Hopes and Struggles: Cross-generational Metamorphosis of Educational Beliefs and Practices between Two-Generations of Korean-American Parents

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Hopes and Struggles:  
Cross-generational Metamorphosis of  
Educational Beliefs and Practices between  
Two-Generations of Korean-American Parents

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ABSTRACT

Although Korean-Americans are ubiquitous in contemporary American society, it was only after the enactment of the Immigration Nationality Act of 1965, when a sizable number of Koreans found their way to the U.S. During the two decades of the 1970s and 1980s, about a half-million Koreans immigrated to the U.S. Almost five decades since their arrival, 2nd-generation Korean-American offspring are now parents raising their own school-aged children - 3rd-generation Korean-Americans. 2nd-generation Korean-Americans who have grown up in the U.S. are largely assimilated to mainstream U.S. society, and therefore their views and practices on various education-related issues are expected to deviate from those of their 1st-generation Korean immigrant parents.

Using in-depth interviews and survey questionnaires, the current mixed-methods study documents two generations of Korean-Americans’ views and practices regarding academic achievement, educational attainment, college education, field of study, career choices, and ethnic identity. Further, an attempt was made to decipher cross-generational metamorphoses of their educational philosophies and practices.

Findings from the current research may contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of assimilation patterns of Korean-Americans, particularly those who are living in a place where their presence is less clustered, such as the metro-Philadelphia region.

Keywords: Korean-Americans; immigrants; immigrants status; first-, 1.5-, and second-generation; transformation; cross-generational metamorphosis; conflict, negotiation, and adaptation; assimilation; academic achievement; college education; college degree; field of study; career choices; mobilization of social and cultural capitals; mixed-methods inquiry; American Dreams; ethnic identity; structural barriers
I would like to dedicate my dissertation to my wife, Judy. Without her love, support, patience and encouragement, I neither would have begun nor completed this journey.
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Overview:

Korean Immigrants after the INA 1965:

Although Korean Americans are ubiquitous in contemporary American society, it was only after the enactment of the Immigration Nationality Act of 1965 (INA 1965) (Migration Policy Institutes, 2013) when a sizable number of Koreans found their way to the U.S. Prior to the INA 1965, there were only about 20,000 Koreans in the entire United States (Min, 2011). During the two decades in the 1970s and 1980s, about half a million Koreans immigrated into the United States through the newly opened immigration door provided by the enactment of the Act, joining the new wave of immigration (Min, 2011, 2013, 2015) (Wolgin, 2015) (Zong & Batalova, 2017).

Migrants leave their homeland due to various pushing forces or pulling forces. They are often pushed out by economic, social, and/or political issues within their home country, or are attracted by strong pulling forces from the host society (International Organization for Migration, 2016). Two decades after the Korean War, in the mid-1970s, Korea was still struggling to recover from the devastated war ruins and many Koreans left the country in search of better economic opportunities abroad (Ishi, 1988). A majority of them traveled across the Pacific Ocean, attracted by the economic opportunity and dream of a higher standard of living in the U.S. (Hong & Hong, 1996).

Attracted by the powerful pulling force from the U.S. - the American Dream (Adams, 1931), Korean immigrants braved their language deficiency and lack of financial and social resources. However, they were equipped with the hope and belief that it is possible to achieve economic success and prosperity through their own hard work. Or at least, they had the hope that
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their children would be better educated, achieve upward social mobility, and enjoy a better life in the new country.

The 1st-Generation Korean Immigrants versus 2nd-Generation Korean Americans:

Since the arrival of Koreans during the 1970s and 1980s, three to five decades have passed and the immigration status of Korean Americans has been transformed significantly. The 1st-generation immigrants are now in advanced ages - 60s, 70s, or even 80s. Meanwhile, their children who either came at young ages along with their parents (1.5-generation) or were born in the U.S. (2nd-generation) are now grown-up adults. They are raising their own children - the third-generation Korean Americans (Rumbaut, 2004).

The 1st-generation immigrants are expected to be accustomed with the educational philosophies aligned with the value system of their motherland - the economic system, the social structure, the historical reference, and etc. Regardless of their pre-immigration socio-economic backgrounds, English language proficiency, or occupational skills, they had to mobilize the cultural capital and social capital in their possession in order to overcome any cultural distance, linguistic deficiency, racial barriers, and social stratification (Portes, 1998) in the U.S..

Meanwhile, the 1.5- or 2nd-generation Korean Americans are likely to have acquired completely different sets of educational philosophies compared to those of their 1st-generation immigrant parents. First, they are fully proficient in English literacy. The differences are not only limited to their language abilities but also in every aspect of culture including educational values, parenting practices, economic systems, cultural norms, social and class structures, and historical references.

Furthermore, the 2nd-generation Korean Americans have to negotiate various levels of sociocultural differences of immigrant families and mainstream society (Hurh & Kim, 1984).
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Depending on the severity of the differences of values and practices, the children of immigrants had to compromise or accommodate the differences in pursuing academic achievements, career choices, and cultural-ethnic identity.

This research is initiated to document Korean Americans’ academic expectations, parenting styles, career aspirations, and race related issues. Further, an attempt is made to investigate the cross-generational transformation between two generations how they are congruent or different in these areas in raising their next generation children.

Statement of the Problems:

Lack of Research on Korean-Americans in Philadelphia Region:

Numerous education and sociology studies have been conducted on the new immigrant populations and their offspring who arrived in the U.S. after the enactment of the INA 1965. Topics include children’s academic achievement, college education (Baum & Flores, 2011), education and career attainment (Barringer, Takeuchi & Xenos, 1990), racial and ethnic identity (Ruth Burke & Kao, 2013), social mobility (Borjas, 2006), and other numerous socio-economic issues.

Despite the numerous researches, there has been little to no study published on the 2nd-generation Korean Americans residing in the Philadelphia region. The majority of previous articles are geographically centered around the multiple gateway cities where large Korean immigrant populations exist such as Los Angeles and New York City. The Korean-American descendents living in cities where large size Korean enclaves are present tend to be more influenced by the cultures, philosophies, and practices of the 1st-generation immigrants. On the other hand, in cities where only smaller Korean enclaves are present, the assimilation experience
and adaptation patterns of the 2nd-generation Korean-Americans are assumed to be somewhat different.

**Topics and Purpose of the Study:**

The current study is designed to explore assimilation and adaptation patterns of Korean-Americans’ educational philosophies, parenting styles, involvement practices, and other education related issues. The target populations are the 1st- and 2nd-generation Korean-Americans in the Greater Philadelphia, PA region.

The current study utilized a mixed-methods employing both interviews and survey questionnaires concurrently (Collins & Onwuegbuzie, & Sutton, 2006) (Creswell, 2011) (Greene, 2007) (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004) (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006) (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010) (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003, 2011). Semi-structured in-depth interviews (McCracken, 1988) were used to document participants’ beliefs, expectations, and perceptions. To complement the interview data, a set of survey questionnaires was utilized to collect more data from the group of 2nd-generation participants who did not participate in the in-person interviews.

Interview questionnaires were designed to collect participants’ educational philosophies and involvement practices in support of their children’s academic achievement, educational attainments, fields of study and careers, and the future prospects of Korean-American descendents as members of minority groups. The survey questionnaires were designed to collect socio-economic data as well as educational philosophies and involvement practices. The survey questionnaires provided the 2nd-generation participants opportunities to reflect on their 1st-generation parents’ educational beliefs and involvement patterns while they were growing up. This research also utilized other supplementary sources of information, such as personal
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conversations with other 1st-generation immigrants, insight from the researcher’s personal immigrant experience while raising his own children (Willis, 2007).

An attempt was made to extract the cross-generational transformation (metamorphosis) between two generations of Korean-Americans of their educational beliefs and practices. This research tried to determine the similarities and/or differences between two groups. Further, equipped with the critical perspective on model minority stereotypes, the research looks at how two generations perceive differently on the equity in education and career, and structural barriers as members of racial minorities.

Findings from the current research will contribute to a more comprehensive knowledge (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011) on Korean-Americans in the U.S. The results add additional understanding on cross-generational conflicts, negotiations, and adaptations among Korean Americans.

**Research Questions:**

To explore the cross-generational transformation on educational philosophies, expectations, and involvement practices, the following five research questions were used as a guideline in establishing interview scripts and survey questionnaires:

1. In what ways do two generations of Korean-American parents view the importance of children’s academic and extracurricular activities in elementary and secondary school?

2. In what ways do two generations of Korean-American parents mobilize their financial, human, or social capital for the success of their children’s academic and extra-curricular activities in elementary and secondary school?
3. In what areas do two generations of Korean-American parents aspire to for their children’s post-secondary education, fields of study, professional training, and career path?

4. In what ways do two generations of Korean-Americans define their racial, ethnic, and cultural identities?

5. In what ways do two generations of Korean-Americans foresee the future generations of Korean-Americans in their economic standing and racial-ethnic-cultural relationship?

**Definitions:**

**American Dream:**

The United States has been a land of opportunity and destination for millions of immigrants in hopes of achieving their American Dreams. The term “The American Dream” was first coined by James Adams (1931) in his book, *The Epic of America*. The American Dream, according to Adams, is “a dream of a land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for everyone, with opportunity for each according to ability or achievement” (pp. 214-215).

The American Dream represents opportunity and equality for people from various origins whereby they achieve success, prosperity, and upward social mobility through their own ability and hard work, regardless of their family backgrounds – regardless of their lack of social and financial resources.

**Assimilation Stages and Types:**

According to Park (1930, 1950), there are various stages and types of race relations and interactions – contact, competition, conflict, accommodation, acculturation, adaptation, and
assimilation. After initial contact, the minority groups surrender their intrinsic and extrinsic cultural traits and make accommodations to adopt those of the host society (Gordon, 1964).

Acculturation is “cultural modification of an individual, group, or people by adapting to or borrowing traits from another culture (Merriam Webster Online Dictionary, 2018)”. According to Hurh and Kim (1984), Adaptation is a “broad concept to include various modes and resultant conditions such as acculturation, assimilation, segregation, pluralism, adhesion, etc. (p. 188).” Assimilation means the most extreme form of acculturation and is the end stage of the interaction.

An early definition of assimilation by Park and Burgess (1921) is “a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life”, as cited by Alba and Nee (Alba & Nee, 1997, p. 828).

Through the process of assimilation, ethnic or racial distinctions decline and cultural and social differences disappear (Alba & Nee, 1997), ultimately, one group will be socially indistinguishable from other members of the society (International Organization for Migration, 2016).

Assimilation Benchmarks:

Assimilation and acculturation can take place over generations, typified by multiple aspects including language, traditions, values, habits, behavior, marriage, socio-economic status, geographic mobility, even fundamental interests (Borjas, 2006) (International Organization for Migration, 2016). To measure the level of assimilation, Water and Jumenez (2005) used four
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benchmarks of assimilation – socioeconomic status, spatial concentration, language assimilation, and intermarriage.

Assimilation Theories:

In attempts to explain the process of assimilation, several theories have been proposed. A century ago, scholars proposed the straight line assimilation or linear process of adjustment. The theory was an attempt to explain the assimilation process of White immigrants mainly from Southern and Eastern Europe, to the society of descendants of Anglo-Saxon Whites from Northern Europe with Protestant religion at the turn of the 20th century (Brown & Bean, 2006). Through the study of eight immigrant groups, Warner and Srole (1945) described the straight-line assimilation progress based on the time since first migration and to the generation of the individual. Later, in explanation of minority groups that appear to be blocked from assimilation, Glazer and Moynihan (1963) proposed the “racial/ethnic disadvantage” perspective.

After the arrival of new waves of immigrants after the enactment of INA 1965 from Latin America, Asia, Middle East, and Africa, and their process of assimilation, acculturation, adoption of American norms and behaviors challenged the straight-line theory. Unlike previous immigration waves of Europeans, the diversity of new immigrants raised many questions about the classic assimilation theory (Rumbaut, 1997). The research results revealed that the diversity of their race, ethnicity, class, culture, language, socio-economic status, levels of English proficiency, and other characteristics added to the complexity of the research on immigrant adults, children, and families (Brown & Bean, 2006) (Kao, Vaquera, & Goyette, 2013).

Linguistic assimilation among children of immigrants does proceed rapidly and inexorably as a linear function, but other outcomes show a nonlinear process of change (Rumbaut, 1997). In attempts to explain the differential achievement and non-linear process of
assimilation among ethnic minorities, several assimilation paradigms were proposed - the adhesive adaptation paradigm (Hurh and Kim, 1984), “bumpy-line” (Gans, 1992), “segmented assimilation” (Portes & Zhou, 1993) (Rumbaut, 1994) (Zhou, 1997), and “accommodation paradigm” (Mouw & Xie’s, 1999).

Cultural and Social Capital:

These terms had been used in sociology often within the framework of social structure. According to Pierre Bourdieu (1973), social capital is “a cultural heritage carried out by families from different social classes transmitting to the next generation similar properties.” It is the benefits accruing to individuals by virtue of participation in groups. Whereas economic capital is in people’s bank accounts and human capital is inside their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships (Portes, 1998). Social and cultural capital is convertible into economic capital.

The OECD defines social capital more broadly as “networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups”. In this definition, we can think of social capital as real-world networks between groups or individuals - networks of friends, family, former colleagues, and so on.

Human Capital:

Human capital theory advocates the positive role of education. It asserts that success in school and high levels of formal education increase the prospects for better paying, higher status, and more satisfying employment (Barringer, Takeuchi, and Xenos, 1990).

Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (INA 1965):

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (79 Stat. 911; Hart-Cellar Act) was signed by President Johnson on October 3, 1965 and was fully enacted on June 30, 1968 (Migration
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Policy Institute, 2013) (National Archives and Records Administration, 2014). It is notable that the INA 1965 was passed at the height of the Civil Rights movement, along with other historical legislation – namely the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Chin, 1996).

The INA 1965 marked a major shift in immigration policy of the United States of America. The Act abolished the previous restrictive immigration system – a quota system based on race and national origin, and instead adopted an immigration system allowing immigration for family unification and employment with occupational skills. Thereby, the Act opened the door which was previously closed to certain populations, such as from Latin America, Asia, Middle East, and Africa (Kao, Vaquera, & Goyette, 2013; Migration Policy Institute, 2013; National Archives and Records Administration, 2014; Pew Research Center, 2015; Wolgin, 2015).

INA 1965 had a significant impact on the pattern of immigration to the United States. As the new law adopted race neutral and non-discriminatory immigration principles, diverse ethnic immigrants from previously restricted regions entered the U.S. As a result, the population of the U.S. became more ethnically diverse and multicultural than ever before (Kao, Vaquera, & Goyette, 2013; Wolgin, 2015).

Immigrant Generations:

Based on the place of birth, immigrants are designated their generational status in numeric sense, often classified as 1st- or 2nd-generation. Rumbaut (1992) (2004) classified the immigration generational status into more detail based on the person’s age of arrival at the U.S and place of birth of their parents.

According to the Rumbaut’s classification, the 1st-generation immigrants are those who were born and raised in a foreign country before arriving in the U.S. as adults, usually older than
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18 years of age. The 1.25-generation immigrants are those who arrive in their adolescent years, roughly at the ages 13 to 17. The 1.5-generation immigrants are those who arrive at their pre-adolescent or primary school-age, roughly at ages 6 to 12. The 1.75-generation are those who arrive in early childhood, ages 0-5. The 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation Americans are those who were born in the U.S. with one or both parents born in a foreign country. The 3\textsuperscript{rd}- or beyond-generations are those whose parents were both born in the U.S.

For the purposes of this study and ease of discussion, the author includes those who would qualify as 1.5-generation and 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation under the broader term, ‘2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation’.

Migration and Forces behind the Migration:

According to the International Organization for Migration, migration is defined as “the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a state (p. 2)”. It is “a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification” (International Organization for Migration, 2016).

Emigration is the act of departing or exiting from one place with an expectation of settling in another place. Immigration is a process by which non-nationals move into a country for the purpose of settlement (International Organization for Migration, 2016).

A Migrant is “any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person’s legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; (4) what the length of the stay is” (International Organization for Migration, 2016) (UNESCO, 2017).
Sociologists call the internal factors that cause forces pushing people out of their inhabitancy the *push factors*. On the other hand, the external factors that cause forces attracting people out of their inhabitancy are the *pull factors* (International Organization for Migration, 2016). A single cause of migration is often hard to identify since most migrations are caused by multiple factors including economic, social, and/or political issues.

**Parenting Styles:**

Baumrind (1968a, 1971) classified four types of parenting styles - authoritarian parents, authoritative parents, permissive parents, and rejecting/neglecting parents. Authoritarian parents “control the behavior of the child in accordance with a set of an absolute standard of conduct, expecting obedience, otherwise by a forceful and punitive measures to curb the child's actions; put values on respect for authority, for work, and for the preservation of order and tradition; discouraging verbal give and take” (Baumrind, 1968a). Authoritative parents “direct the child's activities in a rational manner; encourage verbal give and take; shares with the child the reasoning behind the policy; value both autonomous self-will and disciplined conformity; recognize special rights as an adult but also the child's individual interests; affirm the child's present qualities but also sets standards for future conduct; use reason as well as power to achieve the objectives” (Baumrind, 1968a, p. 261). Permissive parents “behave in a nonpunitive manner toward the child's impulses, desires, and actions; make few demands for household responsibility; allow the child to regulate his own activities as much as possible; avoid the exercise of control and do not encourage children to obey externally-defined standards; and attempt to use reason but not overt power to accomplish her ends” (Baumrind, 1968a, p. 256).
Personal Background:

As an educator and also as a 1st-generation immigrant, the current research topic has been an interest to the author (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Personally, the author’s life experience represents multiple facets of the research settings. He was born and raised in Korea. After completion of a college education, the author immigrated to the U.S. over some 35 years ago and settled in the Philadelphia region. The author’s wife is a 1.5-generation Korean-American. She was born in Korea and completed her elementary education there. She completed her secondary and post-secondary education in the U.S.

The couple’s three children are 2nd-generation Korean-Americans, born and raised in the Philadelphia suburb. They all attended the same public school. After completion of secondary education, they all spread out to different regions - MD, PA, and NY. They attended different types of colleges, studied different majors of their choice, and now work in different fields. Two are married - one to a 2nd-generation Pilipino-American and the other to a 2nd-generation Korean-American. The author’s 3rd-generation grandchildren are in third grade and kindergarten. At family gatherings, the topic of the conversation is often on children’s education.

