothing is really different. They both have equal chores and care for the family and that is what makes a family." Another respondent who has two young children said: "This is an interesting question as the roles of men and women have changed dramatically. For me, one of the major differences is biological as I was the one who could be pregnant. Beyond that I don't know what would limit a man or a woman from being who they dream to be. There should be no limits placed."

Yet another group of respondents expressed an opinion that men and women play different social and family roles. For example, one respondent with two children replied: "Women play an emotionally supportive role and men play a provider role. He is the head of the family and provides stability to the family."

Describing her own family of orientation, she said that her mother helps her father in all family matters and he has a last say. She describes herself as more traditional than her mother. "My mother thinks women should do more in society, perhaps because she does not have it." Another respondent replied: "I think women and men play different family roles. Women raise children, and men are rough, strict disciplinarians."

I think they are referring to "expressive" and "instrumental" roles. The terms were originally coined by a theoretical sociologist (Parsons), and subsequently used by many family sociologists.

Femininity and Masculinity

The most famous and widely used psychological measure of femininity and masculinity is an instrument called the revised Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI). It is composed of sixty descriptive adjectives on which subjects rate themselves: twenty masculine traits, twenty feminine traits, and twenty neutral items.

The traits were originally chosen from two hundred personality characteristics by one hundred male and female undergraduates at Stanford University in the 1970s. They were asked to rank the desirability of these traits for men and women in American

society.

Twenty traits chosen to define femininity are: yielding, loyal, cheerful, compassionate, shy, sympathetic, affectionate, sensitive to the needs of others, flattering, understanding, eager to sooth hurt feelings, soft spoken, warm, tender, gullible, childlike, does not use harsh language, loves children, and gentle.

The BSRI adjectives that describe masculinity are: self-reliant, strong personality, forceful, independent, analytical, defends one's beliefs, athletic, assertive, has leadership abilities, willing to take risks, makes decisions easily, self sufficient, dominant, willing to take a stand, aggressive, acts as a leader, individualistic, competitive, and ambitious.

The respondents were asked a question: "What is your concept of femininity and masculinity?" The answers provided by the subjects reflect general cultural norms regarding the characteristics of femininity and masculinity prevailing in the U.S. society as listed in the Bem Sex Role Inventory.

One of the respondents replied: "Feminine qualities are gentle, modest mannerisms, whereas males are more assertive. Man has to defend the family." Comparing herself with her mother, she said: "My mother is more assertive than I am. She is more independent. Because Korean society does not allow it, she wants to break away from it."

Another interviewee responded: "Femininity means more emotional and open, more vulnerable, soft personality wise, nurturing, and supportive." "Masculine men are physically strong, tough, and do not show their emotions. And they are aggressive." She

further mentioned that “the women I know, it is not a compliment to be feminine. It is the ideals of the ‘50s’ traditional ideas.”

Yet another subject mentioned both feminine and masculine qualities. She said that “being feminine means being soft and confident.”

“Strong is Beautiful!”

There was a special entitled, “From Housemaid to Harvard” in Jung Ang Daily News (September 12, 2003). The reporter described Ms. Jin Kyu Suh’s life as “strong is beautiful.” Her life history introduced in brief is as follows: She was raised in poverty in South Korea; married to an abusive husband; held many blue collar jobs; came to the U.S. as a housemaid; joined the U.S. Army; married a soldier 10 years younger than herself and later got divorced; took 15 years to get her B.A. degree from Baruch College; received a M.A. degree from Harvard; left the U.S. Army as a Major after 20 years of service in order to pursue her Ph.D. degree; is now in Japan collecting research materials for her Ph.D. dissertation.

She published her autobiography entitled, “

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(Pronounced as: “Na Nun Hi Mang Eui Jung Gu Ga Gae Go Ship Da.”)

(meaning, “I want to be a witness to hope.”

Her book is translated into Japanese and the book’s new title is “

.”

(pronounced as: “Hi Mang! Na Nun Po Ki Ha Ji An Nun Da.”

(Meaning, “Hope! I Do Not Give Up.”

She likes to show that there are a wide range of things one can achieve. In one picture in the article, she was surrounded by admirers. In the other picture, she was smiling with her daughter who is also attending Harvard.

The new adjective for the femininity is “strong” or “strong is beautiful!”

Mars Versus Venus

John Gray’s book, Men Are From Mars, Women Are From Venus: A Practical Guide for Improving Communication and Getting What You Want in Your Relationship, became an instant best seller when it was published in 1992. 2.5 million copies were sold.

Gray wrote about the “autonomous man” and “relational woman.” He described men’s sense of self as derived from their sense of autonomy and achievement: “Autonomy is a symbol of efficiency, power, and competence....Men experience fulfillment primarily through success and accomplishment.” Women, on the other hand, value “love, communication, beauty, and relationships. They spend a lot of time supporting, helping, and nurturing one another.....To share their personal feelings is much more important than achieving goals and success.....Instead of being goal oriented, they are more concerned with expressing their goodness, love, and caring.”

Anna Fels , in her recent book, Necessary Dreams: Ambition in Women's Changing Lives, refute Gray's "autonomous men" because men constantly seek affirmation and support from their family members, colleagues, friends, mentors, and bosses.

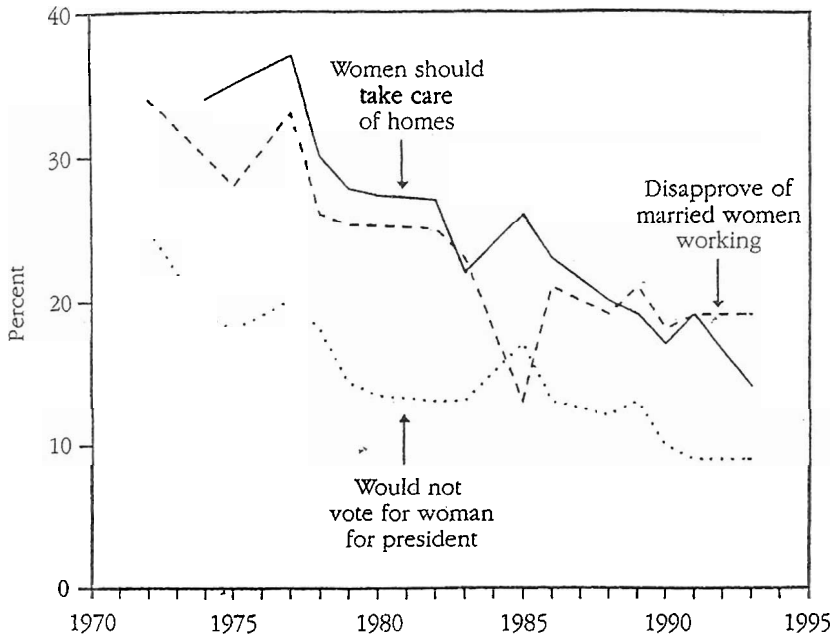
As the roles of men and women change in society, the thread to the hegemony of males with regard to attention may be the most contested area of conflict. As William J. Goode pointed out in his essay, "Why Men Resist?", men have been experiencing the loss of centrality.

> "The most important change in men's position, as they experience it, is a loss of centrality, a decline in the extent to which they are the center of attention. In our time, other super ordinates have also suffered this loss: colonial rulers, monarchs and nobles to name a few. Boys and men have always taken for granted that what they were doing was more important than what the other sex was doing; the action was where they were.....Men occupied center stage, and women's attention was focused on them.....The center of attention shifts to women more now than in the past. I believe that this shift troubles men far more, and creates more of their resistance, than the women's demand for equal opportunity and pay in employment."

At the same time, Fels warns that the "relational woman" may be at risk if she asks for recognition only from relationship sources because she will be vulnerable to environmental changes, such as divorce, children grow up and move, friends move to different areas, etc. The implication is that women diversify their sources of recognition as men do!

I think that women can be both "relational women" and "autonomous women," especially professional women; and men can be both "autonomous men" and "relational men" since modern women prefer communicative "relational men."

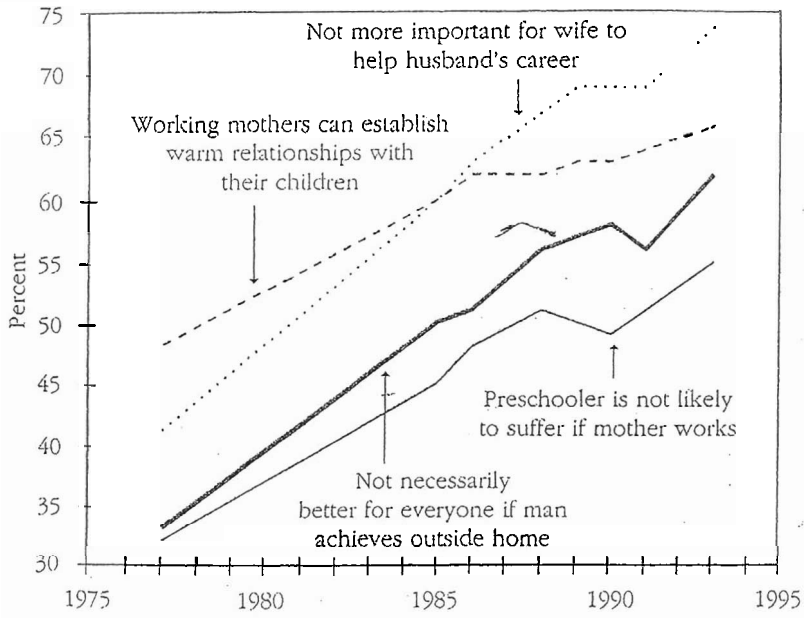
FIGURE 1 Responses to Questions About Women's Employment



Questions:
(Women should take care of homes): Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country up to men. (Figure shows percent who agree).
(Disapprove of married women working): Do you approve or disapprove of a married woman earning money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her? (Figure shows percent disapproving).
(Vote for woman for president): If your political party nominated a woman for President, would you vote for her if she were qualified for the job? (Figure shows percent saying no).

Source: National Opinion Research Center (1993), items 198–200; Farley (1996).

FIGURE 2 Responses to Questions About Women Combining Home and Work



Questions:
(More important for wife to help husband's career): It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have one herself. (Figure shows percent disagreeing.)
(Working mothers can establish warm relationships): A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work. (Figure shows percent agreeing.)
(Preschoolers suffer if mother works): A preschool child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works. (Figure shows percent disagreeing.)
(Better for everyone if man achieves outside home): It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family. (Figure shows percent disagreeing.)

Source: National Opinion Research Center (1993), item 252; Farley (1996).

Chapter 12

Division of Labor in Performing Household Tasks

Introduction to Division of Labor in Performing Household Tasks

In this chapter I will introduce family sociologists' theoretical perspectives on the division of labor in performing household tasks. Secondly, I will present my hypotheses on the division of labor in performing household chores. Thirdly, I will present the result of research findings including my own case studies. Here I will be concerned with families from three different socioeconomic backgrounds - the upper-middle class, the middle class, and blue collar class. Finally, I will offer a critique of prevailing family sociologists' theoretical perspectives, and present my own theoretical contribution on this topic.

Scholars have studied the division of labor in household tasks and tried to understand why the couple divides household tasks as they do. Family sociologists have mainly studied the issues of equity and power and status. Whereas economists have examined the role of spouses' relative productivity in the market place and household production such as meals, clean clothes, and socialization of children. Family economists, on the other hand, have analyzed the effects of pressure, facilitators, and constraints on time spent by family members, primarily wives, in household tasks.

According to Godwin (1991), there are eight theoretical perspectives employed

by family sociologists. I will briefly summarize each of these approaches

Family Sociologists' Perspectives

Family sociologists have focused exclusively on the relative contributions of husbands and wives to household work, as oppose to the amount of time each spouse has spent. This spousal division of labor is connected with issues such as equity and power within the family. Thus, researchers studied the extent of spouses' task sharing (Bird, Bird, and Scruggs, 1984; Erickson, Yancey, 1979; Stafford, Backman, & Dibona, 1977), the degree of husbands' task participation (Perrucci, Potter, & Rhoads, 1978; Pleck, 1979, 1983) and the amount of spousal role sharing (Albrec Albrecht, Bahr, & Chadwick, 1979; Clark, Nye, & Gecas, 1978; Erickson et al., 1979).

1. Relative Resources Theory of Blood and Wolfe (1960)

The relative resource theory was developed to explain spousal decision-making power but has been used extensively in studies of division of labor in families. The main proposition of this theory is that the spouse with the most resources (both economic and non-economic) relative to his/her partner will have more power to determine the behavioral arrangements of the family.

Although this theory has focused on relative resources, absolute levels of resources such as education or wages, have been used to test this hypothesis. Some researchers exclusively focused on economic resources to the exclusion of other resources such as personal attractiveness hypothesized as important.

2. The Theory of Resources in Cultural Context

This theory is developed by Rodman (1967, 1972), and has included the concept of cultural norms regarding spousal roles and the division of labor. Rodman contends that division of labor is dependent on the interaction of spouses' comparative resources and the cultural norms and expectations. He suggested that the relative resource hypothesis is plausible only in cultures which allow egalitarian decisions and division of labor.

3. The Socialization-Ideology Theory

This theoretical perspective has included two different ideas about the causes of family division of labor. The first idea has focused on socialization as an important key mechanism for transmitting values on sex roles. Researchers positing this effect have used structural background factors, such as socioeconomic status (Stafford et al., 1977) or race (Erickson, 1979; Farkas, 1976) to explain division of labor in the household tasks.

The second idea has focused on the effects of attitudes and expectations that individuals hold as adults on division of labor. Researchers using this perspective have relied on such factors as sex role attitudes (Coverman, 1985; Stafford et al., 1977; Wheeler & Arvey, 1981), wives' feeling of independence (Richmond, 1976) or house keeping role expectation (Clark et al., 1978) to explain variations in division of labor in the household. The link between the two ideas has been that these adult attitudes are influenced by their earlier socialization practices.

In Korean families, second-generation Korean American men and women are influenced by their parents' family practices which are Confucian and patriarchal in nature. For example, wives are expected to do household work and husbands are expected

to be good bread winners. The extent of these practices among second-generation families will be shown later.

4. Time Availability Hypothesis

This approach contends that the spouse with more time than the other will perform household tasks. If the wife is not employed, she is available for responsibilities in the household. (Wheeler and Arvey, 1981).

5. "Demand/Response Capability" Hypothesis

Coverman (1985) has formulated this hypothesis. She maintains that "husbands' domestic hours are a function of demands on husbands to fulfill domestic responsibilities along with their capability to respond to these demands" (Coverman, 1985, p. 9).

Demands have been measured by number of children and spouse's employment status. Division of labor in the family has been changed only when the husband has been favorable. Response capability has been measured by his hours of paid work and earnings. Earnings have reflected the family's ability to buy labor saving devices.

6. Family Developmental Approach

The basic assertion of this approach is that changes in time use evolve over the couple's life cycle. One assertion is that sharing household tasks is more pronounced in the early years of marriage and less so during later stages (Wheeler and Arvey, 1981).

Most sociological studies have used the number and age of children to explain the variation in the family's division of labor.

7. The Effect of Spousal Authority on Family Division of Labor

This view originates from the work of Parsons and Bales (1955) who contended

that “patriarchal norms prescribe rigid task differentiation between the sexes, which causes each spouse to own certain tasks in the family and society.”

Other scholars developed this idea into “dependent labor” theory including the “structure of control of resources in the social environment” (Meissner et al., 1975, p. 425). It hypothesizes that the division of labor is influenced by the “relative value society places on the outside employment activities of husbands as compared with that of wives” (Atkinson & Huston, 1984, p.332).

Feminist theories (e.g. Hartman, 1981) have taken this orientation to say that changes in the family’s division of labor will not be evident unless egalitarianism becomes the norm in all institutions of society.

8. Relative Productivity Hypothesis and Relative Efficiency Hypothesis

Finally, family sociologists have used economists’ relative productivity hypothesis (e.g. , Berk & Berk, 1978; Coverman,1985), and others (e.g. Farkas, 1076) have used the economists’ relative efficiency hypothesis.

Hypotheses

I would like to formulate a number of hypotheses to test which of these theoretical approaches best explains second-generation Korean American family behavior, namely division of labor in performing household tasks.

1. In general, second-generation and 1.5 generation Korean American families are more

likely to share household tasks than first-generation Korean American families.

2. Second-generation Korean American families are more likely to share household chores than 1..5-generation Korean American families.

3. Wife's employment status has a positive impact on the couple's egalitarian role relationships in performing household chores. If the wife is employed, one expects that husband will be more likely to share household tasks and further egalitarian roles.

4. Wife's level of education, occupation, and income (wife's socioeconomic status) is positively related to family's sharing household chores.

5. Husband's educational level, occupation, and income (husband's socioeconomic status) is positively related to egalitarian roles in performing household tasks.

6. If cultural norm is patriarchal, the wife is expected to do all the household chores, because husbands and wives have rigid task differentiation, husband as a bread winner and wife as a homemaker.

7. Family's socioeconomic status as well as sex role attitudes are positively related to sharing household tasks.

8. Number and age of children will influence division of labor in performing household tasks.

9. Couples in their early years of marriage are more likely to share household chores.

Findings on Division of Labor in Performing Household Tasks

1. My data support the hypothesis that second-generation and 1.5-generation Korean American families are more likely to share housetasks than their first-generation parents.
2. Second-generation Korea American families are more likely to share household tasks than 1.5-generation Korean American families. However, some families do not fall into the general pattern, these are deviant cases.
3. How the couple negotiates division of labor in the household tasks depends on many factors, such as the wife's employment status and educational level, the husband's education and occupation, the family's income, number and age of children, couple's life cycle, and the couple's early socialization on family behaviors.

To find the relative importance among these variables, one needs to apply relevant statistical analysis (or path analysis) on a representative sample. But it is beyond the scope of this study which is primarily the case analysis of the snowball sampling of second-generation Korean American families.

In the following, three examples of case studies will be presented for families from the upper-middle class, the middle-class, and the blue-collar class regarding division of labor in performing household tasks.

Division of Labor in Performing Household Tasks From Three Social Classes

1. Segregate Conjugal Role Relationships: The Case of the Upper-Middle Class Family

Sally Han (It is not her real name. The names of the respondents interviewed were altered to protect their privacy and confidentiality) came to the United States when she was only one year old with her parents in 1976. She has a law degree and has been working as an associate in a corporate law firm in New York City.

She is now a full-time mother taking care of two children - one is two years old and the other is only six months old. Her husband has a graduate degree (MBA degree) from an elite educational institution, and holds a professional/managerial position in a bank. She reports that her family income is over six figures. She considers her family belonging to the upper-middle class.

By examining her family's division of labor, I consider her family having segregated conjugal role relationships. She does all of the household chores including grocery shopping, cooking, dish washing, laundry, child care, ironing, bed making, and garbage disposal. None of the household chores are shared. Her husband does only vacuuming. She says: "I do everything.....get no help. Once in a while, I nag him. That is just about it!" "He comes home late and the weekend is a relaxing time." "He spends about 1 to 2 hours for child care during the week. During the summer, however, he tends the lawn

- about three hours a week."