Professionally, the author has been an educator in a public and a private educational institution for over 30 years. During the last 15 years, he has been teaching at a large public high school located outside of Philadelphia. The community members and student body are composed of racially and culturally diverse backgrounds.

Prior to public school teaching, the author taught at a private institution for 15 years. The institution specializes in preparation for tests including SAT, ACT, and TOEFL. This type of shadow educational system is a well-known phenomenon in Korea and other Asian countries (UNESCO, 2007). It is also popular among Korean-Americans and other Asian Americans in the
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During this period, the author had opportunities to meet numerous 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation Korean parents and their 1.5 - or 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation children. The center served as a hub for the Korean immigrant community in the region not only as an academic center for students but also as an information center for parents. Despite their high academic aspirations, the 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation immigrant parents struggled to help their children due to the language deficiency and lack of time. Language deficient parents utilized the center to gather or share much needed information on college admission processes and test requirements. The author often took part in seminars for parents and students to provide information on high school course requirements in pursuit of competitive colleges, college examinations, financial aids, etc.

In addition, the author has been deeply involved in a Korean ethnic church as a lay leader. He has been involving, particularly, on the education of children of church members. The author also has been involved in both Korean-speaking 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation congressional members as well as English-speaking 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generational congressional members.

\textbf{Role of Researcher:}

The author was encouraged by Hostetler, ‘good things need not be extraordinary’, but ‘offer something to improve the lives of people’ (2005). Equipped with Asian epistemology (Liu, 2011), the author took the courage to investigate the current topic beyond his opinion or thought (Anderson, 213). Based on his ethnic, cultural, and professional background, the author desired to utilize his insider status and in-depth experience on the current research (Pelias, 2011).
The researcher takes a dual role as a researcher and an insider of the topic. As a bi-lingual in Korean and English, the researcher understands bi-cultural nuance. In both coding and analyzing data, the researcher uses his personal knowledge and experiences as tools to make sense of the collected materials. Inherently, it is unavoidable that the researcher's unique impressions and insider narratives be part of this report remain intangible and undocumented (McCracken, 1988) (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

However, the author’s insider knowledge enabled him to access the thoughts and feelings of study participants. Through his bi-cultural and bi-lingual understanding, the author was able to gain better understanding of participants' personal experiences in rich detail and depth. He was able to collect individual information and perform cross-generational comparisons and analysis (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

In this chapter is presented a summary of immigration policies of the United States leading up to the INA 1965; the history of Korean immigration to the United States; academic research on educational achievement and social mobility of ethnic minorities prior to and after the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965; and patterns of assimilation of the new 2nd-generation minorities including Koreans after the INA 1965.

Brief History of Immigration Policies of the U.S.

Chinese Exclusion Act and Quota System before the INA 1965:

America had maintained an open border policy from the 1600s until the enactment of the Naturalization Act in 1790 (National Archives and Records Administration, 2014). During the California Gold Rush (1849 – 1855), Chinese arrived on the West coast joining the rush for wealth. After the Gold Rush ended in just seven years, anti-Asian feeling swept across the West coast and, as a result, the U.S. Congress adopted a series of immigration policies restricting and excluding immigrants from China, Japan, and other countries, starting with the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, an Act to Prohibit the Coming of Chinese Persons into the United States (the Geary Act) in 1892, and the Immigration Act of 1917 to set “the Asiatic barred zone” to prohibit immigrants from British India, most of Southeast Asia, and almost all of the Middle East (Kao, Vaquera, & Goyette, 2013) (Migration Policy Institute, 2013). The law prohibited nationals from countries within the zone from immigrating except certain professionals.

Further, the U.S. Congress adopted the Emergency Quota Act in 1921 that established annual immigrant “quotas” at 3% of the number of foreign-born nationals present in the 1910 U.S. census. Again, in 1924, the National Origin Quota Act (Johnson-Reed Act) revised the
quota to 2% of the 1890 census to limit the Southern and Eastern Europeans. The quota restricted immigration of Southern and Eastern Europeans, Middle Easterners, East Asians, and Asian Indians. According to the 1924 Immigration Act, quotas for Asians were a mere 105 for China, 185 for Japan, and 100 each for the Philippines and Korea. Therefore, almost all immigration from Asian countries, including Korea, effectively stopped after 1924 (Min 2011). During these periods, the majority of immigrants were Northern and Western European whites (Kao, Vaquera, & Goyette, 2013).

Repeal of Chinese Exclusion Act and Civil Right Movement:

Eventually, sixty years later, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was repealed in 1942 by the Magnuson Act (Migration Policy Institute, 2013). As a result, immigration from Asian countries gained traction after WWII. In 1945, the War Brides Act authorized the admission of the foreign-born spouses and children of U.S. servicemen from WWII. In 1952, the Immigration and Nationality Act (McCarren-Walter Act) consolidated several previous immigration laws into one statute and preserved the national origin quota system designating non-quota immigration reserved for immediate relatives – spouses, children, and parents – of U.S. citizens and for other selected cases.

It is notable that the INA 1965 was passed at the height of the Civil Rights movement, along with other historical legislations – the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, to equalize immigration opportunities for groups who had been the victims of discriminatory immigration law in the past (Chin, 1996).

Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 (INA 1965):

On October 3, 1965, President Johnson signed the INA 1965 (Hart-Cellar Act) and the Act was fully enacted on June 30, 1968 (Migration Policy Institute, 2013) (National Archives
and Records Administration, 2014). The INA 1965 marked a major shift of immigration policy of the U.S. Unlike the previous restrictive immigration quota system based on race and national origin, the INA 1965 adopted an immigration system that allowed immigration for family unification or employment with occupational skills. Thereby, the Act opened the door which was previously closed to immigrants populations from Latin America, Asia, Middle East, and Africa (Kao, Vaquera, & Goyette, 2013; Migration Policy Institute, 2013; National Archives and Records Administration, 2014; Pew Research Center, 2015; Wolgin, 2015).

INA 1965 had a significant impact on the pattern of immigration to the United States. As the new law adopted race neutral and non-discriminatory immigration principles, diverse ethnic immigrants from the previously restricted regions entered the U.S. As a result, the population of the U.S. became more ethnically diverse and multicultural than ever before (Kao, Vaquera, & Goyette, 2013) (Wolgin, 2015).

**History of Korean Immigrants to the United States**

According to the Center for American Progress (2015), there were about 1.7 million Koreans residing in the U.S. in 2013. Although Korean and Korean Americans seem ubiquitous in contemporary American society, the number represents little more than a half a percent of the entire U.S. population.

The migration of Koreans to the U.S. did not begin until long after other East Asians, such as Japanese and Chinese. It started with only a handful of Koreans in the entire U.S. in 1900, until a group of Korean laborers were brought to sugar plantations in Hawaii as laborers at the dawn of the twentieth century (Patterson, 1988) (Patterson, 2000) (Thomas Dolan & Kyle Christensen, 2010).

**The First Encounter:**
The first encounter between Korea and the United States took place at the end of the 19th century. In May 1882, the United States and the Kingdom of Joseon (1329 – 1910) on the Korean Peninsula, established their first diplomatic relations by signing the Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, after two previous armed conflicts between the two countries in 1866 and 1871. According to the Treaty, Korea and the U.S. government were to promote mutual business relations and student exchanges. Since then, Korea and the U.S. have maintained their close relationship in political, economic, and cultural aspects. (Patterson, 1988).

As a result of the Treaty, the first U.S. diplomatic envoy arrived in Korea in 1883 (U.S. Department of State, 2017), and a string of Christian missionaries arrived in Korea subsequently. Dr. Horace Allen (1858 – 1932), a medical doctor, arrived in Korea in September 1884 and gained the deep trust of the King of the Joseon and became an instrumental figure of the first group immigration of Korean laborers to the U.S. Only two months after his arrival in Korea, Dr. Allen saved the life of the Queen’s nephew who was injured during a political revolt in December 1884. As a result, Dr. Allen became a close confidant of the King while staying in Korea until 1905. Soon after the incident, Allen was supported by the King to establish the first Western style medical facility in Korea in 1885. Later, in 1902, he was involved in securing the King’s permission to send Koreans to Hawaii as sugar plantation laborers between 1903 and 1905 (Patterson, 2000).

Christian missionaries contributed to the nature of future Korean immigrants to the U.S. as well by establishing several modern schools in Korea. Methodist missionary, Henry Appenzeller (1858 – 1902), established the first Western style school for boys in 1885 and Presbyterian missionary, Horace G. Underwood (1959 – 1916, established the Underwood School in 1886. The first school for girls was established in 1886 by Mary Scranton.
contact with American missionaries and attending the Western style schools, some Koreans converted to Christianity and learned English and started having interest in immigration to the U.S. According to the U.S. State Department record, in 1900, there were merely 31 Koreans in the United States (Thomas Dolan & Kyle Christensen, 2010).

**The First Korean Immigrants – Upper Class Immigrants:**

During the Chinese Exclusion era, there were two noticeable Korean immigrants from the upper aristocratic class: Seo Jae-Pil and Seung-Man Rhee immigrated to the United States as political exiles in 1885 and 1910, respectively. Both Seo and Rhee studied and stayed in the U.S. as exiles after Japan annexed the Korean peninsula and became leaders of the resistance movement against Japanese occupation over Korea. Their lives in the U.S. represent the advanced assimilation pattern of upper-class Korean immigrants at the beginning of the twentieth century in their educational attainments, occupations, and inter-racial marriages.

In May 1885, Seo Jae-Pil (1864 – 1951) arrived at the San Francisco Bay as a political exile after a failed political revolt. He was twenty-one years old and was sponsored to come to Wilkes Barre, PA to complete his high school education. He attended Lafayette College and went to medical school. In 1892, he became the first Korean medical doctor in the US. Also he was the first Korean naturalized to become an U.S. citizen in 1888. In 1891, he married Muriel Armstrong whose family was well-known in the U.S. political scene. His adopted name is Dr. Philip Jaisohn. His path to U.S. citizenship is extraordinary considering the restrictive immigration policy at that time, as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (22 Stat. 58), was in its full effect.

Dr. Seo briefly went back to his home country after finishing his medical doctor degree, and became involved in a social and educational reformation to awaken the Confucian society.
These intellectuals published the first daily newspaper in Korea, *The Independent News* (1896 – 1899). He fought against the Japanese imperial expansion in Korea but after the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, he returned to America and became the central figure of the independent movement outside of Korea against Japanese imperialism, utilizing prominent U.S. politicians through his wife’s family connections. After the liberation of Korea in 1945, he went back to Korea as an advisor to the U.S. Military Government. In 1948, his former student Seung-Man Rhee became the president of the newly formed Republic of Korea, but Seo declined his invitation to become a cabinet member. Dr. Seo returned to the U.S. and stayed in suburban Philadelphia, practicing medicine until his death in 1951 (Jaisohn Memorial Foundation, 2017).

The second example of a Korean immigrant aristocrat is Seung-Man Rhee (1875 – 1965). Rhee was a student at the mission school established by Appenzeller when Dr. Seo briefly taught at the school while in Korea after completion of his medical degree. In 1904, Rhee also came to the United States as a political exile. He obtained a B.A. degree from George Washington University, M.A. degree from Harvard University, and Ph.D. degree in 1910 from Princeton University. After a brief visit to Korea in 1913, he moved to Hawaii where he established a church for Korean immigrants who had come earlier as sugar plantation workers. In 1934, he married Franziska Donnera from Austria. After the liberation of Korea, he became the first president of the Republic of Korea, formed in 1948 serving until 1960.

**Korean Labor Immigrants in Early 20th Century:**

Unlike the upper class political exiles, Korean unskilled laborers, called *coolies* (indentured laborers from South East Asia or China), also arrived in Hawaii at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1901 crop failure swept through the Korean peninsula creating a shortage of food (Dolan & Christiansen, 2010). On January 3rd, 1903, by the help of Dr. Horace Allen, 102

From January 1903 to July 1905, approximately 7,300 Korean laborers came to Hawaiian sugar plantations (Min P. G., 2011) and an additional 700 arrived in Hawaii between 1910 and 1924, mainly as ‘picture brides’ for the laborers (Patterson, 1988) (Patterson, 2000) reaching an estimated 10,000 Korean immigrants in America (Patterson, 2000) (Korean Ethnic Identity in the United States 1900-1945, Thomas Dolan & Kyle Christensen, 2010). The labor migration stopped after Japan took control over the Korean peninsula.

This first group of Koreans coming to America differed from Chinese and Japanese immigrant workers in multiple ways. First, this group was mostly converted to Christianity before arriving in Hawaii, and several Korean ministers came along with the laborers. Also, many of the early Koreans came as families instead of single men (Thomas Dolan & Kyle Christensen, 2010). According to Patterson (1988, 2000), Koreans adapted to American society more quickly than Chinese or Japanese due to their smaller numbers and higher percentage of Christian converts before immigration due to the way the laborers were recruited.

After the contract was over, some 1,100 went back to Korea and 1,300 Koreans moved to mainland cities such as San Francisco and Los Angeles (Min P. G., 2011) (Choe, Kim, & Han, 2003). As their numbers increased, the Koreans set up communities in Hawaii and eventually in California, which replicated many aspects of Korean society in the U.S. (Korean Ethnic Identity in the United States 1900-1945, Thomas Dolan & Kyle Christensen, 2010).

When Korea was annexed by Japan in 1910, emigration slowed and Korean nationalist organizations were established in Hawaii and the mainland United States. The leaders of some of
these organizations would eventually convince the U.S. government to restore ethnic recognition to Koreans separate from Japanese (Korean Ethnic Identity in the United States 1900-1945, Thomas Dolan & Kyle Christensen, 2010). In 1940, there were 8,568 Korean in the U.S. (Choe, Kim, & Han, 2003; Chronology of the Korean Immigration to the U.S. 1882 - 1940), most of which were political refugees and students who were involved in anti-Japanese independence movements (Min, 2011).

During the period between 1950 and 1964, approximately 6,000 Koreans students came to the United States (Min, 2011). Before 1965, it is estimated that fewer than 20,000 Koreans were living in the entire United States. They included descendants of the Korean immigrants who arrived during 1903 to 1905 and 1910 to 1924, mainly in Hawaii or San Francisco. The number also included wives of American servicemen who served in Korea during and after the Korean War, and war refugee children adopted by Americans (Min, 2011). Their children typically grew up in predominantly white neighborhoods with little contact with other Koreans or even other Asians, thus highly assimilated to American society, losing much of their ethnic identity (Park, 2010).

**Korean Immigration Immediate after the INA 1965:**

A decade after the end of the Korean War, in the early 1960s, the South Korean government established overseas employment programs to send miners, construction and transportation workers, seamen and nurses to West Germany, Vietnam, and the Middle East to lessen the pressure of population growth as well as to acquire foreign exchange through emigrant remittances (Ishi, 1988).

At the same period in the United States, the INA 1965 removed the barriers against the immigration from Asian countries. The act also allowed medical professionals to be exempted
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from the usual visa requirements of an employment offer and labor certification that there was insufficient manpower in the United States to perform the work (Lee, 1998). Koreans found entry into those sectors of the American medical system when and where there had been the most severe personnel shortages. According to Lee (1998), “As of 1985, of the total 1,057 graduates of the Yonsei medical school, during the 1953-72 periods, 601 were in the United States; that was more than 50% of the graduates (p. 58).” The Yonsei medical school is rooted in the medical facility established by Dr. Allen in 1885. According to the 1970 Census data, there were about 70,000 Koreans mainly in California (16,000) and Honolulu (about 9,000). (Kitano, 1981).

Soon after, other non-professional Koreans also joined the new wave of immigration to the United States. Those Koreans who immigrated to the US in the early 1970s were mostly from the upper to middle class (Hong & Hong, 1996). Unlike the immigrants who came to study in the early 1970s, later immigrants were by family invitation and tended to be skilled laborers (Alba & Nee, 1999) with a high degree of education in Korea. Those who came with labor skills continued their occupations, but those with no skills found an entrepreneurial route utilizing social networks (Hong & Hong, 1996).

Steady Increase of Korean Immigrants in the U.S.:

The estimated number of Koreans or Korean-Americans living in the United States is mainly based on three sources of data: the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) before 2003, the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) after 2003, and the U.S. Census Bureau. The INS and USCIS data reflect the number of immigrants that entered the U.S., while the Census Bureau data reflects the number of residents including the children who were born in the U.S.
According to the data compiled by Min (2011b) using Annual Reports from the Immigration and Naturalization Service and Yearbook of Immigration Statistics from the Office of Immigration Statistics, a steady increase of Korean immigrants during the last five decades since the INA 1965. The data shows that the number of Korean immigrants after the INA 1965 started with a mere 2,165 in 1965 (Min, 2011, 2012, 2015). The same source shows that the number of Korean immigrants entering into the U.S. increased rapidly during the first half of the 1970s. The annual average number of Korean immigrants to the U.S. was more than 32,200 during the 15-year period 1976 to 1990. The total number of Korean immigrants in the U.S reached 100,000 by 1974 and 500,000 by 1986. The highest number was 35,849 in 1987.

After the Seoul Olympics in 1988, Korea enjoyed stable and strong growth of its economy and the number of Korean immigrants dropped significantly in 1991. This period overlaps with the riots in the Koreatown section of L.A. in 1992, and the financial crisis that swept through the East Asian countries, including Korea, in 1997. The number of Korean immigrants maintained an annual average of 16,000 immigrants until 2000. Since then the number of Korean immigrants came back up to an average 23,400 per year in the new millennia (Min, 2015). Despite the fact that the number has been diminished since 1990, Korean immigration to the U.S. is still continuing. The number of Korean immigrants reached one million by 2009 and 1.1 million by 2013 (Min, 2012, 2015). In gross, about 1.2 million Korean immigrants came to the U.S. since the late 1960s.

Concentration and Dispersion of Koreans and Korean-Americans in 2010 Census:

According to the U.S. Census in 2010, there were a little more than 1.7 million individuals who self-identified themselves as ethnic Korean or multiethnic/multiracial Korean living in the United States of America as of April 2010. This number represents 0.55% of the
entire U.S. population, 308.7 million at that time. The majority of Korean immigrants and their children are residing in several ‘gateway cities’ in the U.S. and their surrounding areas (Min, 2012) (Zong & Batalova, 2017). For example, over 30% of Korean Americans are in Los Angeles and its surrounding counties; almost 15% in New York City and Northern New Jersey; close to 13% in the Greater Washington, D.C. and Northern Virginia area; 5% in Dallas and Houston area; a little over 4% in the Chicago area, and close to 4% in the Atlanta area (Min, 2012, 2015). Less than 3% of Korean Americans in the U.S., about 50,000, are residing in Philadelphia and its suburban area (Min, 2011, 2012, 2015) (Zong & Batalova, 2017).