She takes care of her children all by herself during the weekdays. Her husband does not want to have a baby sitter because "he does not like to have a stranger in the house." Once in a while, her mother comes over to baby sit if she has to go out of the house. When flowers are blooming in the summer, her mother-in-law comes over and tends the flowers.

As for her social activities, she attends a mothers' group in the neighborhood. Her family attends church services on Sunday mornings. She plans go back to work full-time next year to "help pay the mortgage." She said that her husband "does not care whether she works or not." When she goes back to a full-time job, I expect that there will be changes in the division of labor in performing household tasks and also in spousal power relations.

When studying her parents' division of labor, her mother and father also had a segregated role relationships. Her mother and father did only grocery shopping together. Her mother did the rest of the household chores - cooking, laundry, and ironing. She said that she did the dish washing and her brothers did the garbage disposal. And children made their own beds. One can conclude that there is no inter-generational changes in the family's division of labor in performing household tasks.

They had different reasons for separate spousal role relationships. In Sally's case, it is because of the presence of young children. Another reason is that her husband holds a responsible position and comes home late. There is no time or energy to help with the household chores, In Sally's parents' case, her mother and father had a busy life together. Her father was attending graduate school and her mother was managing a women's clothing store.

2 .Joint Conjugal Role Relationships: The Case of Middle-Class Family

Mrs. EmmaChang in her early thirties, and is preparing for the bar examination to become a corporate lawyer. She majored in political science at one of the Seven Sisters colleges, but changed her field of study to law for her graduate study. Her aspiration is to "become a competent attorney" in a corporate law firm.

Her husband is also a graduate student in the humanities, but is now thinking of changing his field. They have a one-year-old baby. Before they were married, her parents objected to their union because of their age difference. He is twelve years older than she is. He is currently working full-time.

In the course of studying the couple's division of labor, I discovered that they share many tasks together. He likes to cook so the couple spends a lot of time together in the kitchen. Both Emma and her husband vacuum the apartment. They both make beds and do garbage disposal. However, they have different tasks to do. Thus, while he does the gardening, she does dish washing and laundry. She says that her husband "helps me a lot in household chores." The couple lives in the suburbs, and she considers herself belonging to the middle-class.

Mrs. Chang's parents run a family business, namely, a dry cleaning store. When studying division of labor in performing household tasks, her parents do not share household tasks except making the bed together. Her mother does the grocery shopping, and prepares for lunch. Her father does the vacuuming. Her grandmother does the rest of the major household chores. Her grandmother does the cooking, dish washing, laundry, and

ironing.

Although some of the first-generation husbands do share household chores in the United States, the majority of them consider that it is a wife's job to do household chores as was the case in Korea. One can notice a big inter-generational change from her parents' segregated conjugal role relationship to Emma Chang's egalitarian role relationships in her family's division of labor in performing household tasks.

3. Joint (Egalitarian) Conjugal Role Relationships: The Case of the Blue Collar Family

Elaine Paik runs a grocery business on Broadway in Manhattan with her husband. They met at a friend's wedding, and married two month later. They now have two year old son. At age 34, Elaine wants to get out of the grocery business in a few years. She does not want to work 13 hours a day for the rest of her life.

The couple bought the store one year after marriage simply to help out a relative. Her husband's sister was on the verge of bankruptcy. The state attorney general's office, as part of a continuing investigation into wage practices in green grocers, had ordered her to pay six workers $62,500 in back salary. Elaine and her husband borrowed the money from a friend and started a store.

The Paiks use a distributor, saving themselves the first-generation's daily grind of pre-dawn drives to the Hunts Point wholesale market in the Bronx. The first-generation grocers encountered discrimination by wholesalers. They were told by wholesalers that prime parking spaces were reserved for whites. The market is friendly now since sixty percent of the buyers are Koreans.

Mrs. Paik has an extra job. She is a distributor for Market America, a company that sells consumer products including doctor-developed alternative medicine. Speaking fast and vivaciously, she hopes to support her husband while he studies English and computer.

Closely studying the Paik family's division of labor in performing household chores, most of the important tasks are performed by both wife and husband. The couple do grocery shopping together and cook together. They do laundry together. Even child care is done by both husband and wife. She does dish washing, ironing, and bed making. He takes out garbage. The Paik family is labeled as having a "joint" conjugal role relationships in performing household tasks.

Mrs. Paik has very little knowledge of the household chores of her parents. Her mother and her American stepfather are now divorced. She has an unusual parents' background. Her mother married a U.S. serviceman of Mexican background. After her parents of Korean birth were separated, she was brought to the U.S. by her mother who left her biological father. She said that she supports her mother who lives in Queens near her residence. Her husband also send remittance to his parents in South Korea.

General Statements Governing Theoretical Perspectives

Explaining Family's Division of Labor in Performing Household Tasks

While in general I support the eight theoretical perspectives considered earlier, I

would like to add my own perspectives. My views are intended to supplement and refine the various approaches of a number of family sociologists examined earlier.

1. The first point I wish to emphasize is that certain perspectives are most pertinent to some cases than others at a given time. What I mean is that one perspective may be relevant to the early stage of marriage, but other perspectives become pertinent in later stages.
2. The second point to be made is that not one but a combination of various approaches must be applied to the explanation of spousal division of labor at different stages of family life.
3. Thirdly, I maintain that it is important to consider the shifting economic conditions of the family and wife's employment status. Therefore, we have to apply different perspectives with a clear understanding of the changing family situations and spousal relationships.
4. Another theoretical perspective needs to deal with modifying or erasing of race/ethnicity oriented stereotyped families, such as black matriarchy, Mexican patriarchy, and Asian patriarchy, etc.

What is needed is not to typecast Asian or Korean families in American mainly in terms of their race and ethnicity because they are undergoing the process of adjustment and assimilation.

5. The other point to be stressed is that Korean American families are subjected to various forces and influences due to globalizing tendencies. Korean American families are in touch with their ancestral Korea more closely than ever thought possible in the past.

Many Korean Americans travel often to Korea and receive visitors from Korea.

Another noteworthy fact is the shrinkage of distance because of the spectacular development in telecommunication. Korean television and radio programs emanating in Korea are transmitted by satellites so that Korean Americans can watch and listen to the programs simultaneously as in Korea.

What is significant for the purpose of this study is that some of the Korean American families are transnational families and one might also say global families. Moreover, second-generation Korean Americans trained in the U.S. are employed by various corporations in Korea, not to mention their frequent visits to South Korea. This means we researchers must pay serious attention to these trans-cultural and trans-national characteristics of the second-generation Korean American families.

6. The comparative family structure perspective, in my opinion, has been inadequately studied or neglected by American sociologists. This dissertation addresses this perspective in depth.

Chapter 13

Family's Decision-Making Patterns: In Consumer Behavior, Child Rearing, Leisure Activities, and Money Management

Family Decision-Making Patterns: An Overview

The study of decision-making patterns and family power relationships has been a major topic in the marriage and family literature. It originated by Blood and Wolfe's Husbands and Wives (1960) and their resource theory of family power.

In her decade review of family power research, Safilios-Rothschild (1970) pointed out the number of limitations in conceptual, methodological, and theoretical sophistication in the field. She concluded (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970: 549): "It seems that theories about power structure will not become more sophisticated and valid, until the methodology of power structure studies improve considerably to include the detailed study of all aspects of power and from the point of view of all contributing family members as well as the study of underlying differential degrees of affective involvement of one family member in the other as important variables."

The first major conceptual problem is the usage of the concept of "family power" when the actual unit of analysis is the husband-wife dyad. Such studies exclude the power of children and other members of kinship network.

The study of husband-wife power relations has occurred largely due to: (1) the predominance use of self-report methodologies concerned with the conjugal unit; and (2) the emphasis on decision making outcomes rather than family power processes; and (3) the fact that dyadic power relationships are a more elementary unit of analysis.

Several scholars have drawn sociological definitions of power, particularly Weber (1947). The power has been defined as the ability of an individual within a social relationship to carry out his or her will even in the face of resistance by others.

Other definitions have been used with general consensus: (1) The power is the ability to achieve desired goals or outcome; (2) power is dynamic, rather than static, and therefore involves reciprocal causation; (3) power relations can be characterized as being symmetrical, or egalitarian (Scanzoni,1979b), and (4) power is multidimensional in nature including socio-structural, interactional, and outcome components.

According to McDonald (1980), the best conceptualization of power as multidimensional is provided by Cromwell and Olson(1975). There are three distinct domains: power bases, processes, and outcomes.

The concept of power bases refers to the resources of power (Blood and Wolfe, 1960). It includes economic power (Blood and Wolfe, 1960), it may also have normative and non-economic components.. Other sources of power might include: (1) normative resources - i.e., cultural definition of who has the authority (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970; (2) affective resources - i.e., the level of involvement (Safilios-Rothschild, 1976) or commitment and the degree of dependence of the other person (Emerson,1962); (3)

personal resources - i.e., personality, physical appearance; and cognitive resources - i.e., the influence perception of power has on the individual and others (Bacharach and Lawler, 1976).

Power processes refer to interactional techniques in an attempt to gain control in decision-making processes. These techniques include: (1) control attempts (Rollins and Bahr, 1976); (2) assertiveness (Cromwell and Olson, 1975); (3) negotiation (Scanzoni, 1980); (4) persuasion (Homans, 1974); (5) influence (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970; MacDonald, 1977).

Finally, the power outcomes refer to the question of who makes the final decision. In this case, it is relevant to consider who controls the definition of the family situation which determines the possible range of relevant decisions.

Theoretical Perspectives in Family Power

Theories of family power have been generated from two major perspectives: (1) the expansion of resource theory to include the normative context and (2) the systematic application of exchange theory to explain marital power processes.

1. Normative Resource Theory

Rodman posited a "theory of resources in cultural context" in 1967 comparing decision making power in France, Greece, Yugoslavia, and the United States. He later formulated theoretical amendment to resource theory by systematically reviewing cross-national decision-making power studies and attempting to arrive at a generalization with

greater explanatory power.

He used a typology of four kinds of societies, representing four stages of societal development, to demonstrate the applicability of his "theoretical statement that the balance of marital power is influenced by the interaction of (1) comparative resources of husband and wife and (2) the cultural and subcultural expectations about the distribution of marital power" (Rodman, 1972:60). This model is known as normative resource theory.

Burr (1973), incorporating the resource theory of Blood and Wolfe and Rodman's normative dimension, suggested a relationship between economic resources, including education and occupation, and marital decision making.

Burr et. al., (1977) have tested propositions derived from normative resource theory. The study found that the normative dimension accounted for considerable variance in adolescent (Mormon college students) perception of marital decision-making power and that relative resources accounted for very little. Furthermore, the relationship between resources and power has been found to be curvilinear, with the normative structure influencing the shape and direction of the relationship (1977: 505).

2. Exchange Theory

Social exchange theory has become the predominant orientation in family power and decision-making research. Both Rodman's (1972) "resources in cultural context" approach and Scanzoni's (1972) male-female power relationships utilized an exchange perspective and began incorporation of resources in an exchange context.

Safilios-Rothschild (1976) has utilized an exchange theory in her theory of "relative love and need." Employing data from Greece, to test her model, she found that the spouse who is "more in love" has less orchestration power and those spouses who perceive themselves as equally in love share the power in marriage. While acknowledging the importance of socioeconomic resources, especially educational level, she maintains "the resources of love are of greater importance for women not having access to a high level of socioeconomic resources, since they can exchange love for power."

Scanzoni's (1979b) major contribution to theory is based on his conclusion that most research has focused on power as a static phenomenon, with a primary focus on "who makes the final decision." He has asserted that power research should be refocused on power processes and specifies changes in gender role norms as having major influences for exchange/power processes.

He conceptualized "decision making" as follows: "decision making to subsume these ongoing inherently linked processes which include attraction, exchange, exchange rules, distribution justice, negotiation, maximum joint profit, power (non-legitimate power vs. authority), trust, communication, conflicts, hostility, and violence" (Scanzoni, 1979b:313).

3. Alternative Theoretical Contributions

Besides the normative resource theory and exchange/power theory, Rollins and Bahr (1976) have moved toward a conceptual clarification of the differing power related phenomena, arguing that the importance of the concepts lies in their comparative or

relational aspects.

Gillespie (1971) has posited a feminist theory of power. In the opinion of MaDonald, the feminist theory of power emphasizes "that women are structurally blocked by social, legal, and psychological barriers from potential power-based resources." However, others argue that it might fit into the normative resource theory.

Research Hypotheses

This study focuses on the decision making patterns as dependent variables in order to determine the antecedent variables of importance. In analyzing the data, the author will refer to the Normative Resource Theory and Exchange Theory.

1. The second-generation and 1.5 generation Korean American couples are more likely to make decisions together than their first generation parents.
2. Couple's socioeconomic status is positively related to egalitarian decision making. (Normative Resource Theory)
3. Wife's educational level and employment status are positively related to egalitarian decision making. (Normative Resource Theory)
4. The couples with egalitarian gender role norms are more likely to make decisions together than the couples with the patriarchal gender role norms.
5. If spouses perceive themselves as communicative (talking over, negotiation, persuasion, etc.), they are more likely to make decisions together and share the power in

marriage. (Exchange Theory)

6. The couple with high degree of trust and commitment are more likely to make decisions together and share power in marriage.

Research Findings

1. It is found that second-generation and 1.5-generation couples make decisions together in the area of consumer behavior, upbringing of children, leisure activities, and money management than the first-generation Korean American families.

It is interesting to note the changes occurring among first-generation Korean American families in the area of leisure activities. While in Korea, they had separate leisure activities, but since their arrival in the U.S., they usually spend leisure activities together. Housewives in Korea attend meetings of high school or college alumni associations regularly. Usually, they have "gae" (rotating credit association or joint investment group) meeting at the same time.

2. My study indicates that regardless of their socioeconomic status, second generation and 1.5 generation Korean American couples make family decisions together, especially if the wife is highly educated and is employed and makes a high income.

3. The majority of second-generation Korean American couples share egalitarian gender role norms, and therefore make decisions together in the area of consumer behavior, upbringing of children, leisure activities, and money management.

In the following, three case studies are presented. They illustrate egalitarian

decision making patterns and "transitional" (toward egalitarian) decision making patterns.

Examples of Decision-Making Patterns

The Case of Egalitarian Role Relationships in Decision-Making Patterns:

Julie's Family

Mrs. Julie Koh came to the United States at the age of eight with her parents. She has a full-time counseling job, and is expecting a second baby. And she plans to work toward an advanced degree. Her husband is a graduate student working toward his Ph.D. degree in counseling. He also has a job. As for her parents, they used to own a grocery store, but now they are operating a dental laboratory.

The respondent was asked: "Would you please tell me who decides the following family life? Is it decided mostly by wife, mostly by husband, mostly by both wife and husband in the area of consumer behavior, upbringing of children, leisure activities, and money management?"

She reported that the couple decide mostly together in all areas of family life - in consumer behavior, upbringing of children, leisure activities, and money mangement. The couple is labeled as having an egalitarian role relationship.

The same question was asked about her parents. "How was it done by your parents? Was it decided mostly by mother, mostly by father, or decided mostly by both mother and father in four areas of family life - in consumer behavior, upbringing of

children, leisure activities, and money management?"

It was learned that her mother decided on upbringing of children, and all other areas of family life were decided by her father - in consumer behavior, leisure activities, and money management. Her parents are labeled as having segregated conjugal role relationships. While her parents have a segregated conjugal role relationship, she has an egalitarian conjugal role relationship.

I have hypothesized that the wife's employment status is positively related to having an egalitarian role within the family between the spouses. Julie's case proved this hypothesis to be true. It can be explained by the Resource Theory of family power and decision making.

Her mother decided only on the upbringing of children, while her father decided on all other areas of family life. This is a typical segregated role relationship present among first-generation Korean American families. This could be explained by the Normative Resource Theory of family power and decision-making.

Discussions then turned to the dual-career relationships. Julie was asked to rank order the items in each list in terms of their importance (1=most important, 5 and 6 least important). The first three advantages of dual-career relationships she mentioned are: (1) greater respect, (2) autonomy, and (3) income. (Other items on the list are: self-esteem, greater cohesion, and equal power.) On this question, more respondents answered income first. Disadvantages of dual-career relationships she pointed out are: (1) work overload, (2) career leveling, and (3) societal pressure. (Other items on the list are relationships and

role conflict.)

She reports that she has a conflict with her husband over money management. According to Julie, her husband likes to buy computer equipment, while she prefers to save money to buy a house later. She said that the couple usually reach an agreement after talking it over. The couple reaches an agreement through communication and negotiation. Therefore, the Exchange Theory of family decision making explains their egalitarian conjugal role relationship. (In the area of division of labor in performing household tasks, they couple does everything together, even baby sitting.)

Egalitarian Conjugal Role Relationships in Family Decision-Making:
Case of Tina's Family

Here is another example of an egalitarian family. Mrs. Tina Ahn is a corporate manager with an M.B.A. degree from an elite American educational institution. She has two children, aged five and one. Her husband is also a manager in a corporation.

The couple decide together in all four areas of family life - in consumer behavior, upbringing of children, leisure activities, and money management. They share everything in household chores. Recently, they are experimenting Thai cooking. They cook together. She said, "he likes to cook." In terms of money management, the couple keep a joint account because it is easier to track of. In the following, we can observe the extent of mutual aid among family members. Tina said that sometime ago, the couple did lend $50,000.00 to one of their siblings, and expect to get paid when he can.

The couple initially had a separate residence, but moved back to her husband's

family. She is living with her parents-in-laws with many challenges. Her mother-in-law teaches her Korean languages since she speaks "baby Koreans." She also teaches her Korean cooking. Her father-in-law is medical doctor and her mother-in-law is a full-time housewife. At the present, her parents-in-laws are semi-retired, and travel a lot. The couple is paying the rest of the parent-in-law's mortgage. She said that her case is very unique. The couple resides in a well-to-do suburban area. She said that her family belongs to the upper-middle-class.

I asked her how she met her husband. She said that her minister introduced him to her. Her parents disapproved of her marriage initially because they thought it is "risky" to marry a man who does not have a steady profession. Finally, she won their approval after persuading them that he is a very competent young man.

After her first child, she went back to graduate school and received her M.B.A. degree from an elite university. She proved herself to her parents that she can achieve and support herself and the family. I like to label this couple as having an egalitarian conjugal role relationship in family decision making.

On the other hand, her parents are labeled as having a segregated conjugal role relationship. Her father is a medical doctor and her mother is a full-time home-maker. Her mother takes care of most of the household chores, and makes decisions in all areas of family life including money management. She said that her father is "very busy taking care of his patients." We can easily notice a big change in her case from her parents' segregated conjugal role relationship to the couple's egalitarian conjugal role relationship. This can be explained by Normative Resource Theory of the wife's educational level and

employment status.

"Transitional" (Toward Egalitarian) Conjugal Role Relationships in Family Decision-Making: The Case of Stella's Family

Mrs. Stella Park is a full-time homemaker with two children - four years and one year old. She has a master's degree in education and aspires to get another degree in education administration. She would like to be an administrator in a public school system. Her husband has a managerial job at one of the large hospitals in New York City.