**Korean-Americans in the Pennsylvania and Philadelphia Region:**

Beginning in the 1970s and continuing to the present, the Philadelphia region has seen several distinctive waves of immigration. During the 1980s and 1990s, significant numbers of Korean immigrants have come to live and work in the city and suburbs (Singer, Vitiello, Katz, & Park, 2008). According to Brookings (2008), there were less than a few hundred Koreans in Philadelphia and its surrounding areas in 1970 and about 11,000 in 1980, with the majority of them settled in suburban areas (23% vs. 77%). This number increased to over 20,000 by 1990 (25% vs. 75%).

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, there were 47,429 Korean-Americans in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Based on self-identification, the number included 40,405 single-race Korean-Americans and 6,924 multi-racial Korean-Americans. According to the same data, 40,292 Korean-Americans were residing in the Greater Philadelphia metropolitan region, which represents 0.79% of the local population of close to 6-million (Min, 2012).

Philadelphia Korean-Americans do not have a strong ethnic enclave like Los Angeles or New York City (Min, 2013). Due to their smaller numbers or lower ratio, Korean-Americans
living in the Greater Philadelphia region might have experienced different assimilation patterns compared to those in the Los Angeles or New York regions where they have a higher ratio and larger presence.

**Education, Social Mobility, and Assimilation Studies**

**Classic Research on Status Attainment:**

Academic achievement and social mobility of racial and ethnic minorities have been subjects of study of many educational sociologists as education became an important factor in people’s lives during the industrialization era (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, 2002). An early comprehensive survey on educational outcomes among racial and ethnic minorities was done by Glazer and Moynihan (1963). A year later, Coleman’s study (Coleman, et al., 1966) was published by the commission formed after the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The 756-page study on six racial and ethnic groups (African Americans, American Indians, Asian Americans, Puerto Ricans in the continental U.S. and majority Whites) revealed significant achievement gaps between ethnic minority students and majority White students. Coleman reported in its summary section that “the average minority pupil scores distinctively lower” on standardized achievement tests “at every level” compared to the scores of “the average white pupil” but “with some exceptions – notably Asian Americans” (Coleman, 1966, p. 20).

In the 1960s and 1970s, sociologists investigated the process of status attainment and social mobility. Blau and Duncan (1967) systematically analyzed the American occupational structure and the stratification system, processes of social mobility from one generation to the next, and the career attainment process. Sewell and his colleagues studied occupational attainment processes (Sewell, Haller, & Portes, 1969) (Sewell, Haller, & Ohlendorf, 1970), using the parental income, parent’s educational attainment, and father's occupation as a measure of
socioeconomic status (SES) and the results showed enormous differences in educational outcomes among the various socioeconomic groups (Sewell & Houser, 1975). According to the series of studies, the results indicated strong inter-generational continuity of social position, and thereby revealed the importance of families’ socio-economic status on their children’s academic achievement and subsequent status attainment. In conclusion, educational and occupational attainment of children is highly correlated to the parents’ stratification position along with the individual’s mental ability (Beeghley, 1989, 2008).

**Birth of Model Minority Stereotype – Japanese and Chinese Americans:**

The exception to these studies, the success story of Asian minorities despite their odds, was soon picked up by the news media. Sociologist William Pettersen (1966) wrote an essay in the *New York Times* about the educational and economic success of Japanese Americans. He praised the Japanese Americans as a ‘model minority’ who overcame the long history of prejudice and ill-treatment by the majority White society, including local and federal governments, and even including the Supreme Court of the United States. Despite the color prejudice and oppression over many generations through ‘Yellow Fever’, denial of citizenship, exclusion from immigration, and ultimately internment of Japanese American citizens during World War II, Peterson (1966) praised the Japanese Americans for educating their Nisei and Sansei (2nd- and 3rd-generation) children and overcoming the racial barriers in white-collar jobs, without displaying negative attitudes such as “self-defeating apathy or a hatred” that lead to “self-destructive” behavior, unlike some other “problem minorities” (Pettersen, 1966) (original quotation) solely through their own hard work.

Also in 1966, Chinese Americans were featured on *U.S. News and World Report* (1966) as another model minority. The article starts with praise of the Chinese-American population as
“winning wealth and respect by dint of its own hard work” in the midst of the unfortunate situation for racial minorities in America at that time. Referencing sources from multiple law enforcement data, the article complimented Chinese parents’ for “keeping them in school, focusing on studying, staying out of trouble without getting involved with crimes and delinquency” (U.S. News & World Report, 1966). The article continues to praise the Chinese Americans as “thrifty, law-abiding, industrious, and ambitious to make progress on their own; conforming to the main-stream society without causing any trouble; and thereby become strong contributor to the health of the whole community” (U.S. News & World Report, 1966).

Both articles portrayed Japanese and Chinese Americans as having overcome the obstacles through their own hard work, leaving an implicit suggestion that other minorities should follow the model. Chinese were portrayed as willing to do any hard work without complaining: “in mines, on railroads and in other hard labor” during the developing frontier era, as “laundrymen and cooks” (just because there was no other occupation available to them), willing “to work long hours for low pay,” and willing “to do something – they don’t sit around moaning” (U.S. News & World Report, 1966). The implication was that Chinese people were becoming successful with their own effort, with no help from anyone else, contrary to other minorities on whom the country was spending hundreds of millions in welfare checks trying to uplift them. The article calls the Chinese a racial minority “pulling itself up from hardship and discrimination to become a model of self-respect and achievement” (U.S. News & World Report, 1966).

Educational Research after the INA 1965

Rebirth of Model Minority:
After the enactment of the INA 1965, an influx of new immigrant adults and children with diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds arrived in the U.S. As millions of foreign-born and American-born children of immigrants started attending schools, their educational progress and career attainments became significant issues in public educational institutions. As a result, a plethora of research was done on educational achievements and assimilation patterns among immigrant children, including school grades, graduation rates, SAT scores, educational attainment, occupations and earnings, geographical dispersion, etc. While various research results indicate different patterns of educational achievements and career attainments among immigrant populations, the majority of studies revealed relatively higher success rates of Asian-Americans in academic achievement, career attainment, and social mobility. Regardless of the differences among ethnic groups, the overall profound impact of family SES (family assets, family income, and other characteristics) is well established through multiple studies (Kao, et al. 2013).

**In Search of Explanation for Achievement Disparity:**

In response to the differential achievement and new patterns of assimilation among racial and ethnic groups, researchers are trying to extract the contributing factors and explain the new phenomena divided into two groups. One group of researchers tried to explain the achievement gap through structural perspectives including the educational and social stratification structure of the U.S. society. Meanwhile cultural perspective researchers looked into cultural influence.

Barringer, Takeuchi, and Xenos (1990) investigated the education, occupation, and personal income of various groups of Asian Americans using the data from the 1980 census. The results show that most Asian Americans are better educated than are whites, blacks, and Hispanics. However, despite the prestigious occupation of Asian American men, even of those
who were born here, with high levels of education, their incomes do not necessarily lead to income equity with whites. The authors argue that the findings support structural theories (Barringer, Takeuchi, and Xenos, 1990).

Sue and Okazaki (1990) argue that the success of Asian Americans cannot be explained solely by Asian cultural values. These authors proposed relative functionalism to explain the academic achievements of Asian American’s high educational mobility. Asian Americans perceive, and have experienced, restrictions in upward mobility in careers or jobs. Education is seen as increasingly functional as a means for mobility when other avenues are blocked for upward mobility (Sue & Okazaki, 1990).

**Segmented Assimilation Theory:**

Portes and Zhou (1993) have observed three different adaptation patterns among new immigrants and their offspring after the INA 1965. They observed that children of post-1965 immigrants to the U.S. typically still assimilate to become American, but unlike previous concepts of assimilation, they recognize diverse paths to assimilation (Haller, Portes, & Lynch, 2011). "One of them replicates the classic straight-line assimilation and acculturation integration into the white middle-class; a second case is straight into 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). This new pattern of assimilation the author coined a ‘segmented assimilation’ (Zhou, 1997).

Schmid (2001) also observed uneven absorption and educational achievement of the new second generation, who come primarily from Asia and Latin America. The author identified external factors, such as economic opportunities, racial and ethnic status, and group reception, as
well as intrinsic factors, such as human and social capital, family structure, community organization, and cultural and linguistic patterns.

**Benchmarks of Assimilation:**

Waters and Jimenez (2005) studied four primary benchmarks of assimilation: socioeconomic status, spatial concentration, language assimilation, and intermarriage. Authors discovered that the existing literature shows that today's immigrants are largely assimilating into American society along each of these dimensions. However, the research done by Ellis and Goodwin-White (2006) shows most of the descendents of immigrants would not disperse from states of immigration in efforts to make their way in American society.

**Parenting Styles of Asian Immigrant and Other Ethnic Groups:**

Baumrind (1968, 1971) identified four types of parenting styles - authoritarian parents, authoritative parents, permissive parents, and rejecting/neglecting parents. According to the cross-cultural comparison of parenting practices by Jambunathan, Burts, and Pierce (1998), European Americans are more aligned to an authoritative parenting style. African Americans tend to use an authoritarian parenting style promoting respect for the authority figure, work ethic, and a sense of duty. Hispanic families are often permissive and authoritarian, while Asian Americans parenting style is mixed, controlling and achievement orientation (Jambunathan, Burts, & Pierce, 1998).

Effects of different parenting styles were investigated using a large and diverse sample of high school students by Dornbusch et al (1986). The study found that both authoritarian and permissive parenting styles were negatively associated with grades and authoritative parenting was positively associated with grades. Nevertheless, the authoritarian parenting style among Asian population leads to higher academic achievement (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts,
& Fraleigh, 1986). It seems parental pressure placed on Asian American adolescents does not strain their relationship or interdependence compared to European American adolescents (Fu & Markus, 2014). According to Chao and Tseng (2002), the core characteristics of Asian parenting are family centeredness and family interdependence, control and strictness, and societal and parental importance placed on educational achievement. A study conducted by Braxton (1999) shows that, in the U.S., home environment and parental encouragement, along with the drive to save a family's "face," are all major issues that affect Asian American students' achievement.

Some researchers credited the academic achievement of Asian immigrants to their cultural capital and strict parenting style based on the Confucian tradition. Most of the immigrants from Far-East Asia are rooted in the Confucian tradition which view children as “sheets of blank white paper,” assuming the innate malleability of children, and parents are expected to play a role to foster proper discipline, habits, and morals (Chao & Tseng, 2002). According to Confucian philosophy, success is less the result of the individual's innate ability than it is of the individual's single-minded effort and consistent practice (Tweed & Lehman, 2002).

However, even among Asian ethnic groups, there are differences. A study of first-generation Chinese parents in the U.K. shows a strong authoritative parenting style (Huang & Lamb, 2015). Meanwhile, according to an empirical study by Choi, Kim, Kim, and Park (2013), Korean American parenting style is a blend of Western authoritative and authoritarian styles with positive warmth, acceptance, and communication (Choi, Kim, Kim, & Park, 2013). Still, parenting styles are not static among the same ethnic group but changes over the generations (Wu & Hertberg-Davis, 2009). Pong, Hao, and Gardner’s (2005) study on three generations of
Asian students about the role of parenting styles revealed significant differences not only by race/ethnicity but also by generational status.

**Parental Influence on Higher Education and Career Decision:**

The 1st-generation Asian parents’ emphasis on the value of education and expectation on their children of college education is well known. Asian parents often pressure their children to choose a certain major as a tool to achieve their dream, as the key to social mobility and success. This pressure is often based on parents’ limited understanding of other majors and career options, and based on what majors they believe lead to economically stable careers (Museus S. D., 2013).

Poon and Byrd (2013) pointed out that there is a great deal of diversity among Asian Americans in choosing and accessing college, differing by ethnicity, gender and generation. According to Museus (2013), Southeast Asian American college students get influences from their parents on their educational tracks through their parents’ high value and expectations of college education and parents’ sacrifice and sense of responsibility. Unlike many White Americans, Asian Americans do not make their career decision in isolation, but instead, they have in-depth involvement with family members in their career choice process (Keller & Brown, 2014). This can be helpful; however, parents can also have a negative influence through excessive pressure. Asian American students often suffer from parental expectations and are pressured to choose majors that may not be a good fit (Museus, 2013).

The high academic achievement of Asian Americans is frequently related to their cultural influences, and it seems that the talented performance is a result of the interaction among immigration selectivity, higher than average levels of pre-migration and post-migration socioeconomic status, as well as ethnic social structures (Zhou & Kim, 2006). Korean and Chinese American students were often found to benefit from their socio-economic capitals in
preparation for their college education, such as through attending Asian SAT prep centers (Park, 2012). Korean-Americans try to build excellent education credentials through private supplemental education (Yi, 2013) to get admission to the highly competitive universities and colleges. In general, all Asian American ethnic groups have higher expectations than other groups, but their higher educational expectations are influenced by socioeconomic and demographic factors (Goyette & Xie, 2013).

**Feelings of Guilt and Indebtedness of Second-Generation Asian-Americans:**

Studies show 2nd-generation Asian-Americans often share feelings of guilt and indebtedness to their 1st-generation parents who sacrificed on their behalf (Kang & Larson, 2014) when they met with conflicting values, traditions, and expectations. They often have to deal with parental disapproval regarding their career choice or college choice. To lessen their anxiety, they often seek advice from friends or employ various strategies to earn approval of parents such as educating parents about their chosen career, or make compromising decisions between personal desires and parental expectations (Ma, Desai, George, San Filippo, and Varon; 2014). According to Vivian Tseng’s (2004) study, Asian Pacific Americans place more importance on family interdependence compared to European Americans. Family obligation attitudes contributed to greater academic motivation among Asian immigrant youth compared with U.S.-born families.

Another interesting fact is, in Asian American families, the role of the mother is significant. According to Fu and Markus (2014), Asian American high school students experience more interdependence with their mothers and are motivated by pressure from their mothers. Many 2nd-generation participants experienced similar situations while growing up, often feeling pressured by their mothers. As a counter reaction, they often expressed desire not to burden their children into similar situations.
Critical Perspectives against the Stereotype Model Minority Myth (MMM):

Some more recent researches have tried to investigate Asian’s struggle to find their identities under the burden of the Model Minority Myth (Chun, 1980; Lew, 2004, 2006), career choice among second-generation immigrants (Kim, 1993), and the effect of community force, such as supplementary education, and social capital (Portes, 1998) behind the educational achievement (Zhou & Kim, 2006).

Despite overall high achievement rates, many Asian Americans weren’t free from frustrations or failures as immigrants. Although they were equipped with a high level of immigrant optimism and a high level of social-cultural-economic resources (Kao & Tienda, 1995; Kao & Tienda, 1998; Park, 2012), many Asian Americans, including Korean Americans, continued to struggle in many areas of life (Kao, 1995, 1999b, 2000; Lee, 1994; Meseus & Kiang, 2009; Pang, Han, & Pang, 2011; Wong, Lai, Nagasawa, & Lin, 1998). To achieve their American Dream (Adams, 1931), they had to overcome structural barriers and obstacles in many of the U.S. society’s highly stratified, capitalistic, social, and racial classes (Beeghley, 1989, 2008; Gilbert, 2008; Kao, Vaquera, & Goyette, 2013; Rury, 2013).

As discussed, Asian Americans were often framed as a model minority that other minority groups should try to emulate, earning academic achievement and wealth through their own hard work and without causing any social troubles. However, recent researchers who investigated the academic achievement of Asian Americans became skeptical about the true nature of Asian Americans’ academic success (Chun, 1980; Lew, 2004, 2006, 2007; Poon, et al., 2015; Wing, 2007). Some researchers have brought up the ill intentions and obscuring effect of impetuous usage of the term “model minority”. Chun (1980) recognized the timing of publishing those two articles in the New York Times and the U.S. News & World Report on the success of
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Japanese and Chinese Americans for their compliance in the midst of the Civil Rights movement of African Americans. Chun (1980) suspected the intention of the ‘model minority’ term was to avoid the equity issue of educational achievements and career attainments for ethnic minorities and to admonish any under-achieving minorities. While praising the Asian Americans for being successful under detrimental situations and overcoming the barriers with their hard work, the term implicitly suggests and requests a similar attitude and conformity from other ethnic groups (Chun, 1980; Lew, 2004, 2006, 2007).

Wing (2007) also recognizes, while, on average, Asian American students have a higher academic profile, there are many facing difficulties and failures that are obscured behind the model minority myth. This façade has served as “a tool to castigate other people of color and to discredit their struggles for equality and social justice” (Wing, 2007, p. 460). According to Gutierrez (2006), scholars are often “complicit in framing non-dominant students and their communities in ways that re-describe and support dominant narratives” (p. 227).

Later, Poon et al. (2015) critically investigated 124 articles to find the degrading effects of the Model Minority Myth (MMM) in college settings and also raised their suspicions of political motivation of using Asian Americans’ socioeconomic success as the solution to the claim of racial discrimination and demand of equitable opportunities and resources. In the review, the authors critically pointed out the misuse of the term ‘model minority’ that defined Asian Americans as a “monolithically hardworking racial group whose high achievement undercuts claims of systemic racism” (Poon, et al., 2016, p. 469) and patronized the practice that “maintains White dominance by disregarding the lived experiences of one group to shame another group” (Poon, et al., 2016, p. 474), especially African Americans. The model minority term was “an antithesis to African American claims of persistent racial oppression and barriers
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during the 1960s Civil Rights Movement and at the height of Black-led urban uprisings across the United States' ' (p. 469). Poon et al. (2015) asserts, “The stereotype of success among Asian Americans is used to blame another minority group for its struggles, thus perpetuating the deficit thinking model prevalent in education” (Poon, et al., 2016, pp. 474-475). This deficit thinking model posits, as cited by Poon et al. (2016, p. 472), “that the student who fails in school does so because of internal deficits or deficiencies… lack of motivation to learn and immoral behavior” (Valencia, 1997, P. 2). Consequently, Asian Americans are implicated as honorary Whites (Tuan, 1998; Zhou, 2004) and the racial disparities many experiences are neglected (CARE, 2008).

Achievement Gap among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPI):

Pointing out an interesting variance, Meseus and Kiang (2009) reported that the Asian-American-Pacific-Islander (AAPI) populations are invisible in higher education research, obscured behind the Model Minority Myth. Kao (1995), utilizing the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988, found that Chinese, Korean, and Southeast Asian 8th grade youths earned high grades in math, meanwhile other Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPI) students were low in both math and reading compared to their White counterparts.