Decision-Making Patterns in Consumer Behavior: Mrs, Park decides to buy certain items for the family members, but sometimes her husband decides to purchase certain things for the house. But purchasing a big item like buying a house, the couple decide together. They recently bought a house in one of the richest counties in the country. I labeled this couple as having a "transitional (toward egalitarian) or almost egalitarian conjugal role relationships in consumer behavior.

Mrs Park mostly decides on the upbringing of the children, although some decisions are shared. Here, I label the couple as having a segregated conjugal role relationship. In the area of leisure activities, I labeled them as having a "transitional" conjugal role relationships because oftentimes the couple spends leisure times separately. Her husband works in the hospital during the weekends, and she attends church services with her two children without her husband. In the area of money management, the couple usually decide together. They have an egalitarian conjugal relationships in this area. Overall, I labeled the couple as having a "transitional" (or almost egalitarian)

conjugal role relationship.

Church activities. The couple is one of the active church members. Sometimes, he gives the sermon when the pastor is absent. I attended the church when they gave a birthday party for their one-year-old baby. The food was an international variety. They served Korean food as well as American food (sandwich) and Italian vermicelli, and soft drinks. At the end of the meal, American birthday cake was served. They also served Korean rice cake with rainbow colors. She distributed a big piece of rice cake to each member to take it home.

Mrs. Stella Park as a reconciler. I like to note that she is a reconciler in her family. She mentioned that her husband and his brother never talked with each other for some time. After their marriage, she was instrumental in bringing the two brothers together. In fact, she said that the couple visited his brother's home in Florida during their vacation. According to Safilios-Rothschild (1970), family power and decision making research needs to include relationships between the siblings, parents, and kin, and therefore, go beyond the married couple.

In summary, several independent variables influence a couple's conjugal role relationships in family decision making. They are the family's socioeconomic status and wife's unemployment status (Normative Resource Theory), number and age of children, and the couple's life cycle (early stages of marriage). Since she is a communicator and reconciler, an Exchange Theory of family power and decision making applies to this family.

Future Research on Family Power and Decision Making Patterns

MacDonald suggests that one of the fruitful inquiries, in the future, among family researchers would be the investigation into the interrelationship between power and conflict. He says that "the issue is not marital conflict per se, but rather how conflict is handled in terms of the power differentials of family members, especially the wife and husband."

He contends that the social exchange theory is needed for family power research and emphasizes the need to focus on "power dynamics, particularly bargaining and negotiation processes and equitable/ inequitable exchange relations." The exchange theory needs to recognize the "cooperative, rather than competitive, nature of the social interaction."

He further suggests the "inclusion of the concept of commitment, trust, and reciprocity in exchange and negotiation processes." He proposes to "replace dominant power/ dependence model with power/commitment model." Further I quote: "Commitment carries with it implication of more voluntary decision which relies not so much on economic or social structural resources, but more on interpersonal value resources and the establishment of interpersonal trust in the relationship. Thus, commitment may replace dependency in marriage and family relations. Such a shift would

have dramatic implications for power relationships."

I would to suggest a study into family power research, in the future, by asking the question as to how conflicts are resolved in terms of the power differentials of the wife and husband among Korean American families - among both the first-generation and second-generation families.

Among first generation families, it would be interesting to find out how they resolved family conflicts in Korea, and how it has been changed, if it has, since they emigrated to the U.S. Such a study will show how the patterns of conflicts within their families reflect the cultural values of their new country. When a Korean couple moves to the U.S., they will in due course of time adopt some of the customs and values prevailing in the new society.

Comparative analysis of family conflicts resolution. Also, it would be interesting to study how different race/ethnic groups resolve family conflicts in comparison with white American families.

Chapter 14

Balancing Family Life and Employment

Women have multiple roles as wives, mothers, and workers. Respondents were asked a question: "How do you balance your family life and your career? What kind of strategies do you use to accommodate the demand of both world?"

Adoptive Strategies

The second-generation Korean American women employ diverse strategies in combining family life and career. It is found that some upper-middle-class professional women keep working on the full-time jobs with the help of their husbands and childcare responsibilities shared with their grandmothers.

Some other upper-middle-class- professional women stay as full-time moms when children are very young, but plan to go back to work full-time. For example, one corporate lawyer left the law firm because of pregnancy. She said: "It is very difficult to combine family and work in the law firm, especially when you have little children."

One can get a glimpse of what an associate does in a corporate law firm. She said that she worked to set up corporations "doing paper work with corporations when they merged or when they want to create a new one."

Question: "Did you do some of the 'rain-making'?"

Answer: "No, definitely not! No, we associates definitely did not do that. Partners did a

lot of 'rain-making.' You have to know people with money to do that."

Question: "Were there many women lawyers?"

Answer: "We have many junior women lawyers, but not many partners."

Question: "Is your law firm family friendly?"

Answer: "No. I don't think any law firm is family friendly. It is difficult to remain in the law firm while having children."

She plans to go back to work full-time.

Still other professional women enjoy child-rearing. A former professional woman turned into a full-time mom said: "Since becoming a full-time mother, my life is my family and I don't have the struggles of balancing. I feel very fortunate in this."

Some middle-class or lower-middle-class women adopt a strategy of working on part-time jobs or part-year jobs. For example, one subject said that she works 40 hours a week in the family business, and she also has another part-time job to keep her family business operating. A child is taken care of by a paid baby-sitter. Her husband works long hours in the store, between 70 to 84 hours per week.

Some women adopt a strategy of delaying their first child. A professional nurse said that she had her first child at the age of thirty-eight. The following response provides us her strategies in combining family life and her career.

"I have very busy life doing both - family and career. Strategies I use.....

For preparing meals, I cook on weekends to last till at least following Wednesday. On

Thursdays and Fridays, my husband brings home takeouts....."

"Our baby is taken care of by an experienced and reliable baby sitter. My husband and I take turns picking him up from the sitter during weekdays as I work full-time. I spend most of my Saturday mornings to do house chores, and of course my husband is well involved with this....."

"We take turns in the evenings putting the baby to sleep. This task could take half an hour to two hours. I take care of managing the finance during weekdays. I manage most of the affairs of taking care of the baby."

Importance of Grandmothers and Grandparents in Juggling Two-Career Families

The contribution of grandmothers and grandparents is paramount in balancing work and family life in South Korea as in the United States. The example of my niece's family illustrates the case.

When my niece was studying for her doctoral studies in the United States and became pregnant, her mother came to the U.S. to help during the period of delivery of the baby and afterward. Later on, her parents-in-law came to the U.S. to baby sit while she was finishing up her studies. When the parents-in-law were ready to leave, she asked them to take the baby with them as she was really busy finishing up her degree. But her

husband refused to let the baby go with them. Instead, he decided to babysit his son. By this time, he had finished his doctorate.

Currently, my niece and her husband went back to South Korea, and are teaching in the universities. They both share babysitting and parenting duties. But when they are both teaching on the same day, they rely on the help of grandparents (on both sides) for babysitting.

My niece performed a piano recital in Seoul at the House of the Arts ("Yea Sul Eui Jun Dang,), an equivalent of Lincoln Center's Avery Fisher Hall in New York City, since she went back to South Korea. Afterwards, she gave several piano recitals in different cities.

I heard that her son frequently asks: "When mommy is coming back?" She has to use her time wisely and learn to balance her family life and professional life.

Simultaneous Role Performance

The majority of the respondents are in their early thirties. They hold multiple roles as wives, mothers, students, professionals or workers. They juggle many roles at the same time. They marry, have children, study and work - all in a short span of time. They perform multiple roles simultaneously rather than sequentially.

Wage Gap

The majority of the respondents have two children. They are professionals or managers, and they have husbands who are also professionals or managers. Women

respondents contribute income to their families to enhance the standard of living. Yet, I notice a wage gap among professional couples.

In general, husbands make more income than their wives. For example, a doctor husband makes more income than a wife who is a vice-president at a health insurance company. There are exceptions, however, some women professionals make higher income than their husbands.

In the United States, the narrowing of the wage gap between women's and men's earnings among full-time, year-round workers constitutes the most significant change in the employment experiences of women in the past four decades. For years, women earned 59 cents for every dollar earned by men, the ratio of women's to men's earnings is now 71 cents.

According to Spain, two factors account for the narrowed wage gap: (1) the increase in women's experience and the accompanied rise in women's income, especially among those with a college degree; and (2) the decline in men's earning, especially among those with a high school degree or less (Spain, p. 195).

The research suggests that a wage gap will persist for the foreseeable future. It is suggested that women will improve their market wages primarily by becoming more competent in their chosen field, by developing skills on the job, and by spending many years in paid employment.

Domestic Tasks

Overall, an increasing number of second-generation Korean American couples

share domestic responsibilities than their parents hardly imagined before. Yet wives still perform the majority of the household chores and childcare.

Many families make use of daycare centers and baby sitter services. And weekly or bi-weekly laundry is sent to laundry services in order to save time, especially among the dual-earning professional couples.

Women's Movement

The question was asked: "In what way did the Women's Movement influence you if any?" The majority of the women interviewed said that they were influenced by the Women's Movement. One respondent said that her decision to go to graduate school even after having a child was influenced by the movement.

An aspiring lawyer said: "Women's Movement opened opportunities for women. It raised the consciousness of women to improve their social and economic status. Women were discriminated against. They face many challenges and have to overcome obstacles." She further responded that "balancing family life and employment should be a family issue rather than a women's issue. Currently women bear the brunt."

Historian Gerda Lerner (1993) contends that development of feminist consciousness depends on women's ability to live in economic independence, to control their fertility, and to have access to equal education (Spain, p. 197).

The majority of the respondents have achieved an equal or in some cases higher

educational level than their husbands. And some other subjects are working toward higher education. Because of the presence of young children, a few of them stay home as a full-time mother, but they plan to go back to work full-time in the near future.

It is reported that more than half of the respondents expressed an opinion that "both husband and children are more critical in women's life" than "women's life is more critical than husband and children." It is likely that they will put the needs of family ahead of their own needs and jobs. Because of the challenges of combining family and work roles, women will more often work part-time and will continue to earn less than men.

As society gets to define the balancing act between family and work as a "women's" rather than a "family" issue, women will continue to pay a higher price than men for negotiating the challenges of accommodating and combining both worlds.

Problems of Professional Women with Young Children

Professional women with young children encounter many special problems in high-pressure occupations such as law and medicine. Cynthia Epstein, for example, found that lawyers must endure both short term disapproval and long-term career sacrifices for challenging "time-norms" that expect them to work far more than forty hours a week (Epstein, et. al., The Part-Time Paradox, 1999).

It goes without saying that Asian American women with children will face even more daunting problems when they enter keenly competitive professional fields. My study shows that meeting professional demands, while caring for children in a society not

yet completely free from racial and ethnic prejudices are indeed psychologically and physically very challenging.

"Stereotypical Behavior Patterns of Asian-American Women"

One important fact to be emphasized is that Korean-American career women are very likely to encounter expectations at their work places that they conform to the stereotypical behavior patterns of Asian women in the minds of their American colleagues formed from their movie watching and readings. For example, many of my respondents told me that their American associates expected them to be gentle, compliant, and reticent even when they have justifiable complaints.

There is a clash between the expectations about Asian-American employees and the majority of the non-Asian colleagues. This kind of cultural gap is usually of no consequence, but it can be a cause of rift among associates and between higher and lower level employees in such cases as promotion or transfer opportunities. Whether Asian-American women face more difficult problems than Asian-men is one of the pressing issues to be investigated.

They will either try to explain to their colleagues that their American education and experience have enabled them to act as Americans or ignore how they are perceived by their colleagues. In either case, it will add a psychological burden to them just as women among men or black persons in white environments do. In short, apart from their professional competence they are judged and viewed as different from the norm which is set by non-Asians.

Work, Family, and Social Policy

In The Time Divide: Work, Family, and Gender Inequality (2004), Jerry Jacobs and Kathleen Gerson recommended that the national policy regarding resolution of work family conflicts need to include family support, community support, and institutional support including flexible working hours and even shorter work weeks to provide a satisfying work environment and opportunities for everyone regardless of gender, class, and race and ethnicity.

The authors, quoting from the Luxembourg Income Study (De Tombeur, 1995), state that the policies do matter. Other developed countries have been able to provide alternative solutions to the time problems of modern workers.

The examples of Netherlands and Finland indicate that the twin goal of achieving family support and gender equity simultaneously is slim. As the authors state:

> Indeed, the trade-offs between these goals are put in sharp relief by international comparisons. The Netherlands, for example, has the shortest workweek, making it perhaps the most family- friendly of the countries we have studied. Dutch women, however, remain largely secondary players in the work force, with most holding part-time jobs. The Netherlands has resolved the time bind problem at the expense of gender equality. Finland, in contrast, has moved farther toward gender equality, with Finnish women, working almost as much as men. With everyone putting in full work weeks, however, the pressures in family time are more severe and reliance on institutional support more elaborate."

It is the authors, contention that Americans need to borrow selectively the best alternative approaches to the time bind problems from other countries and create the new framework that fit the American families and workplaces.

On the individual level, the couples need to adopt ingenious ways to

accommodate work and family life in the light of their unique circumstances.

The Impact of Global Economy

Another issue to be aware of is the impact of global economy on U.S. society. What happens in China, for example, affects the U.S. economy and also impacts the economic health of the small business in an ethnic community - in grocery stores, deli stores, clothing stores, dry cleaning stores, etc. Consequently, the families have to re-arrange the work-family issues accordingly.

The responsibilities and roles of working women in general and the Korean American career women in particular will undoubtedly be tested and changed if the conditions of the American economy deteriorate. Thus, at the present time the challenges of the rising economic powers such as China and India to the dominant position of the U.S. economy in the world are much debated and closely watched. If the present trends continue, it is reasonable to expect that the working environments of women including Asian-American women will also be changed.

Some of my respondents said that if such situation develops to a serious degree, they will have to reorder their priorities regarding their employment, family life, raising children, and community involvements. Many of them expressed the view that they will be compelled to sacrifice some of their present roles to meet the new challenges to their career and family life. Some of them said that they have to seek the help of their parents to care for their children so that they can compete better in work places. Some others said that their first concern is their children and that they are willing to curtail their working

hours. Still others said that they would be content with part-time jobs.

Another concern they expressed was the possibility of they and their husband working in cities far apart. This is not unique to Asian American women and they are as worried as their American counterparts. What is to be noted is that this is a considerable psychological burden. In this area of concern, the first issue is the education of children especially during the kindergarten and elementary school years.

Declining Birthrates

One of the major issues affecting the family life is the steep fall in the birth rate in many industrialized countries in recent decades. The phenomenon is gaining world wide attention because the trend is shown in countries with different cultural and social backgrounds such as Japan, Italy, and Russia. The latest sensational news in this connection is the announcement by President Vladimir V. Putin's announcement of a ten-year plan to increase birth rate (The New York Times, May 11, 2006).

Mr. Putin proposes to address the problem with a wide range of subsidies and financial incentives. "These include increasing subsidies for children up to 18 months to about $53 a month for a first child and about $107 for a second child." He also "proposed maternity leaves as long as 18 months that would pay a mother at least 40 percent of her salary, and compensation for some of the cost of day care: 20 percent of the cost for a first child, 50 percent for a second child and 70 percent for a third. For mothers who choose

not to return to work, "he proposed one-time subsidy of about $8,900 upon the birth of a second child. He suggested subsidies for adoptive parents, and investment in prenatal care, maternity hospitals and kindergartens."

South Korean Newspapers also reported that the birthrate for each mother is hovering at 1.08 children. This means that the population of South Korea could be eventually halved unless the birth rate trend is reversed. Already the viability of the long term old age support and care from government funds is hotly debated.

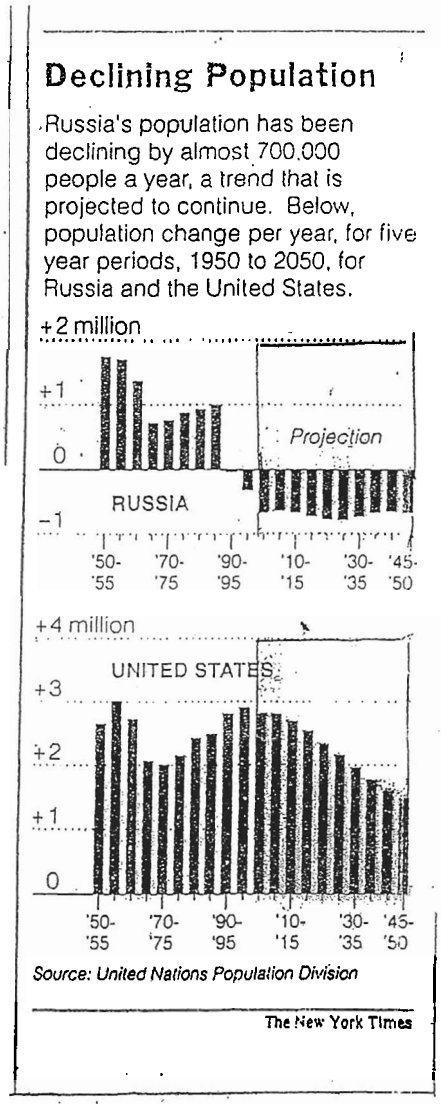
In South Korea, demographers and family planing specialists are studying ways to increase population rate by 1) introducing economic incentives by the government to encourage couple to have more children, 2) providing needed services to the couple and the family, and 3) offering flexible time (or more time) to negotiate the demands of family and work responsibilities (Radio Korea's Weekly News, August 13, 2006).

Also noteworthy is the report that the U.S. birthrate is projected to decline drastically by the United Nations Population Division. (See attached graph.) What it means to the young Korean-American couples in the U.S. is an additional factor to weigh in their family planning. Each couple will be watching the world and U.S. trends to plot their own course regarding the size of their family and the conflicting demands of the family and work. The U.S. government, in the future, may adopt measures and plans to encourage young couples to have more children for the sake of their own families and for society as a whole.

Some young Korean American professional couples may want to opt for smaller family size in the hope of better succeeding in their own professional fields, because having a satisfying family life on the one hand and meeting career demands on the other (called as “greedy institution” by Rose and Louise Coser) are often seen as “incompatible” and challenging as some scholars have said in the past including Margaret Mead.

If generous incentives are offered for increased family size or the fear of the demise of the social security benefits grasped, it is reasonable to expect them to make a more prudent family planning including having more children even if it means that they may not mind reverting to their Confucian heritage of raising and educating many children in the hope of covering their old age.

Declining Population
(The New York Times, May 11, 2006)



Endnotes

1. President Vladimir V. Putin's announcement of a ten-year plan to increase birth rate, The New York Times, May 11, 2006.

2. South Korea's demographers and family planing specialists are studying ways to increase population rate. Radio Korea Weekly News, August 13, 2006.

3. Projection of declining birth rate by the United Nations Population Division, The New York Times, May 11, 2006.

Chapter 15

Conclusion:

Findings, Thoughts, and Future Possible Studies

This dissertation has described and discussed the early phases of family life of second-generation Korean Americans. In what follows, some of the highlights of the findings of this study are presented in regard to their opinions and attitudes about the different issues which we have covered.