Another group of authors (Pang, Han, & Pang, 2011) studied over a million Asian American, Pacific Islander and White 7th graders in California to find achievement gaps among 13 AAPI (Asian Indians, Bangladeshi, Burmese, Chinese, Filipino, Guamanian, Indonesian, Iwo Jiman, Japanese, Korean, Lao, Malaysian, Maldivian, Marshallese, Native Hawaiian, Nepalese, Okinawan, Pakistani, Palauan, Singaporean, Samoan, Tahitian, Taiwanese, Thai, Tibetan, and Vietnamese) subgroups against their White counterparts and their results refute the Model Minority Myth among AAPI.
Implication of Model Minority Myth toward Asian Americans:

The MMM portrays Asian immigrants as smart, adaptive, problem-free high achievers with strong family values, capable of overcoming disadvantages with their hard work. Further, the Asian Americans are depicted as quiet, timid, shy, isolated, demure, and obedient without challenging authority (Poon et al., 2015). Asian Americans are even portrayed “particularly socially awkward and nerdy” (Poon et al., 2016, p. 488).

The depiction of Asian Americans as being studious but obedient and socially introverted has created the stereotypes that Asian Americans are relatively less competent for leadership positions (Balon, 2005; Kwon, 2009; Lo, 2011; Poon et al., 2015). In an ethnographic study, Lee (1994) found that the identity and attitudes of Asian immigrant students toward schooling were not static, but were negotiated through experiences and relationships inside and outside of school. Korean students and Asian-identified students held positive attitudes toward schooling and economic advancement. Both groups attempted to live up to the model minority standards. Korean students and Asian-identified students were motivated by a sense of guilt and responsibility to their family. They put effort into living up to the standards of the model-minority, but still perceived limited opportunities based on racism.

Through multiple investigations on inner city Korean American youths, Lew (2004; 2006; 2007) found that students with lower SES often drop out of high school and struggle to meet the model minority expectations and have lower self-esteem. Lew (2006) investigated Asian American students in two different social and economic contexts in New York City schools to see how they negotiated their race and ethnic identities in between Black and White hegemony. She found that the two groups adopted different racial strategies depending on the SES background, peer network, and school contexts.
Structural Barriers on Asian-Americans:

Wong et al. (1998) found that Asian Americans perceived themselves as more prepared, motivated and more likely to have greater career success than Whites. Also, the perceptions that Asian Americans were superior to Whites in those areas were shared by Whites, African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans. According to the Model Minority Myth, Asian Americans are presumed to have attained success in education and high-income occupations through their hard work. However, Chun (1980) called for a reassessment by pointing out that the typical indicators of success, such as education and income, have not been properly adjusted for extraneous factors. Chun pointed out that Asian Americans are occupationally segregated and under-compensated compared to their White counterparts with a similar level of education attainment. He also pointed out the Asian Americans are experiencing a sense of lost identity under the pressure of assimilation by their ancestor’s survival journey. Their findings support the theory of structural barriers that the higher educational levels of Asian immigrants, including those who were born in the U.S., do not necessarily lead to income equity with Whites (Barringer, Takeuchi, & Xenos, 1990).

Second-Generation Advantage over Third-Generation:

Many researchers have investigated the academic achievement and career mobility of third-generation children among new ethnic minority groups. Recent research results reveal a declining trend of the 3rd generation, in that 2nd-generation youths outperformed third-or-later-generation peers (Kao, 1995). The trend has also been reported among more than 20,000 teenagers in Wisconsin and California (Steinberg, 1996) and a sample of 1,100 secondary students in California (Fuligni, 1997). In Canada, Boyd (2002) found that the 1.5- and 2nd-generation adults, age 20-64, have more years of schooling with higher percentages completing
high school compared to the 3\textsuperscript{rd}-plus generations (Boyd, 2002). More recently, according to a meta-analysis done by Duong, Badaly, Liu, Schwartz, & McCarty (2016), research shows there continues to be generational differences in achievement. However the results reveal a declining trend that 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation youths outperformed 3\textsuperscript{rd} third-or-later–generation peers. The analysis reveals that the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation children of immigrants are generally achieving lower than the 1.5- or 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation children of immigrants. Some articles coined the phenomena as the 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation advantage. The phenomenon is suspected to be a result of being assimilated into the main society. Rumbaut coined the phenomenon “educational paradox,” asking a question, “Is assimilation detrimental to academic achievement?” (Rumbaut R. G., 1997). He noticed erosion of an ethos of achievement and hard work from the immigrant generation to the 3\textsuperscript{rd} generation.

**Perpetuated Minority Status as Hyphenated Americans:**

One of the early studies pointed out that despite the higher educational achievement and occupational attainment, the average total income of the new Asian immigrants was lower than that of their American counterparts (Wong M., 1986). The author warned that tolerance and acceptance of immigrants and minorities in the U.S. can ebb depending on our society’s social and economic situation or on its relationship with the sending nations in the international arena. Wong (1986) also predicted that, despite the assimilation, Asian immigrants will probably always be ‘hyphenated Americans’.

Asher (Hybrid Identities of Youth from Immigrant Families, 2008) argues that educators need to move beyond stereotypical representations of diverse youth and recognize and engage their hybrid identities. Analyzing the narratives of ten high school students from Indian immigrant families in New York City, the article discusses how these students negotiate a range
of identities as hyphenated Americans who encounter differences and contradictions at the
dynamic intersections of race, culture, class, and gender at both home and school.

Louie (2004) utilized surveys, interviews, and nonparticipant observation of 1.5-
generation and 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation Chinese Americans about their experience with K-12 schooling
and college. The findings were that the sociocultural context shapes parental expectations,
parents' perception of racial discrimination, and parents seeing higher education as necessary to
offset potential discrimination. Despite the similarity in parental expectations, there are class
differences in the investments parents make, and children experience a keen sense of reciprocal
duty and fear of failure.

\textbf{Research on Korean-Americans’ Assimilation:}

Several quantitative researches were designed specifically toward the Korean-American
populations. For example, Chun (1980) and Lew (2004; 2006) investigated the struggle of
Korean immigrant youths with low family SES dealing with their ethnic identities under the
burden of the Model Minority Myth. Kim (1993) examined the pattern of career choices among
2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation Korean-Americans. Zhou and Kim (2006) explored the community force and
social capital behind the educational achievement among Korean-American students, such as
supplementary education. Yoon (2012) recently utilized an ethnographic method to investigate
the process of negotiation of values and cultural adaptation through her own children’s
experience (Yoon, 2012).

Lew (2004) argued the fallacy of the Model Minority Myth through her study of Korean
American high school dropouts in Queens, NY. She found that the Korean youths with limited
social and economic support adopted an oppositional cultural frame of reference to endure and
resist institutional barriers and reject assimilation as “acting White”. There are various social
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statuses within co-ethnic communities. They recognize and internalize the model minority stereotype but also distinguish themselves from wealthy, educated Koreans and identify themselves with other minorities’ downward mobility and struggle with racism and poverty.

In addition to culture, Lew (2006) argued that class, peer network, and school context play significant roles for minority students’ academic aspirations and achievement. Different educational outcomes of socially and economically different Korean American students cannot be explained by cultural perspective, but the two groups of students adopt different racial strategies based on their backgrounds. Lew’s (2007) case study on Korean Americans with different SES devised different sets of parental strategies, views on importance of social class, social capital, and school context in New York. Lew found various socio-economic backgrounds of Korean American affect the parental strategies and academic achievement of their children. Her study results illustrate the significance of structural factors of social class and social capital.

Related studies were done on cross-ethnic comparison related to educational outcomes (Dandy & Nettelbeck, 2002; Kao, 1999b), immigration status and role of language (Turney & Kao, 2009), and the effect of adaptation and assimilation in educational achievement and occupational attainment (Raleigh & Kao, 2010).

Summary

Assimilation and acculturation develop over generations. Changes can be seen in attitudes and values, structural conditions, educational and occupational achievement. Studies on immigrants after the mid-1960s show segmented assimilation in the 2nd generation; a significant portion experiencing downward assimilation (Haller, Portes, & Lynch, 2011). Immigrants with a high level of human capital have a smoother path of adaptation, achieving high levels of education and moving into the middle class, but poor unskilled immigrants filling the labor needs
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face challenges by the areas of settlement with few individual resources and little external assistance (Alba & Nee, 1999) (Haller, Portes, & Lynch, 2011).

Korean American’s acculturation and social assimilation shows adaptation adhering to their Korean socio-culture. Hurh and Kim define adhesive adaptation as “certain aspects of the new culture and social relations of the host society are added on to the immigrants’ traditional culture and social networks, without replacing or modifying any significant part of the old” (p.188). According to the study through interviews of 615, the 1st generation Korean immigrants in the LA area, Kim and Hur (1984) find that this group have “strong and pervasive ethnic attachment,” unaffected by the length of residence in the US, socioeconomic status, Korean language, ethnic friends, or participation in ethnic organizations including churches.

While Asian-Americans were praised as model minorities for achieving their American dreams, Asian immigrants have been experiencing complex layers of hopes, obstacles, achievements, and frustrations in overcoming America’s highly stratified capitalistic, social, and racial classes (Beeghley, 1989/2008) (Gilbert, 2008) (Kao, Vaquera, & Goyette, 2013) (Rury, 2013). Equipped with a high level of immigrant optimism (Raleigh & Kao, 2010) and aspirations and high levels of social-cultural-economic costs (Kao & Tienda, 1995) (Kao & Tienda, 1998) (Park, 2012), Asian Americans, including Korean Americans, have been struggling to meet the stereotype expectations from within and without and to overcome any structural barriers (Kao, 1995) (Pang, Han, & Pang, 2011) (Wong, Lai, Nagasawa, & Lin, 1998).

The first-generation Korean immigrant parents kept their traditional high academic expectations and career aspirations. However, they struggled to overcome the cultural and linguistic deficiency to be involved in their children’s education (Turney & Kao, 2009), (Wang, 2008). Some parents looked into different venues and were able to mobilize a high level of social
capital (Kao, 2004b) (Kao & Rutherford, 2007) (Louie, 2001) (Zhou & Kim, 2006) including supplementary education to make up for what they were not able to do due to language (Park, 2012) (Yi, 2013) (Zhou & Kim, 2006) (Zhou & Kim, 2007).

On the other hand, the 1.5- or 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation Korean Americans, while struggling to meet their parent’s academic and career expectations, have experienced the acute assimilation process while they were growing up. They have been negotiating their cultural-ethnic identity (Yoon, 2012) (Zhou, 1997), educational aspirations, and career choices (Kim, 1993) (Liu R. W., 1998) (Min, 1984) (Museus, Harper, & Nichols, 2010) (Raleigh & Kao, 2010) during the process, often in conflict with those of their parents. Based on their levels of assimilation, the two generations are expected to diverge in their educational beliefs and practices.
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Overview

This chapter describes the design and methodology for this research. It is divided into three sections. The first section describes the research method including purpose, context, setting and participants for the study. The second section describes the concurrent data collection process of interviews and surveys. The third section outlines the coding of the interview data and data analysis process and triangulation process.

Research Design

Purpose of the Research:

The purpose of this study is to explore the complex phenomena (Creswell, 2013) (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011) of cross-generational transformation (Brown & Bean, 2006) of educational beliefs, expectations, and involvement practices of two generations of Korean American parents living in the Greater Philadelphia area.

Guided by the following five research questions, this study documented two generations of Korean-American parents’ educational expectations and philosophy regarding their children’s educational attainments as well as parental involvement practices to achieve children’s academic achievements and to select fields of study and career. Comparison was attempted to decipher cross-generational transformation between two generations: the 1.5- or 2nd-generation descendant parents and their 1st-generation immigrant parents.

Findings from the current research may contribute to a better understanding (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011) (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006) (Teddle & Tashakkori, 2003, 2009, 2011) of cross-generational assimilation patterns among Korean-Americans living in the Northeastern United States of America on various educational topics.
Research Questions:

The five research questions of the current study are:

1. In what ways do two generations of Korean-American parents view the importance of children’s academic and extracurricular activities in elementary and secondary school?
2. In what ways do two generations of Korean-American parents mobilize their financial, human, or social capital for the success of their children’s academic and extracurricular activities in elementary and secondary school?
3. In what ways do two generations of Korean-American parents aspire for their children’s post-secondary education, fields of study, professional training, and career paths?
4. In what ways do two generations of Korean-Americans define their racial, ethnic, and cultural identities?
5. In what ways do two generations of Korean-Americans foresee the future generations of Korean-Americans in their economic standing and racial-ethnic-cultural relationship?

Mixed-Methods Research - Concurrent Data Collection:

The current research utilizes a mixed-methods research approach. The mixed-methods inquiry is a suitable research method to gain more insightful understanding of complex social phenomena (Greene, 2007) (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2011) such as education and culture. The mixed methods inquiry gained popularity in recent research since the method provides a more complete and meaningful understanding of complex human phenomena (Greene, 2007). Further, a mixed-methods research inquiry enhances the significance of the findings through triangulation, providing confirmatory or complementary outcomes (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).
According to Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003), a mixed-methods research involves procedures of collecting and analyzing both quantitative and qualitative data in the context of a single study. Many prominent scholars wrote about the various typology, rationale, purpose, advantage, and implications of conducting mixed-methods research (Creswell, Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003) (Collins, Onwuegbuzie, & Sutton, 2006).

The current study utilizes the concurrent procedures by collection of both interview and survey data to converge both forms of data. In the data collection process, both qualitative and quantitative data were collected at the same time, then the data was integrated in the interpretation of the overall results (Creswell, 2003). Both qualitative and quantitative data have been used to validate one form of data with the other form (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007).

Through complementarity and triangulation processes, the mixed-methods inquiry seeks convergence of results from multiple methods to gain a broader, deeper, and more comprehensive understanding of the same complex phenomenon (Greene, 2007) (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2008).

**Research Setting and Context:**

The geographical location of the current study is the Greater Philadelphia, Pennsylvania area, including its surrounding suburban neighborhoods. According to the 2010 U.S. Census data, there are about 47,500 Korean Americans primarily from South Korea living in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, representing only about 0.4% of the 12 million population of the state (Zong & Batalova, 2017). Out of 47,500, about 40,300 are living in the Greater Philadelphia area (Min, 2015) (Zong & Batalova, 2017). Though this number shows that the majority of the Korean-Americans in the state are concentrated around the Philadelphia region, the number is still significantly smaller than that of the Los Angeles region or New York
City & Northern New Jersey region – only one-tenth compared to L.A and one-sixth to New York region (Min, 2012) (Min, 2015) (Zong & Batalova, 2017).

An exact distribution of Korean Americans by immigrant status is not available, however, it is estimated that about one-half of them are Korean-born immigrants and the other half are the 1.5- or 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation born in the U.S. Some of those 1.5-generation or 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation Korean-American descendants are currently parents of school-aged children. The exact data is currently unavailable, but this number is estimated to be about 10,000.

The 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation immigrant parents who came to the U.S. often experienced linguistic difficulties and cultural disconnection while raising their children. Meanwhile, the next-generation descendants, the 1.5- or 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation, have grown up and been educated in the U.S. and therefore they are fully proficient in reading and writing of English. They are supposed to be fully connected culturally with the mainstream U.S. society. As a result, the 1.5- or 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation Korean American parents are expected to possess somewhat different educational beliefs, expectations, and involvement practices compared to those of their 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation-immigrant parents.

Nevertheless, there has been a lack of research performed on this topic and this population of 1.5- or 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation Korean Americans. The lack of research is particularly true for the Korean-Americans living in regions where its population is relatively small, for instance, the Philadelphia region.

Due to the low-density presence of the 1.5- or 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation Korean-Americans in the Philadelphia area, they are assumed to be less influenced by Korean culture, philosophy, and practices and are assumed to have accelerated assimilation patterns compared to the 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation Korean-Americans in LA or N.Y. Therefore, the educational beliefs and practices of
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2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation Korean-Americans in the Philadelphia region are expected to deviate further from the educational beliefs and practices of their parents’ generation.

**Participant Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria:**

The current research utilizes the combination of convenience sampling and network sampling. Network sampling, also known as snowball sampling, is a strategy in which each successive participant is named by a preceding group or individual. The researcher begins recruitment with a core group of known subjects (convenience sampling) and increases recruitment by asking original participants to share information about the study within their own networks (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). Since the researcher is from South Korea, his known subjects are to be from South Korea.

The participants are the 1.5- or 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation Korean Americans who have been educated in the U.S. since 9\textsuperscript{th} grade or earlier. Also, they are parents whose first child is old enough to attend school. The following are the inclusion and exclusion criteria for the interview and survey participation:

- They are older than 18 years of age.
- They are self-identified Korean Americans.
- The 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation immigrant parents are those who immigrated to the U.S. after the age of 18 and have raised their children in the U.S. Their children might have been born in the U.S. or came along with their parents when they were young – before the age of 14 years old.
- The 1.5- or 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation parents are Korean Americans who were born in the U.S. or came to the U.S. at a young age. They have been educated in the U.S. since 8\textsuperscript{th} grade or
earlier. They are now parents of their own school-aged children currently attending elementary schools, secondary schools, or colleges in the U.S.

- Since the aim of the current study is to investigate parental educational aspirations and practices, those who are not parents of school-aged children attending school in the U.S. are excluded from participation.

Selection of Participants and Consent Procedures:

The current study recruited the participants conveniently by sharing information about the study starting with the researcher’s former students and through his personal networks. The researcher himself shared the information about the study through his own social network as well as visiting community religious organizations where appropriate. Then the researcher utilized the snowball method, asking participants to share the study information through personal referrals.

The goal was to recruit approximately 80 total participants – 20 interview participants and 60 survey participants. It was hoped that interview participants will include 6 to 8 first generation participants, and 12-14 1.5- or 2nd-generation participants. The number of participants was to be increased based on the availability of the subjects and time restrictions (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). Interview participants and survey participants represent unique sets of participants. In other words, the interview participants did not take part in the survey, nor did the survey participants take part in the interview.