Korean Heritage

Second-generation Korean Americans report that they want to keep Korean heritage - its history, language, and culture - as long as possible. Some of them spent their summer vacations in South Korea attending Korean language school and visiting historical sites. Especially they value Korean family systems such as family solidarity and mutual help, emphasis on education as a vehicle for social mobility, and filial piety.

Retention of Subculture

Second-generation Korean American families exhibit some of the distinct cultural style of first-generation Korean Americans. Notably, they have strong family ties, a high level of educational expectation, celebration of ethnic holidays, and preservation of

cultural forms including ethnic foods.

The degree of ethnic retention varies, for example, by the type of church one is attending. In my study, those respondents who attend the English Language Ministry within the first-generation Korean immigrant church are cohesive members and retain more ethnic ways than the respondents who attend the Redeemer Church which is an American church, where congregants are multi-cultural groups composed of Americans, Asian-Americans, Korean Americans, and other ethnic racial groups.

The majority of the respondents who attend the English Language Ministry met their spouse in the same church as they are attending now. Their parents provided a "safe space" for them. In a sense, the mate selection process was partly arranged and partly free choice. They maintain strong membership ties. One of my respondent's daughter calls other female church members as "imo" (aunt on mother side).

Retention and change of subcultures vary depending on socialization, demographic characteristics such as size, socioeconomic characteristics, ethnic identity, degree of acculturation and assimilation into the American society, and immigration policies of the United States.

Second-generation Korean American Family System

The characteristics of the second-generation Korean American family system are summarized as follows: 1) Freedom in mate selection (not an arranged marriage), 2) importance of love and romance in the relationship, 3) priority of conjugal bond over filial bond, 4) relative freedom from kinship ties, 5) greater equality of the sexes, 6)

egalitarian and flexible sex roles in division of labor in performing household tasks and family's decision making, and 7) greater expression of affection (e.g. gained freedom to kiss in public).

In general, the characteristics of second-generation Korean American families are similar to those of second-generation Japanese American families. And indications are that third-generation Korean Americans will follow the family practices of Japanese Americans.

Patriarchal Practices

Some of the highlights of the findings on patriarchal practices are:

1. The respondents report that daughters can inherit the family line if there is no son. But some respondents question the necessity of inheriting the family line.

2. The majority of the respondents do not observe "chesa" (ancestor worship). They said that they will observe a memorial service when the time comes.

3. While the majority of the respondents reject the patriarchal notion of "namjon yeubi" (respect men and despise women), many of them think that it is a good idea to be a "hunmo yangchu" (a wise mother and a good wife).

4. The majority of the subjects think that filial piety should be practiced in modified form. It is found that there is a class difference in practicing filial piety. Among the upper-middle-class families, filial piety is practiced as it should be. That is, parents are respected, served, and consulted. However, among the lower-middle-class families, parents are over-worked, abused, and alienated.

5. Another significant finding is that there is a trend toward developing a bilateral conjugal family system. That is, the couple makes frequent contacts (visits and phone calls) with both husband's parents and wife's parents. There are many activities for mutual help. The filial obligation of married children are extended to the care of parents of both husband and wife.

Intermarriage

The most contentious disagreement between first-generation and second-generation is about the topic of intermarriage. While the majority of second-generation respondents approve of intermarriage, the majority of first-generation immigrant parents disapprove of intermarriage. They strongly prefer their children marry other Koreans. Some of them have preferences of hierarchy in choosing a mate.

The Census 2000 reported that 12.3% of Korean Americans and 30.7% of Japanese Americans claimed to have an inter-racial identity. Based on the 2000 Census, Lee and Bean find that one out of every four Asian Americans intermarry, and one in eight Asians claim a multiracial identity which is more than five times the national average. Given the trend of Asian intermarriage, the Asian multiracial population is projected to increase to one in three Asians by the year 2050.

In view of the increasing rate of intermarriages among Asian Americans, it will be a significant sociological contribution to undertake studies of Asian American interracial marriages and children of interracial marriages which is a salient analytical category.

Conjugal Role Relationships Revisited

We have observed that the majority of second-generation Korean American families practice egalitarian role relationships in performing household tasks and decision-making in consumer behavior, child rearing, leisure activities, and money management. We have noted that the most important factor influencing an egalitarian role relationship is the wife's employment. And this study replicates the previous studies on the relationship between the wife's employment status and the nature of conjugal role relationships.

It should be pointed out that the egalitarian and segregated conjugal role relationships is a fluid concept among second-generation Korean American families. Usually a working wife forms an egalitarian rather than a segregated role at home. Thus, the employment status of a woman tips the balance in favor of an egalitarian conjugal role. This is a remarkable fact because in the Korean families in South Korea and to a lesser extent immigrant first-generation Korean American families the cultural norm of sex role is rigid or static.

One of the characteristics of patriarchy is the notion of male dominance. Here again we have discovered that the second-generation Korean American families have departed from the pattern of the traditional Korean patriarchal family life. There is amazingly little male dominance observed among second-generation Korean American families as one might expect among the first-generation Korean American families and the Korean families in Korea. If one can describe Korean families in South Korea and the first-generation Korean American families as "a system of patriarchy," one

may characterize the second-generation Korean American families as “a system of cooperation and equality.” This shows clearly that their American experience is impacting their family life.

American Saga

The most important finding of this study is that in their family life the young Korean Americans are trying to incorporate the best elements of their Korean heritage and the American practices. They are pragmatic and not dogmatic in organizing their family life. In other words, they are going through a trial-and-error learning process which can be difficult at times but ultimately beneficial to their life style. Thus, they are part of the great American immigration saga of adjustment, compromise, and adventure.

Future Possible Studies

It will be useful to conduct a longitudinal study of second-generation Korean American families to determine the pattern of changes and adjustment over time. Another inquiry to be suggested is to test whether the generalizations reached in this dissertation apply to other ethnic groups. Such studies will lead to reliable conclusions about the family behavior of various immigrant groups and ultimately help us understand better the American families in general.

Appendix 1: Introduction Letter

Dear Mrs._____:

My name is Susan Kim, and I am conducting a study entitled, "Changes and Continuities in the Second-Generation Korean American Families." This study is conducted as part of my doctoral studies in the Ph.D. Program in Sociology, CUNY Graduate School and University Center.

I would like to ask for your cooperation in conducting my research. I specifically appreciate your answering some questions about your own experiences and views on the subject matter.

I assure that your answers will be kept in strict confidence and will be used only for scholarly purposes. I will be grateful to you for your candid and accurate answers to my questions.

In a few days, I or one of my research assistants will be contacting you. Your cooperation and contribution is vital in understanding the Korean American community.

I would like to thank you, in advance, for your participation in this study.

Sincerely,

Susan Kim
Principal Investigator

Appendix 2: Questionnaire

Interview Guide for:

Changes and Continuities in the Second-Generation Korean American Families

City University of New York Graduate Center and University Center
Ph.D. Program in Sociology
Susan Kim

Respondent's I.D. #:_____

Name:_____

E-mail Address:_____

Telephone No.:_____

Fax No.:_____

Address:_____

_____

_____

Date Interviewed:_____

Date Contacted:_____

_____

_____

Age of the Respondent and
Reasons why Parents came to the U.S.:

For 1.5 generation respondents -

When did you come to the United States? _____year came

How old were you then? _____years old.

Why did your parents come to the United States?

For the second-generation respondents -

When were you born (in the U.S.)? _____year born

How old are you now? (Double check)

Why did your parents come to the United States?

For both 1.5- and 2nd -generation respondents-

Which city (or province) in Korea did your parents come from?

Korean Language Facilities:

How well do you know Korean language?

	Speaking	Reading	Writing
Speaks English only			
Very well			
Well			
Somewhat well			
Not well or not at all			

Where did you learn Korean language?

What language do you speak at home?

Do you want your children to learn Korea language?

Living Arrangement:

How many people live in your household? What is your relationship to each other?

How many children do you have? How old are they? Do you plan to have more children?

What kind of childcare arrangement do you have?

. Grandmother takes care of children.
. Other family member(s) takes care of children.
. Make use of Day Care Center.
. Other

How long have you been married? Where did you meet him? How long did you date before marriage? Did your parents approve of your marriage?

Education:

Where did you go to college? Major?

Where did you go to graduate school? Major?

Others: Less than College, High School Graduate, Vocational school, etc.

Occupation:

What is your occupation?

. Small business: Working in the parent's store,
Self-employed (what type of business?)
. Professional (please specify)
. Managerial (please specify)
. Housewife
. Student
. Blue color worker

How long have you been working at this job?

Do you work part-time or full-time?

Please describe what you do?

What are your likes and dislikes about your job?
Have you experienced prejudice and/or discrimination on the job? Please elaborate.
(Employment sector: ethnic_____, U.S. labor market_____)
Do you think Asian American women make less wages than other groups doing the same job? Please elaborate.

What is your husband's educational level? What is his occupation? (type and sector)

Home ownership: yes_____, no_____

Area of residence:
. Central city
. Non-central city metropolitan area
. Mixed
. Non-metropolitan /suburban area

Do you regard yourself as belonging to..?
. Upper-class
. Upper-middle class
. Middle-class
. Lower-class
. Other opinion

What is your household income?

Please check the category.

. Under $ 20,000

. $20,000 - $39,000

. $40,000 - $59,000

. $60,000 - $79,000

.$80.000 - $99.000

. Over $100,000

. Other (rather not answer, etc.)

What is your father's education and occupation?

What is your mother's education and occupation?

Home ownership?

. Owned home
. Co-op
. Rent
. Other

Area of residence:_____

Class background:_____

Household income (if known):_____

Division of Labor:

Would you please tell me who does the following household chores? It is done mostly by wife, done mostly by husband, or mostly done by both husband and wife?