Precautions to Minimize Risks and/or Discomforts of Participants:

Since the questionnaire and the interview questions ask participants to reflect on their immigration history, experiences with cultural assimilation, discrimination, and possible conflicts within their families in relation to assimilation and different views, participants may
experience anxiety or mild to intense emotional and/or psychological responses during or after participation. In response to these potential risks, the researcher was clear in the recruitment and consent process to inform potential participants of these risks. The participants were informed that they do not have to participate in the study, and/or can choose to stop at any time for any reason, with no negative consequences in relation to the researcher or their relationship to Arcadia University.

Also, participants were told during each encounter that they do not have to answer any survey or interview question which might make them feel uncomfortable, and that they may ask that a response already provided to the researcher be omitted from the data if they wish. The right of the subject on this issue is specified on the consent form (see Appendix).

Survey participants have read the consent form written in English printed on letterhead with the Arcadia University logo. As set in the inclusion criteria, the subject must be a parent who had his/her education in the U.S. from before 9th grade, so it is assumed that all participants can read, understand, and reply to the questionnaires written in English. The form states the assurance of anonymity and confidentiality of the collected information. Potential subjects are adults, aged 25 to 65 years old.

The decision to participate was completely voluntary without any fear of negative consequences related to declining. Once they decided to participate, the participants completed the consent forms and survey questionnaires and returned the completed survey questionnaires and consent forms to the researcher in the provided self-addressed envelope. The participants were advised to keep a copy of the consent form for future reference.
The survey forms do not contain any identifiable items. All questions are answerable without revealing any identifiable information. Collected survey forms were kept securely in a locked cabinet after collection.

**Recording of Interviews and Protection of the Data:**

A digital voice recording device was used during interviews to ensure the accuracy of the collected data. The researcher utilized a password protected, personal cellular phone voice recording application during interviews, with participant permission, to assist with transcription and to ensure the accuracy of the collected data. The recordings of interviews were stored on the same password protected cellphone in the initial stage.

The recording format of the device was M4A format, which was not supported by the NVivo 11 Pro (32-bit) version. NVivo 11 (QSR) was the most recent version of NUD*IST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data, Indexing Searching and Theorizing). Thereafter the recorded data had to be converted to WMA format utilizing the Audio Convert program by SmoothMobile, LLC, version 3.1, which was purchased by the researcher. The program uploads the file to the server and conveniently converts the file from M4A format to WMA format before downloading it back. Then the author uploaded the new file onto his cloud storage (i-Cloud) and finally to his personal computer. Once all the files were downloaded to his computer successfully, the author deleted all recorded voice data from his cell phone.

Transcripts were taken for all interviews in Korean or English based on the language spoken by the interview participants. Transcripts were created by the researcher and any identifiable name or place was substituted with pseudo name in order to maintain participant confidentiality. All transcripts and recordings were kept securely stored on the researcher’s password-protected computer. A portable hard drive was used for the purpose of backing-up the
files and recordings was kept in a locked cabinet. After transcription and transcription verification, audio files were deleted from the voice recorder. Any files containing links between actual participant names/information and corresponding pseudonyms have been stored in separate electronic locations from the transcriptions.

**Data Collection - In-depth Interviews and Surveys**

Interviews and surveys are the most widely used techniques in education and the behavioral sciences for data collection (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011) (Isaac & Michael, 1971).

**Concurrent Interview and Survey Data Collection:**

In-depth interviews are suitable to collect people’s life stories, gain insight into lived experiences, and learn the perspectives of individuals participating in a study (Stacy Jacob & S. Paige Furgerson, 2012). Interviews, also, provide in-depth information pertaining to participants’ experiences and viewpoints of a particular topic.

Oftentimes, interviews are coupled with other forms of data collection - in this case, surveys - in order to collect more well-rounded information for analyses. In this research in-depth information pertaining to participants’ experiences and viewpoints were collected through semi-structured interviews coupled with survey questionnaires to collect detailed information for analysis. (Daniel Turner 2010). By utilizing both surveys and interviews, the current researcher collected the adult subject’s perceptions, motivations, social behaviors, cultural beliefs, and practices in relation to the research questions.

**Semi-structured In-depth Interviews:**
The researcher was able to execute a total of 23 interviews. Nine of them were 1<sup>st</sup>-generation Korean immigrant parents. They all came to the U.S. at adult ages, between 28 and 46 years old. They arrived in the U.S. between 1968 and 1995.

The researcher was also able to recruit 14 interview participants who are 1.5- or 2<sup>nd</sup>-generation Korean-American parents. They were either born in the U.S or came to the U.S. at a young age. They have been educated in the U.S. at least from middle school. They are all married with Korean-American spouses, and raising their own school-aged children – the 3<sup>rd</sup>-generation Korean-Americans. Two of the interview participants were born in the U.S., one in the UK, one in Canada, and the remaining ten participants were born in Korea and came to the U.S. when they were young: as early as 11 months old to as late as 14 years old. Their current ages are between 38 and 49 years old. The oldest of their children – the 3<sup>rd</sup>-generation Korean Americans – are in school between 1<sup>st</sup> grade and college.

These two groups of interview participants, the 1<sup>st</sup> generation participants and the 1.5 or 2<sup>nd</sup>-generation participants, did not necessarily need to be related themselves. However, five sets of interview participants are related – the 1<sup>st</sup> generation participants and their own 1.5- or 2<sup>nd</sup> generation adult offspring. They all meet the criteria for inclusion to participate in the interview.

Questionnaires for the semi-structured, in-depth interviews are open-ended in nature and designed to solicit the respondents' lived-experiences (Jacob & Furgerson, 2012). The overall purpose of the questions was to extract cross-generational struggles, negotiations, assimilations, and evolutions in pursuit of academic achievement, perceived barriers and coping mechanisms, and choices in colleges and career paths among the 1<sup>st</sup>-, 1.5-, or 2<sup>nd</sup>-generation Korean-Americans.
An interview script (see Appendix) was used during the interview to guide the process (McCracken, 1988). In the beginning of the interview, the author started by briefly sharing the purpose of the study and critical details about the study. Then the author explained the informed consent process and made an assurance of confidentiality of any personal and identifiable information of the participants. After having any concerns addressed, participants signed the statement of informed consent and recording of the interview. The interviews were done in person, face-to-face by the researcher. All interviews were done one-on-one, except for one case when both husband and wife were present at their house to be interviewed together.

The first section contains questions related to the family background. The second section contains questions to measure respondents’ perceptions of their parents’ educational beliefs and practices. The third section contains questions related to the respondents’ educational beliefs and practices. The fourth section contains questions related to their perception about the future of their children. The researcher added follow up questions to fill any gaps and enhance understanding. Each interview lasted between forty minutes to an hour, conducted at the location of the participants’ choosing.

Interviews took place in Korean and/or English, per the participants’ individual preferences (interview questions provided in Korean, in Appendix). The researcher is fluent and literate in Korean and English. All 1st-generation parents responded in Korean. Meanwhile, two 1.5-generation participants, who came to the U.S. at the ages of 12 to 14 years old, responded in a mix of Korean and English based on their comfort level. All the other 1.5- or 2nd-generation participants responded in English. However, all of the 1.5- or 2nd-generation participants were able to use some Korean vocabulary sporadically when needed to enhance the nuance.
Survey Questionnaires:

The researcher was able to recruit 36 survey participants. A majority (89%) of participant’s current ages were from 36 to 50. The participants’ age of arrival to the U.S. were distributed as follows: eight were U.S.-born, eight arrived before entering school, six arrived during early elementary school, twelve arrived during upper elementary school, and two arrived during middle school. Twenty-two (22) participants indicated education only in the U.S and fourteen participants indicated they received some sort of education in Korea or another country. The distribution of gender of the participants was sixteen females and twenty males.

The survey is designed so that the 1.5- or 2nd-generation respondents who grew up in America could reflect on their parents’ and their own educational beliefs and practices. The survey contains 48 questions written in English, designed to measure the cross-generational similarities or differences in views on education and practices (see Appendix). The survey questions are divided into 4 sections: The first section contains questions related to the family background. The second section contains questions to measure respondents’ perceptions of their parents’ educational beliefs and practices. The third section contains questions related to the respondents’ beliefs and practices. The fourth section contains questions related to their perception about the future of their children. It is expected to take about fifteen to twenty minutes to be completed by a participant.

The survey was pre-printed on paper and placed in a manila folder with a pre-printed information sheet, consent form, and self-addressed return envelope with appropriate postage stamp. The research pre-assembled 100 manila folders to be delivered to potential participants in person or to persons who could distribute them to their friends.
Coding of Interviews, Data Analysis and Triangulation

Interview Transcription and Survey Data Input:

The interview data were transcribed based on the language used by the interview participants either in Korean or in English. Then transcriptions were imported to the NVivo before coding. The NVivo program allows coding mechanisms directly using audio files. Through this process, the author can code interviews done in English, Korean, or often mixed language usage without losing any nuanced meaning of the conversation (Davidson & di Gregorio, 2011) (di Gregorio, 2000) (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2011).

Survey questionnaires were compiled utilizing Microsoft Excel for data input. Then statistical analysis software, IBM SPSS, was used to perform quantitative data analysis. A qualitative data analysis software program, NVivo, was utilized to analyze the qualitative data, compared to the quantitative data collected separately.

Interview Data Coding:

Data analysis is crucial, but it is the most difficult aspect of qualitative research. Coding is used to organize and make sense of textual data, collected mainly by in-depth interviewing through data reduction, condensation, distillation, grouping and classification (Basit, 2003).

Coding (Campbell, Quincy, Osserman, & Pedersen, 2013) is a procedure for developing coding schemes for such data, including standardizing the units of text, and improving the coding scheme’s discriminant capability (i.e., reducing coding errors) to an acceptable point. A single knowledgeable coder will code all the transcripts; although qualitative measurement instruments provide consistent results across different coders, (three types of reliability (Krippendorff 2004, stability, accuracy, reproducibility across coders—often called intercoder reliability).}
Some projects use pregiven codes (deductive), some projects use inductively generated codes, or some use a mixed approach to code development. There are a variety of approaches for developing reliable coding schemes for in-depth semi-structured interview transcripts on offer depending on the resources available to researchers. Campbell, Quincy, Osserman, and Pedersen, (2013) details coding procedure to develop the coding schemes by the one person author to improve the reliability of the coding for in-depth semi-structured interviews.

As suggested by di Gregorio (2000), the researcher took an entirely inductive approach to code without any pre-given coding scheme. This researcher worked alone, immersed himself in the transcripts, searched for common themes across transcripts, and created word processing files for each theme that emerged inductively, often literally cutting and pasting relevant portions of transcripts into the appropriate codes. Without worrying about any coding reliability, the author was simply trying to convey to the reader his interpretation of the data (Silvana di Gregorio, 2000).

The process of analyzing qualitative data involves reading and reflecting; interacting with the literature and commenting on it; identifying key themes and coding for them; extracting quotes to be used when writing up; linking similar ideas from different transcripts; identifying contradictions in arguments; comparing dissimilarities in transcripts; building one's own argument with links to supporting evidence in the data (di Gregorio, 2000) (Driscoll, Appiah-Yeboah, Salib, & Rupert, 2007).

**Triangulations:**

Both the qualitative and quantitative data were merged (Driscoll, Appiah-Yeboah, Salib, & Rupert, 2007) (Krippendorff, 2004) to extract the assimilation pattern through conflicts, negotiations, and adjustments between the two generations of Korean Americans. Results from
both qualitative (in-depth interviews) and quantitative (surveys) data are to supplement each other and triangulate the findings and also strengthen the meaning of the findings (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006) (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2008, 2011). Through the comparison of two generations’ educational beliefs and practices, an attempt was made to decipher the cross-generational transformation between the 1st-generation participants and the 2nd-generation participants.

**Summary**

Data gathered using semi-structured interviews were coded utilizing the value-attitude-belief coding method (Saldana, 2009). The data was examined until the interpretive truth was revealed. Saldana suggests the process of interrogating data through organizing data (code, link, and group), exploring data (annotate and search for content), interpret data (write and make connections), and integrating data. The researcher attempted to draw the final conclusions by revising coding structure and recording several times.
CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

Overview

The purpose of this study was to explore the assimilation and adaptation patterns of Korean-Americans’ educational philosophies, parenting styles, involvement practices, and other education related issues. Guided by the following five research questions, this study employed a concurrent mixed-methods research paradigm utilizing both interview and survey.

1. In what ways do two generations of Korean-American parents view the importance of children’s academic and extracurricular activities in elementary and secondary school?

2. In what ways do two generations of Korean-American parents mobilize their financial, human, or social capital for the success of their children’s academic and extra-curricular activities in elementary and secondary school?

3. In what ways do two generations of Korean-American parents aspire for their children’s post-secondary education, fields of study, professional training, and career paths?

4. In what ways do two generations of Korean-Americans define their racial, ethnic, and cultural identities?

5. In what ways do two generations of Korean-Americans foresee the economic standing and racial-ethnic-cultural relationship of future generations of Korean-Americans?

An attempt was made to extract the cross-generational transformation (metamorphosis) between two generations of parents. This chapter contains a summary of survey data, interview data, and five key findings resulting from the analysis.

Survey Results

Exploration of Survey Data:
Out of 100 survey forms distributed, 36 surveys were mailed back to the researcher. Twenty (20) participants were males and sixteen (16) were female. The average age of the participants was 44.5 years old. All participants were married.

All respondents were younger than fourteen (14) years old when they arrived in the U.S., meeting the criteria for inclusion. Participants' average age was 5.8 years old when they arrived in the U.S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age when arrived in U.S. (n = 36)</th>
<th>Born in US</th>
<th>Ages 1 - 5</th>
<th>Ages 6 - 10</th>
<th>Ages 11 - 14</th>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>22.2%</td>
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Eight respondents were born in the U.S. (22.2%); another eight arrived in the U.S. before starting elementary school (from 1 to 5 years old); ten were elementary school age (6 to 10 years old); and rest ten were in middle school (11 to 14 years old). All 36 survey participants are 1.5 or 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation Korean American according to Rumbaut’s (2004) classification.

All 36 respondents completed high school education. One did not have any college degree, two completed associate’s degrees, and 33 completed bachelors’ degrees. Of the thirty-three that attained a four-year degree, eighteen (50% of total) also completed a master’s degree, and seven (19.4% of total) completed a doctoral or postgraduate professional degree.

**High Academic Expectations of First-Generation Parents while Growing Up:**

Survey respondents agree that both of their parents had high academic standards. Interestingly, they remembered that their mothers had higher expectations than their fathers: 83.4% versus 74.3%. Respondents also reported that math, English, and science were the three major subjects their parents were most concerned with.
For academic attainment, all 100% of the survey participants hope their own children will complete a college education. Over 72% of the survey participants expect their children to complete at least a master’s degree. These expectations are slightly higher than their own educational attainment; as stated, 25 of 36 respondents (69%) completed advanced degrees.

To the question whether their expectations for their children’s academic performance is similar to their parents’, their responses were split into three categories: 27.8% do not agree, 22.2% neither agree nor disagree, and 38.9% probably agree. In sum, 44.5% of the survey respondents agreed that their expectations are similar to the expectations their parents had for them, meanwhile 33.4% disagreed.

Extracurricular Participations while Growing Up:

Most of the respondents (78%) participated in some sort of extracurricular activities while growing up: the three most popular ones were tennis, piano, and violin. Extracurricular activities were somewhat important to the respondents’ 1st-generation immigrant mothers and fathers. Similar to the academic expectations, respondents’ mothers were perceived as more concerned with the extracurricular activities than their fathers.

Mother’s Involvement was Stronger that Father’s:

As discussed above, in both academic expectations and extracurricular activities, the survey participants perceived their mothers had slightly higher expectations compared to their fathers. Accordingly, the data suggest that the 1st-generation mothers were more involved in their children’s academic and extracurricular activities.

Reasons for the First-Generation Parents’ Not Able to be Involved:

To the question “How often did your (1st-generation) parents participate in school functions?”, the average result was 1.5 in a scale from 0 (none) to 5 (all). Two major hindrances
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to parents’ participation reported were, “my 1st-generation parents had too little time” (66.7%) and “language barriers and cultural isolation deterred my parents’ participation” (63.9%).

First Generations’ Preference on Field of Study and Career for Their Children:

According to the current survey, a little more than a quarter (25.4%) of the participants responded that they felt that their mothers and fathers insisted on a certain field of study and expected them to pursue a certain level of degree. Again, respondents perceived that mothers were more persistent than fathers (28.5% versus 21.9%). A list of preferable majors included, in order of preference: pharmacy, medical doctor, other doctor (including optometry and dentistry), nursing, law, education, computer, and business.

Consequently, the great majority of the survey respondents (88.9%) currently have jobs in a field that requires special knowledge or professional certificate. Only a few respondents (11.1%) had their first job requiring no special training. None of the participants currently has a job related to athletics, fine arts, or performing arts.

Third-Generation Children’s Education:

The average number of children of the survey participants is about 2.1 children. The majority of the survey participants send their children to a publicly funded school (public or charter school) (86.1%), a private school (11%), and one participant is home-schooling.

Children’s school grades are very important to the survey participants, at 2.89 on a Likert scale from 0 (not important) to 4 (utmost importance). Most of the respondents (91.7%) put the responsibility for school grades squarely on children. Parents also put the responsibility onto themselves (25%), teachers (19.4%), and schools (16.7%). In cases where children fall behind in school, parents are willing to mobilize a combination of remedial methods including: parents’
direct involvement to help children (61.1%); pushing children to work harder (61.1%); seeking help from teachers (33.3%); and hiring a tutor (30.6%).

The survey participants reported that they value hard work and effort when it comes to achieving good grades. Most of the survey participants believe, “Good grades will secure future success” (83.3%); “Good grades mean a child is disciplined with good work habits” (75%); and “Good grades lead to a good college” (75%). They also value good grades as a tool for positive self-image and self-confidence for their children.

When asked, “How important are extracurricular activities for your children?” the score was a bit lower than the score on the question about the importance of children’s school grades: the result was 2.11 on a Likert Scale from 0 (not important) to 4 (utmost importance).

A majority (86%) of the survey participants replied that their children participate in extracurricular activities. The activities include playing musical instruments (piano, violin, clarinet, in band, orchestra, or choir), sports (soccer, swimming, taekwondo, lacrosse, dance, cheerleading, or gymnastics), community or school clubs (scouts, art club, environmental club, or science club), and volunteering in school or community organizations (peer tutoring or mentoring, community service, participating in church missions volunteering at a hospital, museum, or church).

To the question regarding responsibilities of parents, the survey participants ranked the list of responsibilities in the following order of importance: “I am responsible for providing a physically and psychologically healthy environment.”; “I am responsible for teaching good work habits and life skills.”; “I am responsible for teaching good citizenship and respect for others.”; “I am responsible for providing good educational opportunity.”; and “I am responsible for
providing secure job skills.” A few (5 out of 36 participants) listed other responsibilities as parents: “I am responsible to raise the child according to their faith.”

All 36 (100%) of the respondents hope their children will complete a college education or beyond. Twenty-six (72%) expect their children to complete at least a masters degree and thirteen (36%) expect their children to complete up to a doctoral level or professional degree of education. The survey results reveal that participants expect their children to achieve higher educational attainments compared to their own educational attainments.

When asked about the future career of their children, the survey participants would prefer their children have a career with a professional degree or license, such as a medical doctor, dentist, lawyer, etc. (38.8%); a profession of science or researcher, information technology, engineer or manufacturer (36.1%); a profession in marketing, finance, business management or administration (19.4%); or a journalist, writer, publisher, or educator” was fourth (11.1%). Three participants have no preference but are willing to support “any career decision made by their children”. Two participants are willing to support “vocational technician with vocational certificate or skills or small business,” and another two parents were amenable to “professional sports, artist, singer, performer, or media entertainer”. One parent was supportive of the “inventor, investor, or entrepreneur” and another one parent was supportive of the “architect, construction worker, contractor, or real estate developer”. No participants selected a career for their children in “military service, law enforcement, civil service, or elected public officer”.

**Considering Factors when Guiding Children’s Career:**

The survey participants, who are all 2nd-generation Korean Americans, remember that their 1st-generation parents were mostly concerned about “job security”, “financial reward”, and
“prestige and respect from others” when recommending careers for them. The 1st-generation parents were less concerned about their children’s “talent and aptitude”.

In contrast, the 2nd-generation parents who participated in this survey said they are most hoping their children find a job that is “in alignment with talent and aptitude”. They were less concerned with “job security”, “financial reward”, “prestige and respect from others”, and “authority and power”. One participant responded as “following God’s will” as the most important consideration and “in alignment with talent and aptitude” as the only consideration.

**Different Parenting Styles but Similar Educational Expectations:**

Regarding parenting style, the 2nd-generation survey participants believe their parenting style is different than their 1st-generation parents’. A little less than half of the survey participants (47.2%) replied that their parenting style is somewhat different than their 1st-generation parents’ and 36.2% replied that their parenting style is similar to their parents’ style.

Meanwhile, the same group of survey participants replied that their educational expectations are similar to their 1st-generation parents’: a little less than half of the respondents (44.5%) agree with the statement, while 33.4% disagree.

**Expecting More Racial Prejudice, Discrimination, or Barriers in the Future:**

When participants were asked about their own experience with prejudice or discrimination while growing up, the results show an average of 0.67 on the Likert scale from 0 (none) to 4 (very high). The result represents that the respondents had experienced only a small amount of racial prejudice, discrimination, or barriers while they were growing up. The same participants predict a very similar rate of prejudice, discrimination, or barriers in their children’s generation compared to their own generation, with an average of 0.70 on the same Likert scale from 0 to 4.
Factors that Are Important for Children to Achieve Their American Dream:

The 2nd-generation survey participants believe that diligent hard work and personal talent are the most important factors for their children to achieve their American Dream. The order of importance are: diligent and honest hard work, personal talent and aptitude, communication skills and people skills, level of educational attainment (degree or certificate), field of study (up-and-coming trending occupation), creativeness or entrepreneurial spirit, prestige of college attended or graduated, family financial resources, specific hands-on skills, and family connections.

Low Level of Korean Language Being Used in Daily Communication:

The majority of participants communicate with their child(ren) in English only or with some Korean. On average, 17% of the respondents use Korean in daily conversations with their first child. None of the survey participants use Korean exclusively in their conversation with their child. This study did not find a strong correlation (37.8%) between the age of respondents’ arrival in the U.S. and frequency of using Korean language in daily conversations with their children.

Strong Christian Affiliation of the Survey Participants:

To the write-in question about their religious affiliation, the vast majority of respondents (94%) identify as some form of Christian, one agnostic, and one did not reply.

Interview Results

A total of 24 semi-structured one-on-one interviews were also done. Among 24 interview participants, ten (10) were 1st-generation Korean immigrants. Participants’ ages upon arrival were between 28 and 46 (average 37) years old. They came to the U.S. between 1968 and 1995 and have been in the U.S. for 39 years on average. Their current ages are between 65 and 84
(average 76) years old. They all raised children who were born in the U.S. or were at a young age when they arrived.

The remainder of the fourteen (14) interview participants are 1.5 or 2nd-generation Korean Americans. Their current ages are in their late-thirties to late-forties. They are all raising school-aged children. Four participants were twelve to fourteen years old when they arrived, and the other ten were either born in the U.S. or arrived when they were under five years old. They have been in the U.S. for an average of 38 years.

Interviews were done in the participants’ language of preference. Their ages when they arrived determined the level of language assimilation: quite obviously, all of the 1st-generation participants spoke Korean, the four participants whose arrival ages were twelve to fourteen spoke in a mix of Korean and English, and the rest of the participants who were younger than five years old when they arrived responded in English only.

An semi-structured interview script was used during the interview to guide the process. Questionnaires were open-ended in nature and designed to solicit the respondents' lived-experiences. Beside the major topics, additional questions were asked to determine demographic details and respondents’ family circumstances.

**Kim Family:**

**Family background:** K. J. Kim is a 1st-generation immigrant. He came to the U.S. in 1979 at the age of 38 with his wife, 6 year old daughter, and 5 year old son. As a CPA, at the start of the economic boom in Korea, Mr. Kim’s socio-economic-status was promising. However, when Korea fell into political instability, Mr. Kim decided to come to the U.S. at the urging of his family member in the U.S. Initially, his plan was to continue his professional career either in Korea or in the U.S. after a few years of additional study; however, after two or three years, he
realized English was too big of an obstacle to overcome, and financial pressure to support his
family was mounting. Ultimately, Kim gave up his professional dream and started small
businesses to raise his family in the U.S. He ran various types of businesses including a dry-
cleaning business, a gift-shop, a clothing store, etc. until his retirement a few years ago. He is 77
years old and retired.

Mr. Kim’s son, Solomon, is now 44 years old and is married to a 2nd-generation Korean
American. Solomon and his wife are raising three children, 12, 9, and 6 years old. Solomon
studied bio-engineering at an Ivy League college not far from where he grew up. After realizing
his interest was in business and people, Solomon got an entry level job at a bank upon graduation.
Solomon’s current occupation is as a financial consultant for a large investment company.

**First-generation’s beliefs and practices:** Mr. Kim expressed his regret that, despite his
original intention, he could not mentor or guide his children well due to various reasons.
Foremost, he didn’t have time to be involved in his children’s education due to long working
hours and heavy involvement in church ministry after work and on weekends. Further, he was
unable to communicate in English and was unfamiliar with the school system. Therefore, he
trusted and relied on teachers and schools to guide his children. He expressed his high
expectations implicitly, but he had to trust his children in navigating their own academic
achievement and college search. His son Solomon recalls, “He was kind of letting me do
whatever, so there was not much interaction.”

Solomon recalls that his father was never pushy nor deeply involved, but he knew that his
father was always expecting him to do well. “I do remember thinking like, I have to do well …. I
think they basically said just ‘do well, work hard’. I don’t remember them checking my
homework or anything like that.” Solomon remembers an occasion that he went to an award
ceremony but his parents didn’t know. “I think they were interested, but I think because of the way it kind of progressed, I didn’t really tell them that much. I just did whatever, I got whatever award, tell them later.” Eventually Solomon stopped expecting any involvement from his parents. “Even in high school, like extracurricular activity after school, Saturday night, all that kind of stuff, I always found my own ride. I figured it out [without relying on my parents]. I would ask seniors that I know to drive me home, whatever. I just figured it out, so my parents didn’t have to worry about it.”

Mr. Kim puts the blame on himself for his children’s struggle in navigating choosing college majors and careers. He regrets his insistence that his daughter select a college and a major more ‘practical’ despite her artistic talent. His daughter spent two years majoring in international affairs and studying a foreign language before she dropped out of the program. She eventually chose her initial passion for art and art therapy. Similarly, Mr. Kim regrets that he overstepped again when his son was about to choose his college Bioengineering major or a business major. His son ended up changing his career to finance after graduating from the bioengineering program. In both cases, Mr. Kim’s influence was based on his assumption and desire for practical skills to get a secure position which would be financially more rewarding.

However, his son Solomon recalls a slightly different account. Solomon remembers that it was his decision to take the bio-engineering classes over his father’s suggestion to do business. “From the very beginning, he said, ‘you should go into business because of your personality.’ I said no, I don’t want to do that. But his action was based on a long relationship with his father. “Honestly, … I think a lot in middle school, my dad realized and I also realized that there was a gap that his understanding of things was not the same as from Korea as it is here. I think subconsciously or consciously, I don't know, I think he kind of started letting me go like ‘Okay, I
don't know this, I don't understand this. He's going to have to figure it out on his own’, and I figured out that he wasn't giving me the correct input so then I started to be more proactive to try to do things on my own. When I got to be like 16 or 17 looking at college and certain things, I didn't even ask for that much input from dad.”

**Second-generation’s beliefs and practices:** Now, as a parent of three children, Solomon is deeply involved in his children’s education, helped by his better English and the flexibility of his working schedule. He said, “Academically, we are extremely involved. I don’t know if that’s a reaction from my parents. I don’t think so because my wife drives that more. We are involved a lot, but I think these days a lot of parents are.”

His involvement is much more hands on, especially with his first child. “Every time they had a test, we would make our own test and test them” He even arranges his schedule to be able to provide transportation for his children’s school activities. Unlike his 1st-generation parents who weren’t able to communicate in English or didn’t have the time to be involved, he is deeply determined to be involved in his children’s education and future life. “We are much more involved with my kids now, and we will be for the rest of their lives as long as we can. As they grow older, go to college, girlfriend, boyfriend, we are going to be involved.”

**Future outlook:** The 2nd-generation parents have more resources compared to the previous generation. “The other thing is because my parents weren’t established here, they didn’t know anybody here, they didn’t have the ability to help me and my sister to get started or move on like a career, even giving guidance. Just saying to ‘be a doctor’ and that was all about it. I think that will change with my kids because we are establishing ourselves, know a lot of people. I am helping my friends’ kids who are exiting college getting internships. You know things like
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that now from other people’s kids. When it comes to my kids, hopefully, we will have the ability
to do that kind of thing for them.”

Park Family:

**Family background** – Mr. S. K. Park is 71 years old and still working. He came to the
U.S. in 1979 with his wife and two daughters, 4 and 2 years old. Mr. Park used to run a steel pipe
manufacturing and fabricating company in Korea. He was well established financially, and he
even owned a car – a symbol of social status in Korea in the late 1970s. Once he arrived in the
U.S. he had to learn a new trade, the dry cleaning business.

Mr. Park’s older daughter, Susan, is now 43 years old and is married to a 2nd-generation
Korean American. The couple is raising three children, 12, 10, and 7 years old. She used to work
as an elementary school teacher after graduating from an Ivy League college and is now a stay-
at-home mother.

**First-generation’s beliefs and practices:** If he were still in Korea, Mr. Park believes he
would have been swept up by his business involvement and might have neglected his family and
children. Mr. Park believes his immigration to the U.S was divine intervention for his family and
children. He is still working, much less than he used to, but not yet retiring. He wants to be a role
model to his offspring – working diligently, doing his best in each circumstance, and having faith.

Mr. Park values disciplined education based on children’s appropriate ages. He feels
childhood experiences are important for their future. He believes children should be tightly led
by parents with guided activities and various opportunities until fully trained to lead mature adult
lives of their own. He stresses the importance of the influence of friends. He believes that
children should not be left unattended or allowed to become lazy. Mr. Park is very social.
Despite his language limitation, he tried to engage in and guide his children’s education by
interacting with teachers and school officials, utilizing his friendliness and social skills. His wife also stayed involved by taking time from her work to be home when the children came home from school.

These 1st-generation parents didn’t provide any extracurricular activities, other than some musical instrument training if financially available. According to Susan, “Kids nowadays, they do sports with sports leagues, or they do gymnastics things outside of home. My parents didn't know about that stuff really. I didn't participate in sports in elementary school. When I was in middle school, middle school offered those sports programs, so I did middle school sports. I did lacrosse during middle school. I started getting more involved with sports through school.”

As for extracurricular activities, Susan continues, “My parents always had us do piano and violin lessons. That was the only thing from home.” Susan’s mother still views music lessons as important: particularly piano and particularly for girls. Susan is still perplexed by her mother’s high values on piano lessons for girls. “My mom thinks it's important...especially for girls to learn piano. She tells me that even now. She tells me ‘why your oldest daughter never learned piano?’ She says things like ‘you should have got them piano lessons, why didn't you? It's important for girls to know how to play piano.’ I don't know why.”

Susan sees that her parents’ immigration to the U.S. was a sacrifice for their education. “I think our family was pretty settled, but I guess they thought there might be good opportunities in the U.S. for their children. I see it as they made sacrifices for us. When we came here, they had to kind of find their means of making a family… I remember they had to go to a dry cleaner and learn the trade. They had to learn from someone first, and then they started, opened up their own cleaners.” Susan says, “I feel like they made a big sacrifice because they saw that in America there’s opportunity for education.”
When asked about her parents’ involvement, Susan remembers her parents being involved in parent-teacher conferences but nothing more than that, such as contacting the school. “I think that was it. I don’t remember them being really involved in my learning. They just expected that I would just do the work, so I think I was pretty self-sufficient. I don’t remember if they did something else.”

“My dad did say when I was younger, something to the effect as a Korean as a minority in this country, you have to study harder or you have to get better grades than other people if you want to survive, that kind of thing… I guess they just wanted the best opportunities for us, so they really valued education because they think they see that as a way of getting opportunity.”

Compared to other 1st-generation parents, Susan’s parents’ involvement was deeper than any other 1st-generation parents. “I remember when I was in algebra, I think I was in eighth grade . . . and I was kind of confused, so my mom actually helped me a lot that year. That year, my mom got more involved because she was really good at math… My mom actually pretty much taught me because I didn't like getting it that well.”

**Second-generation’s beliefs and practices:** Susan is deeply involved in her children’s education but in different ways than her 1st-generation parents. She said, “In terms of academic expectation, it is similar… but the approach is a little bit different… I guess I'm more involved, I think, than my parents were. I'll email the teacher and sometimes ask them questions… I think there are some differences because I think I am more hands on than my parents were just because my English is better and I can communicate better with the school and with the teachers.” She can benefit from her English Fluency and familiarity with the school system. “I feel that I can speak up for my kids.” Susan pays attention to her daughter’s writing skills. “I guess I kind of focus on her writing because I think her writing could improve. So, every now and then, I like to
look at her writing essays.’ This type of involvement wasn’t possible to the 1st-generation parents. From her own college experience, Susan knows how important written communication skills are for success in college and in a career. “I think writing is important because for college essays you have to write. I know it’s coming up. You have to be comfortable with writing.”

While growing up, Susan “definitely felt different” but accepted; “that’s just my background.” She also had a lot of Korean friends and they were her comfort zone. Susan still feels different even though she has lived in America for almost 40 years, got her education here, and had a professional job after graduating from a prestigious Ivy League college. “I think for my generation, 1.5 or 2nd generation, we were still kind of different even though we speak English fluently and we’re in professional workplaces, I feel like because of our parent's generation being immigrants, we were still kind of different… because I guess like our upbringing is kind of more Korean style more like Korean culture but growing up in America. So we've had both worlds. At home like my grandmother was there. So at home, I was raised with a lot of Korean ideals and Korean values. At the same time, I knew what was on TV and I was in school, so I knew how to interact with American culture, but I still had that Korean side.” Susan still feels that it is disadvantageous to be an Asian. When she interacts with other parents in her children’s school, she still feels a little bit of distance from White American parents. Susan said, “I feel like I have to work a little harder. I always have to make more effort.”

As for the future career of her children, Susan has set certain standards. She is firm on college education. She prefers a white collar professional career or a blue collar job, such as a career as a technician, in entertainment or sports. For example, considering her child’s interest in science, Susan is open to her being a nurse versus being a doctor. Reflecting on her own experience, not knowing about all the different kinds of careers out there, she wants to expose
her children to different kinds of careers. She is encouraging her daughter to find out about different kinds of careers and hoping to find a good fit for her.

To the question regarding marriage of 3rd-generation children – her own children’s marriage in the future, she reveals her inner desire: “I think I was kind of traditional deep down, so I hope that they will marry Korean. If they don't, I think I'll have to be okay with that. I don't think I'm completely closed off to that. I don't think I'm going to be completely forcing them to ‘you must marry Korean’, not that kind of approach.”

**Future Outlook:** Susan expects the 3rd-generation Koreans will be more integrated. “I feel that our kids will be more comfortable. I think they'll just be more part of the mainstream.” Susan also believes that “there will be more doors that are open for our kids.” She still has some reservation from her own experience with other parents at her children’s school. “I still feel a little bit different. I think those parents accept me, but at the same time, I still feel a little bit awkward. I sense that they're more comfortable talking with other white moms really, really, friendly with each other and not as friendly with me even though they know me. Maybe my kids will still face that.”

**Don C.:**

**Family background:** Don is a 43 year old medical doctor who came to the U.S. in 1983 when he was 8 years old from the U.K where he was born. His father was an engineer in Korea who moved to England to work at an international company. Don has two older siblings who were born in Korea before the whole family moved to England. Don is married to a 2nd-generation Korean and the couple has three children, 12, 10, and 7 years old.

**First-generation’s beliefs and practices:** Similar to other families, Don recalls his parents being that “typical 1st-generation Korean thing…they wanted us to do well and study
hard.” He sensed that he needed to go to a good college. “It was subtle. It was not very specific. It was kind of understood. It was subconscious. I knew that’s what they wanted for us and I knew that’s what they wanted us to do: study hard...But it wasn’t a constant statement to us.” Despite their high expectations, Don’s parents didn’t have any hands-on involvement. “They weren’t very involved per se, in the actual practical decision making… in the actual day-to-day things.” He admits that each person’s experience is different. “I think my parents how they dealt with me was different to others in a sense that I was very responsible … To some extent I did not like high school... doing all that was my ticket out of high school, so I was very motivated. In a way they were hands off, but I think that was also because they saw that I took control of things.” His parents would say they were not involved also because of the combination of busy work schedules and the language barrier. “If I had a project, I didn't get a lick of help, so my projects were really bad.” But his parents still had very high career expectations for Don. “It’s a common joke. They all want their children to be a doctor or lawyer. We all understood that… It's because they want their children to have a stable lifestyle, but also there's an element of pride to it to say my son or daughter is a doctor or lawyer.”