	Done mostly by wife	Done mostly by husband	Done mostly by both husband and wife	Other
	_____	_____	_____	_____
Grocery shopping				
Cooking				
Dish washing				
Vacuuming				

Laundry

Child Care

Gardening

Ironing

Making beds

Garbage disposal

Others (please specify)

How was it done by your parents?

	Mostly done:			
	By mother	By father	Both f. and m.	Other
	_____	_____	_____	_____

Grocery shopping

Cooking

Dish washing

Vacuuming

Laundry

Child Care

Gardening

Ironing

Making beds

Garbage disposal

Other (please specify)

Are your patterns of division of labor in performing household chores much different from that of your parents?
If so, what are the biggest changes and why do you think such changes have occurred?

Decision-Making Patterns in Family Life: In Consumer Behavior, Upbringing of Children, Leisure Activities, and Money Management.

Would you please tell me who decide the following family life?

	Decide mostly by wife	Decide mostly by husband	Decide mostly by both w. and h.
Consumer behavior			
Upbringing of children			
Leisure activities			
Money management			

How was it decided by your parents?

	Decide mostly by mother	Decide mostly by father	Decide mostly by both m. and f.
Consumer behavior			
Upbringing of children			
Leisure activities			
Money management			

Is your decision-making patterns much different from that of your parents?

What decision-making patterns have been changed and why?
(In consumer behavior, upbringing of children, leisure activities, and money management)

Changing Attitudes About Gender Roles:
(...to make comparison with the U.S. population)

Questions about women's employment:

(Women should take care of home): Do you agree or disagree with this statement?
Women should take care of running their home and leave running the country up to men.

Agree _____ Disagree_____

(Disapprove of married women working): Do you approve or disapprove of a married woman earning money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her?

Approve_____ Disapprove_____

(Vote for women president): If your political party nominated a woman for president,

would you vote for her if she were qualified for the job?

Yes_____ No_____

Questions about women combining home and work:

(More important for wife to help husband's career): It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have one herself. Agree or disagree?

Agree_____ Disagree_____

(Working mothers can establish warm relationships): A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work. Agree or disagree?

Agree_____ Disagree_____

(Better for everyone if man achieves outside the home):
It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and woman takes care of the home and family. Agree or disagree?

Agree_____ Disagree_____

Husband's attitudes toward wife working:

How does your husband feel about your working?

Favors_____ Not favors_____ Other:(please specify)_____

Advantages and Disadvantages of Dual-Career Relationships:

Carlisle lists advantages and disadvantages of dual-career relationships. (See lists below)

Rank order the items in each list in terms of their importance to you (1=most important, 5 or 6 least important).

Advantages	Importance Rank	Disadvantages	Importance Rank
income	___	work overload	___
self esteem	___	relationships	___
greater respect	___	role conflict	___
greater cohesion	___	career leveling	___
equal power	___	societal pressure	___
autonomy	___		
upward mobility (added by s.kim)	___		

Coping Strategies:

How do you combine family life and employment? What are major problems arising from combining employment and the family life?

What are your coping strategies in dealing with these problems?

Negotiating the Differences:

When you fight (or disagree) with your spouse, what do you fight (or disagree) about? (In the area of division of labor and decision-making - in consumer behavior, child rearing practices, leisure activities, money management, and other)

How do you negotiate the differences in opinions and behaviors about family life between you and your spouse?

Gender Ideology:

In general, would you say that your husband is traditional, egalitarian, or transitional (toward egalitarian) in gender ideology? Please give an example(s).

How about yourself? Please give an example(s).

In general, do you think your parents are traditional, egalitarian, or transitional in gender ideology? Please give an example(s).

Women's Movement:

In what way(s) did Women's Movement influence you?

Femininity and Masculinity:

What is your concept of femininity and masculinity?

What is your husband's concept of femininity and masculinity?

What is your parents's concept of femininity and masculinity?

Attitudes Toward Marriage and Family Life:

Please choose one category on each variable.

Marriage:
A must for women
An individual choice
Women are better off being unmarried
Other

Perception of an ideal life as a woman:
Being a good wife and mother
Being a successful career woman
Other

Importance of husband, children, and self to a woman's life:

Both husband and children are critical
Only the husband is critical
Only the children are critical

Women's self is more critical than husband and children
Other

Importance of inheriting a family line:

No longer important to continue a family line
Only a son, even by adoption, should inherit the family line.
A daughter should inherit the family line if there is no son.
Other

Married woman living with parents or parents-in-law:

It is equally desirable to live with woman's own parents or parents-in-law.
It is undesirable to live with either own or husband's parents
Living with husband's parents is reasonable, but living with own parent is not
Living with own parents is reasonable, but living with husband's parent is not
Other

Attitudes Toward Intermarriage:

Do you approve of intermarriage? Do you prefer certain racial/ethnic groups over others in choosing a spouse? How about your parents? Do they approve of intermarriage? What are their preferences like?

If you approve of intermarriage, what are the positive aspects or advantages of intermarriage?

Do you anticipate any problems raising children of intermarried couples?

Gender socialization:

In your family of orientation, were boys and girls socialized differently? How? Please elaborate.

What would you like to do differently in child socialization practices from that of your parents, especially in gender socialization?

Children's education:

Is education important for your children?
How important is educational achievement for your children?
(Compare with parents' expectation)

Criticism of parents:

If you have criticism of parents, what are they? Why? (Patriarchal systems, etc.)

What are major differences between your views or marriage and family life and that of your parents? (In terms of spouse relationships, children's education, and child socialization practices)

Mate selection:

Do you prefer love marriage or an arranged marriage?

. Prefer love marriage
. Prefer love marriage, but introduce parents later
. Prefer an arranged marriage
. Other

Preference for a son?:

Do you prefer to have a daughter or a son? Why?

How many children do you like (or plan) to have?

Opinion on divorce:

What is your opinion on divorce?
.Approve of it
. Disapprove of it
. Approve of it under certain circumstances. Please elaborate.

Expression of affection:

Have you seen your parents kissing in public?
Do you kiss or express affection with your spouse in public places?

Elder care:

When your parents get old and need your help, what do you prefer to do?

.
. Send to Aged Home
. Live in the same neighborhood
. Live in the same household
. Share responsibility with other siblings
. Rotate residence with each different siblings

Retention of Subculture:

Do you practice “chesa” (ancestor worship) in your home?

Do you celebrate the Lunar New Year?

Do you bow to the elderly (“kun jeul”) as part of the celebration?

Do you celebrate “chusuk”? (Korean Thanksgiving Day)?

Did you have a traditional weddig ceremony?

Do you observe birthdays in Korean way (“seng il jan chi”) ?

Do you practice funeral ceremony in Korean way? Observe mourning period , etc.

How often do you eat Korean food? (for breakfast, lunch, and dinner)

What kind of Korean food do you like most? Do you eat “kimchi” (spicy and hot cabbage)?

How often do you go to Korean restaurant?

Do they serve Korean food at the church and Buddhist temple?

Do you have occasions to wear Korean dress? On what occasions?

What other traditional Korean cultural traits do you maintain?

Confucian Culture:

What aspects of the Confucian subculture would you like to keep? And why?

What aspects of the Confucian culture would you like to discard? And why?

Please give your opinion on the following areas of Korean culture and elaborate your reasons.

. Filial piety

. “Hyunmo Yangcheu” (a wise mother and a good wife)

. “Namjun Yeubi” (respect men and despise women)

. Emphasis on children’s education as a vehicle for mobility

. Family solidarity and strong kinship network

. Hard work as exemplified by the first generation immigrant parents

What kind of parents’ legacy do you want to keep and why?

What Korean legacy do you want to transmit to your children and why?

Family Solidarity and Kinship Network:

How often do you call and/or visit your family members and relatives?

call/visit	Family of orientation	In-laws
every day		
few times a week		
once a week		
few times a month		
once a month		
once every two month		
once every three month		
few times a year		

on birthdays

special occasions like wedding

funerals

other

Mutual aid:

What kind of mutual aid do you practice in your family? And what are the extent of it?

Ethnic vs. non-ethnic friendship networks:

How many close Korean friend(s) do you have?
How many close American friends do you have?
Do you invite American friends to your home?
Do your American friends invite you to their home?

When you have problems. Whom do you consult?

. Family members
. Korean friends
. American friends
. Professionals

Aspirations:

What are you aspirations or plans for next five years if any in educational achievement, occupational or professional advancement, and in business opportunities?

Church attendance:

Do you attend a church or a Buddhist temple? Yes__ No__
If yes, how often do you attend church/temple?

.Once a week
. few times a week
. Once a month
. Few times a month

. Only on Easter or Christmas
. Only on New Years Eve
. Other

Do you hold a responsible position in a church/temple?

Voluntary associations:

What voluntary associations are you affiliated? Are you an active member?
.in Korean-American community
.in American community

Cultural life:

In what cultural life of the city do you participate? How often do you attend?

.museums
.concerts
.theaters
.movies
.other

Attitudes toward U.S. society:

There are racial discriminations in economic opportunities.
Agree_____ Disagree_____

Nonwhites have equal opportunities.
Agree_____ Disagree_____

The United States of America is the best country in the world,
Agree_____ Disagree_____

Prejudice and discrimination:

Have you experienced any prejudice and discrimination in your schools? If so, please elaborate.

Have you experienced any prejudice and discrimination at work? If so, please elaborate.

Have you experienced any prejudice and discrimination in your neighborhood? If so, please elaborate.

Ethnic and racial identities:

Do you identify yourself as a

. Korean?
. Korean-American?
. an Asian-American?
. Third World people
. an American

Please elaborate why you think so.

Role of the second-generation Korean Americans:

What do you think is the role(s) of 1.5- and the second-generation Korean Americans? Who is your role model, if any? And why?

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