Second-generation’s beliefs and practices: Unlike Don’s experience when he was young, he is much more involved with his children’s education. “Their projects become family assignments that we all start working on.” Regarding his expectation of his children’s academic achievement, “There's definitely similarity in that we want them to do well. They know that, my children know that, and I knew my parents wanted that. I think the emphasis on doing well academically is very similar for sure. I think the difference is we're a lot more hands on with them, we're a lot more engaged.” But he also recognizes the difference between his generation and his parents’ generation. “I also think the difference is there's more room to not do well. It's
okay to not be perfect, it's okay not to be number one in your class. It's okay not to have a perfect SAT. I feel like I didn't sense that as much from my parents or even that generation when you talk to people my age. I don't think there was as much forgiveness or grace or acceptance.”

**Future outlook:** Don says on the topic of race, “I don't think my parents ever talked about it, but it is something I talk to my children about. I speak English very well, they speak English well. Culturally we're American, but I have conveyed to them, people look at us - we're not American. We'll never have blond hair, blue eyes and there will be discrimination as a result of that, there will be stereotypes as a result of that people have a certain expectation of you because of that. I don't think my parents ever talked about that. I think I saw it in a sense of racially, how many racial slurs I've heard over my life.”

**Yim Family:**

**Family background:** Mr. H. K. Yim is in his mid-sixties and is still working. He came to America in 1995, at age 40, with his wife, 10th grade son, and 8th grade daughter, Jeehee. Mr. Yim was a martial arts master in Korea and came to the U.S. as an employed Taekwondo master. He had hoped to have his own martial arts studio once his employment contract was over, but within a year he realized this was unachievable due to his lack of English ability. Instead, he got various menial labor jobs at a garment factory and an assembly factory. Later he eventually was able to run his own small grocery store to support his family.

When the family arrived in the U.S., Jeehee repeated the 8th grade and finished the rest of her secondary school in the U.S. She majored in piano and Music Education in college. She is now a music teacher at a local public school. She is in her late thirties and married to a 1.5-generation Korean-American and they are raising two sons, in 2nd grade and kindergarten.
First-generation’s beliefs and practices: While in Korea, Mr. Yim was able to provide educational opportunities for his children. Financially, Mr. Yim was able to maintain dual residences, one for him near his martial arts studio and another for his wife and children in a better school district, which meant higher living costs including much higher housing costs. He also was able to provide private piano lessons for his daughter. He came to the U.S. for the educational opportunity for his children.

However, once he arrived in the U.S., Mr. Yim realized that he could not be involved in his children’s education due to lack of time and lack of English ability. Mr. Yim and his wife worked long hours from early in the morning until late in the evening, both working two jobs, every day except Sundays, for many years. Even though he said he came to the U.S. for the sake of his children, he admitted that he was too busy making a living, hoping his children would do whatever was needed on their own. He regrets that he could not do anything despite his original purpose to raise his children in the U.S. for their better future. He didn’t have any idea how the educational system in America runs and only hoped that school would provide all the guidance needed for his children. Now, he is thankful that both children have graduated from college and enjoy what they are doing now.

Mr. Yim admits that he didn’t have much of an influence on his children’s careers. He hoped his children would find something they enjoy. He didn’t get involved in his son’s choice of college major but when it came to his daughter, he tried to suggest she consider a nursing career. However, upon his daughter’s refusal of the health-related industry, he quickly complied with his daughter’s decision to major in music education. His daughter had been playing piano even before coming to America and continued to play in school and in church. His daughter is now a school music teacher as she planned. Mr. Yim’s son majored in accounting and works in
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an import and export business utilizing his college degree. Mr. Yim is quite satisfied with both children’s careers and thankful for how it turned out, even without much guidance for him.

Mr. Yim recalls an occasion when he was expressing his disappointment of his son and daughter and lecturing them on how much he had sacrificed after immigrating to America. Then, he was taken aback by his son’s surprising confession of hardship he and his sister had experienced. His son said even though he understood his parents’ sacrifices, he claimed they also had to overcome tougher obstacles including English language attainment and studying high school subjects while still learning English; even graduating high school wasn’t an easy task.

**Second-generation’s beliefs and practices:** Jeehee has similar educational expectations for her young children, who are in 2nd grade and kindergarten. She doesn’t want to pressure them too much but wants to guide them to find their own talents and enjoy what they are doing. As she was independent, taking care of her academic affairs without much parental involvement, she expects her children to find what they like. She is willing to support their talents. She wants to provide opportunities to explore extracurricular activities, one sport and one instrument; however, if her children do not like an activity, she won’t force them. She believes her role as a mom is to guide and establish good habits when kids are young.

Jeehee is proud that she can help her children since she knows American culture and the educational system and can communicate in English to support her children, compared to some of her friends and her own 1st-generation parents who could not. She doesn’t want to push her children academically, but is willing to support them. She suspects the typical 1.5-generation has a more lenient attitude as a counter reaction to the stress they received from their pressuring parents. She thinks it depends on the individual and she admits that she might change her attitude if her kids were falling behind.
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Jeehee may be lenient on her children’s academics, but she has a firm belief in college education. She believes her children must go to college, even if they end up not using what they study. She believes a college education will help her children to meet different people, broaden their perspectives, experience different things, and become independent beings.

Jeehee is hoping that her two sons will not major in music. She feels that performing arts is not easy, particularly for boys. She believes the opportunity to be successful in sports or performing arts is slim and needs much support from parents, therefore, she doesn’t want that obligation. A minor is okay, but she doesn’t support them majoring in performing arts.

Jeehee is willing to support them attending a state college over other prestigious, expensive private colleges. She wants her children to study specific occupation-oriented fields such as computer engineering where more job openings are available, rather than a “vague and limited major such as English”. She hopes her children have their careers in a medical, engineering, or science field, sheepishly admitting her limited knowledge about different types of careers.

Jeehee is willing to pay for her children’s college education; however, she still wants to reserve financial resources for herself for her retirement without pouring everything into the children’s education, unlike what her 1st-generation parents did for her. Once her children reach adulthood, she wants them to be independent.

Future outlook: Her view on the life of future generations is not very optimistic. She thinks the future lives of her children will be getting harder: more competitive and dangerous. She is concerned that children are frequently exposed to gun-violence through multimedia, and changes to traditional values of married life. She prefers that her children get married to other Koreans, but if not she is okay with other Asians with a similar culture.
Jung Family:

**Family background:** Mr. J. Y. Jung is in his early 80s. He was 31 years old when he arrived in Utah in 1970. He had been a college chemistry professor for ten years in Korea when he took an opportunity for an exchange fellowship program to come to the U.S. A year later, in 1972, his wife and 2 year old son, Marcus, also came to the U.S. Mrs. Jung, after graduating from a prestigious women’s college in Korea, worked as a pharmacist in Korea and continued her profession at a hospital in the U.S.

Mr. Jung is proud of the high SES background of his extended family back in Korea. His family was prominent, owning a large amount of land producing a large amount of crops. His father was educated, a local leader and government bureaucrat, and many of his uncles and cousins are medical doctors, lawyers, and politicians.

Marcus, Mr. Jung’s only son, is 47 years old and is married to a 1st-generation Korean. The couple is raising two sons, 17 and 15 years old. Marcus grew up in Utah and Arizona. He studied painting and psychology in college. At the urging of his wife, Marcus studied law and now is a company lawyer.

**First-generation’s beliefs and practices:** Aligned with his authoritative family tradition and expectations, Mr. Jung kept his expectation for his son to be a doctor. Jung tried to prepare his son academically and pushed him to do well. According to Marcus, he was destined to be a doctor the moment he was born: “They [mother and father] were very educated and they expected me to study hard. From an early age, they wanted me to be a surgeon. From the moment I was born, ‘he's going to be a surgeon’ ...I would go to Harvard medical school. It was very important for them because they anticipated my professional career as a doctor. The only way to prepare for that is to do well in school or to push me to do well in school.” When their
son, Marcus, was in elementary school, Mr. and Mrs. Jung provided supplementary study materials, until they realized difficulties in middle school. The Jung family moved several times and Marcus recalls “...my parent’s foremost consideration in choosing a neighborhood was the school district. That was the biggest concern. They chose to move to the best school district solely so that I could get the best public education.”

Despite his father’s intense desire for him to become a doctor, Marcus said, “I never had the fondness for blood and never appreciated biology class.” So, he made up his mind not to become a doctor at an early age, around 7 years old, without telling his parents about his decision. “I never told my parents. I just ignored them. When someone tells you the same thing over and over again, you just like to ignore it.” Instead, Marcus picked up the love of reading early on. His favorite high school subject was writing and he became a teen correspondent journalist for the major newspaper in the city. Despite his father’s desire to raise him to do well in math and science, Marcus said it was not for him. “In fact, I detested school.... I just like to stay in my room and read when I’m not with friends.” Marcus recalls his mother was never controlling but he calls his father a “tiger-dad”. Through many struggles and conflicts, his parents eventually accepted Marcus’s decision. In college, Marcus started with a fine arts painting major and then switched to a double major of psychology and philosophy.

**Second-generation’s beliefs and practices:** Marcus had hands-on involvement in his sons’ academics. He used to quiz his son in the morning using note cards. He also proofread his son’s writing assignments. By fifth grade he no longer needed to help his son since his son “established his academic habits, knowing what to do.” Now, he relies on his first son to take care of his second son in academics.
Marcus approaches the college admissions process differently for his sons compared to how his father did. While his parents are “very traditional, everything has to be orderly, everything has to be logical, everything has to be done according to plan”, Marcus claims that he is the very opposite of his parents. He gives his sons a lot of freedom, unlike his strict father when he was young. Marcus disagrees with his wife on their children’s college choices and standardized college exam scores. His wife, a 1st-generation Korean immigrant who came to the U.S. after marrying Marcus, often maintains higher expectations on academics compared to Marcus. “My wife is kind of the person like ‘he needs to take the SAT again to get almost close to perfect.’ I tell her he doesn't need the perfect score. She's like ‘he needs a perfect because he is an Asian, you have to score higher if you're Asian than a white person.’” Marcus says “It [education] is important but not important to me as it is to my parents or to my wife. What’s more important is that he does what he wants to do.”

Meanwhile, the elder Mr. Jung still keeps his desire for a lawyer or doctor for his two grandsons. Whenever his grandsons visit him, he tries to brainwash them with his argument saying, “You can make a living once you become a doctor even if you graduate with the lowest ranking. However, if you major in economics, you will be starved unless you graduate in top ranking.”

**Future outlook:** Marcus doesn’t recall any significant repercussions as a minority kid in Kansas. He assimilated quickly without any surrounding Asian population while growing up. However, “when I was younger, I was always aware of being different because of my parents.” He was more conscious of his ethnicity when he had to help his parents communicate in English. “I remember feeling embarrassed. Sometimes they would struggle with communicating and I would have to help them. It's during those times that I would be very conscious of my
ethnicity… If we go shopping, if we do this, having to hear my parents with an accent, oh my gosh, it was so embarrassing.” Now, he believes that his sons might have an easier time getting along with their friends since they don’t have to help him out like he did when he was young for his parents. “I wish my parents knew English better.”

Mr. Jung admits that it might be his undue desire, but if possible he prefers his grandsons’ spouses be Korean Americans who grew up in the U.S. so that they have the same language [English] and same culture.

Choi Family:

Family background: The whole Choi family participated in this research – Mr. and Mrs. Choi were together during the interview, and Michael and Grace were later interviewed separately. Mr. & Mrs. Choi are 78 and 75 years old. The couple came to the U.S. in 1985 with their two children, Michael, 14, and Grace, 12. The son, Michael, is 46 years old now. Michael’s wife is also a 1.5-generation Korean-American. The couple has three children, in 10th, 8th, and 4th grades. After graduating from pharmacy school, Michael ran a pharmacy store for several years. The daughter, Grace, is 44 years old. Her husband is a 2nd-generation Korean-American. The couple also have three children, in 8th, 6th, and 3rd grades. Grace works at a large pharmaceutical company in the finance area.

Mr. Choi was a navy officer and his wife had been a professor at a nursing college when they decided to move to the U.S. The couple had a deep interest in their children’s education and had been searching for an opportunity to come to the U.S. They wanted to come to the U.S. before the children started middle school, but had to wait until Mr. Choi completed his obligation in the navy. After Mr. Choi was discharged, Mrs. Choi found a job in the U.S. Once they arrived, Mrs. Choi worked at a nursing home and continued to study to get an RN certificate. She soon
found that it was a difficult path due to her limited English ability, so she gave up her plan and the couple worked as laborers at various factories.

**First-generation’s beliefs and practices:** Mrs. Choi admitted that she was deeply influenced by the Freudian psychology she learned in college, regarding the “importance of child-age experience, importance of habit, and the power of positive thinking”. She struggled between two different approaches: tight control over her children as was common in Korea, and total freedom as she perceived was the American way, so she let her children become independent gradually. Still, she struggled in various issues between Korean style and American style. Now, she feels sorry for her children for giving them so much pressure while growing up through constant nagging. She is thankful for residing in America so that she doesn’t have to compare her children with those of her sister in Korea. She thought that it was not wise to stick to the way she grew up in Korea, but was willing to adopt the new environment to guide her children in the right direction.

For the first couple of years after arriving in the U.S., the elder Choi got involved in his children’s schoolwork, utilizing his English skills he learned while he was serving in the Korean navy. He gradually stopped being as involved as the children’s English improved, and he maintained only minimal involvement such as going to school when there was an event. According to son Michael, his parents had a lot of interest in his and his sister’s academic achievement but they could not be very involved due to “language barrier and cultural differences.” Michael recalls his parent’s constant nagging to study. Grace also recalls her parents could not be involved in her academics because, “they were too busy, not knowing what’s going on in school, and lack of English communication ability.” She took care of herself
instead of getting help from her parents. She also remembers her parents’ consistent reminder to study, particularly her father’s gentle reminder, “Have you finished your homework? Go study.”

Extracurricular activities for Michael and Grace were very limited. Michael liked sports but he was stopped by his parents when he tried to get more involved in 7th and 8th grade. He understood that it was a critical period to get ready for college preparation. He also realized that it was a little too late for him since other kids already had been involved in sports for many years. He knew he had to go to college and he knew his only option was through academics. Grace played piano from an early age in Korea and continued lessons in the U.S. According to her mother, Grace realized the piano lessons in America were not as intensive as in Korea and lost interest. Grace did not participate in any sport: “Just study. Was there something else besides study?”

Mr. and Mrs. Choi desired their son and daughter to be in the medical industry, particularly dental for their son and pharmacy for their daughter, thinking it would provide a higher income. Despite their desire, Michael decided to study computer engineering because he felt that a major in liberal arts or science might be too challenging with his limited English ability. However, when he was a senior in college, he switched his major to pharmacy and became a pharmacist. Meanwhile, when Grace was choosing her college major, her parents suggested optometry, dentistry, or pharmacist – something “suitable to a girl”. Obliging her parents’ desire, she majored in biology thinking of switching to pharmacy after a couple of years, but she completed her baccalaureate degree in biology. After observing her parents sacrifice their comfortable life back in Korea and working physical labor after coming to America, she understood her parents’ pushing. Her parents wanted her to do something less physical and financially rewarding with appropriate social status.
Second-generation’s beliefs and practices: Michael’s children are involved in piano, cello, orchestra, and jazz band, but don’t participate much in sports activities. He expects his children to do well academically. “That’s the priority. Extracurricular activity is secondary, therefore it should not interfere with studying unless you have an extraordinary talent to sacrifice studying.”

Meanwhile, Grace has flexible working hours and frequently participates in school activities for her children. Grace says, “We both work but we try to be involved. And kids love to see mom coming to school.” Her husband even takes vacation time to participate in field trips. “It is hard to raise three kids, but at least we try.” Grace and her husband actively provide multiple extracurricular activities including instruments (piano, violin, orchestra, band, cello, saxophone, and flute) and sports (baseball, soccer, basketball, and swimming). She wants to provide various opportunities for her children to try, but doesn’t want to push them. She hopes they find something they like from the different opportunities. Her mom and dad pushed her only in academic achievement, but she wants to “step back a little bit to provide different opportunities to the children to see if they find something. Still, academics are important.” She thinks she is acting similarly to her mother by “nagging” her children, even though she hated it while she was growing up. When she was growing up, she didn’t have time and didn’t know anything but studying. She asked back rhetorically “Was there any sports, then?” She continues, “We want our kids to grow up healthy and well-rounded kids… We love them and therefore we push them.”

Michael does not have any preference for his children’s future career; however, he wants his children to experience college life even if they end up not using what they study. He feels college life is a part of the process and experience. They will regret later if they do not
experience college life. He feels obligated as a parent to provide recommendations and guide them. He sounds like his parents saying this to his children: “I know you guys don’t want to hear me nagging you to study. But it is my job to tell you to study and to study is your job.”

Grace admits her children are too young to think about that yet. She doesn’t want to push them but wants them to do what they like. “They don’t have to be a doctor, but something that provides financial security, but what they like.” She desires her children do something that doesn’t need hard physical labor but more mental work that is widely available and provides a comfortable lifestyle and provides a certain level of status. “You have to study well” and later choose what you like. She wants to expose them to various options to explore.

**Future outlook:** Grandmother Choi still cannot let go of her desire for one of her grandchildren to become a pharmacist, another one a doctor. But she quickly steps back saying, “I guess their parents will know what to do.” Mr. Choi interjects, “I absolutely would not intervene even though I have something on my mind. Their parents would know what to do…They should figure out what to do. Parents cannot force anything unless children like it. Otherwise, eventually, they end up giving up in the middle.” Despite noticing integration among different ethnic groups, Mr. and Mrs. Choi would still prefer to see pan-Asian marriage over interracial marriage with another ethnic group.

When asked if they felt disadvantaged as a minority, Grace says, “Definitely disadvantaged.” Grace remembers her experience being taunted and bullied while she was growing up. She hated being jeered at for not speaking English well. Now, she notices the progress in her children’s school. She knows at the beginning of each school year they have an assembly for prevention of bullying. She noticed the advancement of minorities even in her work
place and she is not sure, but cautiously confident that her children’s future will be more inclusive and have more opportunity.

Simon K.:

**Family background:** Simon is 44 years old and he was born in the U.S. His father came to the U.S. in 1970 with his wife and two-year-old son, Simon’s older brother. His father worked at a Chinese restaurant as a waiter when he first arrived in the U.S. Later he owned various businesses including a 7-11 convenience store, a clothing factory, etc. Simon graduated from pharmacy school and he is married to 1.5 generation Korean and the couple has three children, in 8th, 6th, and 3rd grades.

**First-generation’s beliefs and practices:** Like other 1st-generation Korean immigrants, Simon’s parents had typical expectations for doing well in school. “Overall, the expectation was I did well. I guess in their mind it was like ‘we came to sacrifice so much for you to succeed.’ There was always pressure to go to a good school.” Still, his parents could not help him other than making sure their children were doing what they were supposed to do. “What they can help me with in my school studies was very limited because there was the language barrier. They could help me in math because that's pretty universal. Other subjects, they really couldn't help me. It was mostly they were just telling me if I did my homework, to make sure I'm studying. Nothing too hands-on because of the language. They couldn't really check my homework for me or anything like that. Because they were both working parents too, they weren't home as much.”

As in many Korean immigrant families, the role of Simon’s grandmother was very important. She was the caretaker of the grandchildren while the parents were at work for long hours. “My grandmother lived with us at the time. She was home but she didn't speak any English. It wasn't like she can help us with schoolwork, but mostly just telling us ‘make sure you do your
homework. Stop watching TV, go study or read a book’, nothing beyond that too much. It was mostly just telling us and making sure that we studied.”

Simon had very limited exposure to extracurricular activities due to his parents’ long hours of work, language barriers, and cultural barriers. “I don't think they knew a lot about the extracurricular activities. They knew about music.” He regrets that his parents never offered him supplementary education such as SAT prep or travel sports opportunities. “I always felt like I had a disadvantage. A lot of times I felt like I didn't have as much support as some other kids had in terms of their school studies.” Despite Simon’s interest in baseball when he was in secondary school, he missed an opportunity to be part of it. “My parents never put me in that Little League .... I remember trying out for the baseball team then feeling a sense of shock at how good everyone else was…. I felt that I was disadvantaged in that kind of situation.”

**Second-generation’s beliefs and practices:** Today, Simon’s children are involved in many extracurricular activities. “It's almost year-round we're involved in some kind of sport, whether it's swimming or soccer or baseball or basketball.”

Simon and his wife, Grace, have a more hands-on approach to their children’s academics. They arrange their work schedule to take care of their children. “We are really fortunate with our work schedule. I get home before the kids get home from school. I'll get them and bring them home from the bus stop…We get our school work out and we sit around the table and we all do our homework together. I'm there checking their homework, making sure that they do it right. I'm also getting them supplemental study books and workbooks to work on just to make sure they're doing the best that they can in school.” The couple still has high expectations similar to their parents. “I think with us, grades are still important, but we also want them to do well all around. We want them to be exposed as much as they can right now when they're young, so they
learn about what they like and don't like. We want to have them try lots of different things to explore them. We still expect grades to be important for them.”

**Future outlook:** “With my parents’ generation, there was a lot of pressure coming here. They immigrated here for the whole idea of a better life. Their idea of a better life is doing well in school and getting a professional career that pays well. As our generations go on, I think we won’t have the pressure of like, ‘We sacrificed so much to be here.’ I think with my kid's generation and their kids’ generation, it'll be more not so much the idea of our immigrants they came here for a better life, but, just like what other parents and kids versus like, my parents. They worked hard to provide so that we would have opportunities to succeed for a better life.”

When asked about racial identity and the importance of heritage, Simon replied, “Yeah! I think it's important. Me and my wife talked about it ... in our kid's generation, there is a higher chance that they might end up marrying someone that's not Korean-American. We thought about that. There's going to be still some barriers because it's not quite like the ideal that none of us see racial differences...If you don't have to, why would you face obstacles and barriers? We always want... an easy life for our kids...we don't want them to face difficult problems. Obviously, I still prefer, you know, them to still marry a Korean and raise a Korean family and still keep our heritage. But, realistically, we don't really have control of that.... But, we still feel like, even if they don't, their heritage to Korean American is still going to be part of who they are. Our generations are going down. It is important that we, their heritage, they will retain it down to their kids.”

**C. H. Min:**

**Family background:** C. H. Min came to the U.S. in 1976 with her husband and 2 year old son. A daughter was born in the U.S. a year later. She was a 28 year old housewife and her
husband was employed at a well-established company in Korea before they left Korea. Even before her marriage, she expected eventually to emigrate to the U.S. since her future husband’s parents were already here. She thought that her life in America would be glamorous, but, on the contrary, she found out that her life was filled with unceasing work. With disappointment, she cried frequently and felt lonely, even though her husband was joyful after being reunited with his family. It wasn’t until four years later, when she had a chance to visit Korea, that she realized the benefits of life in America: opportunity, peace of mind, freedom from worry about others’ expectations, and freedom to have personal pursuits. She realized her friends in Korea were living only in pursuit of external things. That was her awakening moment. After coming back to America, she worked like a machine. She ran various stores including a wig store, discount store, general merchandise store, and cleaner business. Giving up the initial idea of studying, her husband worked at a car parts factory.

First-generation’s beliefs and practices: C. H. Min is a soft-spoken lady. Despite her limited English ability, her involvement in her son’s education was quite different from many others. She said the decision to immigrate to the U.S. was her and her husband’s choice, not her son’s; therefore, she didn’t want to give any disadvantage to her son. She took any of his setbacks as her responsibility. During the interview, she shared one of her experiences. One day when her son was in 2nd grade, she came home and recognized that her son was not in a good mood. When she asked her son, “What's the matter?”, he simply said, “Nothing.” As a mother who had a very close relationship with her son, she quickly realized something was not right. After talking a little bit, she found out that his reading group level was lowered by his teacher. She knew her son’s ability and didn’t want to harm his self-esteem. “What do I have to do? It’s all because of me.” She thought it was her fault. “If I were raising my son in Korea, this kind of
thing would not happen. Why am I going through this in America?” She decided to meet her son’s teacher to find out the reason for the change of her son’s reading level. Despite her limited ability, she took courage and went to meet the teacher. She didn’t understand most of the teacher’s explanations, however, after a week of remediation by the teacher, her son was moved back to an upper level. She believes she did the right thing at a critical moment for her son’s self-esteem and academics. The son is now 43 years old. He graduated from one of the most competitive universities and is a director at a leading university hospital.

Despite her language barrier, C. H. Min still was able to be involved as a school volunteer. Unlike other typical 1st-generation Korean immigrants, she sacrificed her work time, often closing her business in the middle of day, to participate in school functions and activities. She believes children shouldn’t be left to manage school alone. “You have to have a close observation of your children’s needs and close communication, pay attention and have a dialogue, you can see their suffering. It is your duty to heal their suffering as parents.” She went to school functions despite her limited English ability. She said, “Once you participate, you would know, even by feeling, what is needed. Then you do whatever is necessary.” She said she is financially poor because she always put her first priority on her children over her business. It was her decision, not her children’s decision to come, so she wanted to do what she had to do. She is a devoted Christian and prays to be pleased with her children until being called away.

Drew Y.:

**Family background:** Drew is a 43 years old engineer specializing in network and communication systems. He was two years old when his family immigrated to the U.S. in 1976. His father’s sister came to the U.S. earlier after she married an American serviceman. Drew’s father had been working at a company and his mother used to work at a retail store before
immigration. Once they arrived in the U.S., Drew’s parents worked at a restaurant for many years before they ventured out to their own food business. Drew’s family moved a couple times while he was in elementary and high school in search of a better school district. Drew is married to a 1.5-generation Korean who came to the U.S. at a later age than Drew. The couple has two children who are fourteen and sixteen years old.

First-generation’s beliefs and practices: Like most other 1st generation parents, Drew’s parents were not involved much at all. He was a latchkey kid. Looking back, he is amazed by himself. “I don't remember exactly... it's amazing to think how I actually got as far as I did. I don't remember my parents ever having to sign permission forms or make those kinds of decisions. I'm sure at some point that they did but they really weren't very involved. They were too busy working… Even with my sports, they were never able to come out to any games or anything like that.” Even so, Drew loved his school experience and was heavily involved in sports activities. “Every season I would play different sports.... even to this day I have a very strong affinity to sports and also with my kids wanting them to be involved with sports.” Drew’s parents always had the expectation that he would go to college. “They never specified Ivy League or anything like that, but they did stress the importance of going to college. Growing up, they would stress the importance of grades, I guess I just did well enough that they didn't worry or anything like that.” Drew’s parents also did not pressure him about his college choice or career path. “Whatever I decided, they were fine, they would be very supportive. They never said, ‘we want you to be a doctor’ or ‘we want you to be a lawyer or an engineer’. I didn't really get any pressure from them to go one way or the other.”

But his father encouraged him to work a little harder considering his minority status. “Thankfully, I didn't run into whole lot of discrimination, at least anything that I could strongly
pick up on… There may have been some name calling, but I never felt particularly excluded from anything. But I do remember growing up, my father always telling me because I was Korean, because I was a minority, sometimes you have to work a little harder… I remember especially in sports and athletics applying even more so, like I have to work much harder than the other kids, or practice much harder than the other kid, stuff like that.”

**Second-generation’s beliefs and practices:** Drew and his wife are much more deeply involved in their children’s education, “My wife and I were definitely more involved in their schooling and sports than my parents ever were.” When their children were young, Drew had a similar expectation as his parents. “I would say early on, it was basically the same expectation that they would go to college after high school.” Now, being exposed to TV shows and readings, his point of view is shifting. He is open to skilled labor after college education. “Now, I'm trying to be a little more open about it because there's a lot of... I don't know if you ever heard of Mike Rowe and the show *Dirty Jobs* or something like that. … He really focuses on skilled labor…. the importance of it. But also the people shouldn't necessarily think of it as something lower. In some ways, those careers, the more I hear about it the more I read about it, quite honestly if my son decided to become a carpenter, that would be fine with me.” As for college education, “I would like them to go to college, if anything just for the experience of it because there's a lot to learn. It's not just about going to college, not just about the academics and trying to get a job afterwards. It's also just life lessons, your first foray into being on your own. I do have some expectations at least they go to college.” On the other hand, Drew recognizes some different expectations between him and his wife. Drew’s wife is a 1st-generation who came to the U.S. after marrying Drew. According to Drew, she not only expects them to go to college, she also has higher expectations as far as which schools. “I don't know if it's because I'm more
Americanized than her. She places a much higher value on where they go and what they study. As far as me, I really just want them to enjoy what they do.” He continues, “I don't necessarily encourage him to go blue collar…. I want to make sure he thinks about it, but I don't want to discourage him from finding something that he enjoys doing. My vision for them is much more laid back…. I place more importance on sports. She places more importance on music. I love music and I think it's important as well. She doesn't see sports as being all that important, where it is for me because of the way I grew up and my involvement with it.”

**Future outlook:** On the question regarding his children’s school experience, Drew sees more racial discrimination compared to his experience. “Just looking from the outside in, I would say that they probably experience more discrimination, not on a very big level or anything like that, but even with the name calling and something like that, they probably more so than I did. Maybe it's because of where we live.”

Regarding assimilation, Drew thinks future generations are going to be more assimilated. “I think even with my kids right now, they're probably a little more assimilated. I think part of it really depends on where you grow up. I think if you grow up in a less diverse area, in some ways I think you become assimilated…I want to believe that.” He also recognizes the difference of cultural backgrounds between him and his wife. “This is coming from me, my wife feels differently because she came to this country much later. For me, first and foremost I'm American. I would hope that they would take that into context more than I'm a Korean who lives in America. I would hope that they feel that they're American first, they're a citizen of this country first, maybe with a Korean background, Korean ancestry. I would like to see it in the future.”
Family background: Jacob is a 38 year old pastor. He is married to a 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation Korean-American. The couple has three children, 7, 9, and 11 years old. Jacob was born in Toronto, Canada. His parents immigrated to Canada in 1975, where his father was an electrical engineer for General Electric. Later he became a pastor after studying at seminary school.

First-generation’s beliefs and practices: Jacob’s father was not in his life until he was in middle school because he was in another province or doing ministry elsewhere. “My upbringing and (that of) my younger sister was different from my two other sisters. The reason is because there was a huge generation gap, first and foremost. Number two, my father was very involved in their educational upbringing. My father was not involved in my educational upbringing at all. There was a 10 year age gap.” Jacob felt that he never met his father’s educational expectations while he was growing up. He does not remember any encouragement from his father, but always negative reinforcement. “They would never, I mean never, say something positive about a grade or a project that was done. But rather what wasn’t good enough. So that's my perception; I don't know what they actually feel.” Jacob recalls that his father always “expected me to know how to do things without teaching me how to do it… he just wanted the end-result.”

Despite his parents’ lack of involvement, Jacob still enjoyed his school. “I was always on the honor roll. I did a ton of sports. I was always very involved in school student government, math club, chess club, and library club… Those are the things that I did throughout school even right up to college.” Jacob struggled between his Korean style of expectation and his white friends’ parents. “It was tough for me because most of my friends were white, so when I went to their homes, their parents interacted with their children very differently. You know what? School
is important, but who you are is more important. There's a bigger emphasis on character. If there is something not well done, it's okay, you do better next time. I was very jealous about that. I didn't want to come home because of that.”

**Second-generation’s beliefs and practices:** Jacob puts high value on education like his parents, but his involvement is much more hands-on. “I'm involved in their education. Firstly, helping them with homework if they need…I think there are similarities in terms of emphasis, high emphasis on education. The difference is there was an expectation with no help to reach that expectation for me …so I want to show them how to reach the goal, but they still have to do the work. I think that's the primary difference.” Jacob also puts high value on the benefit of team sports. “I feel team sports are very important because it teaches you teamwork. I think that's very important for life.” Jacob, a graduate from a theological school based on Calvinistic principles, puts high value on character development of his children based on his Christian conviction. “The only thing I ask of you is responsibility, doing what you need to do, and your work ethic and integrity in that. I guess you can say I emphasize character, but academically yes, I place a high value.” At the same time there are a few conflicting ideas when it comes to his expectations for his children’s careers. He does not deny financial success and security are important aspects of a successful career. “In all honesty, yes. I think there is some preference. I'd like them to be successful with what they do in order to be able to take care of their family financially…. Look, you can jump in, it's a hard life, and there will be a lot of rejections. If you try you can go for it. I think that's the case with any profession, but I would say be successful, know what you're getting into, and understand. Take the route that you need in order to reach your goal. If your goal is to have a family and support them in the future, then understand that just doing art may not be helpful.”
Future outlook: Regarding racial and ethnic issues, Jacob is not very optimistic. “I've had to have certain conversations with my children … to say we are Korean. They may not understand and we get that. We are different, but we're not. So I give them the reality. You're going to have to work hard either way. I don't give them the larger concept, but this is why I push them to work hard, because I realize in certain areas and in certain parts of this country…there is a systemic barrier in some ways. There are certain ways to move beyond that.”

To the interview question whether there are any cultural barriers, he responded, “Absolutely. I'm not going to explain it to them. I'm going to say here is your next step, work hard. When they're older, maybe we can have a discussion about that…. There are barriers? Yes. There are culture barriers? Yes. Do you have to overcome it? Yes, not just complain about it. That's one thing I have absolute distaste for - sitting and complaining and doing nothing about it. If you dislike it, do something about it.”

John P.:

Family background: John is 48 years old. He came to the U.S. in 1981 when he was 12 years old. His father was a pastor in Korea and came a couple of years earlier to pursue his advanced study, then his wife, two daughters, and John joined him. Once they arrived, the family had to endure many years of financial hardship in Texas. John studied mechanical engineering in college. He worked as an engineer for a few years before becoming an entrepreneur. He is running a successful health care business. He is married to a 2nd-generation Korean-American and has a second grade son.

First-generation’s beliefs and practices: John’s parents presented different levels of pressure on their children based on their expectations. For example, John said, “My parents' involvement from let's say 1-10, 10 being most pushing, they were about 2 for me. My two older
sisters… they were really pushy.” While pressuring his older sisters to be successful, John’s father took a much more flexible approach to John, suggesting he be a technician. “I do remember him saying, ‘you can do whatever you want to do. But you're really liking the car, you like building engines, you like working with cars, so you can actually be a mechanic and make a bunch of money’.”

Outside of academic studying, John could not participate in many sports activities despite his desire, due to lack of financial resources and lack of parents’ time. “We were very poor, so we just don't have enough money to buy any equipment…. That is number one. Number two is that when the students get in the sports activities, you have to pick them up late at night. Our parents, because both of them are working full-time, they just could not give the time of sports activities.” John was able to participate in school activities such as competitions related to his classes on engineering design and metal shop, because those programs were offered during the school day. His parents knew about his achievements but weren’t available to participate in any events due to their busy work schedule.

Second-generation’s beliefs and practices: John describes his eight year old son: “He reminds me of me.” He recognizes that his son likes math but does not like reading and writing. John shares the responsibility with his wife to keep tabs on his son’s academic achievement. “He doesn't like writing, but he's told to do so because of mom. Mom gets him to read 30 minutes a day or one hour a day. Study is his daily routine.” John keeps his high academic expectations for his son. “I wish that he could do very well in school. If he can get all 4.0, that'd be a plus.” But he still recognizes the importance of effort before getting results. “If he tries hard and let's say he doesn't get it, I understand. Not everyone is perfect. If he doesn't try hard and he doesn't get good grades, then I'll be kinda hard on him. I want him to do well.” To the question of whether he sees
any difference between his approach and his parents’ approach, John replies, “Oh my goodness, it’s day and night.” According to John, his parents’ generation only knew what the end results were supposed to be, but did not have the resources and information to achieve them. His parents did not know what was going on in school mainly due to their lack of language ability. Now his generation’s parents, regardless of being Korean, American, or other ethnic group, can have instant access to school information and “they want to get involved with the school and want to participate in what they are doing so they can be together and grow up.” Due to extreme financial restraints, John thinks his parents’ number one priority, “was not about the school, not about the education, it was about surviving those times.”

Future outlook: While growing up in Texas, John found his companions were Chicano. John predicts his son might have to experience difficulties like he has been through. “For me, I found out that still up to this day, even though I've been in America for 40-plus years, I'm a citizen of the United States…there is that race issue. There is that I am a minority. There is that I cannot fit in, I just don't fit in.” He expects his son will have a similar experience. “There is a stigmatism about different races… I will explain it to him. At my current age right now, it's too early. He's going to have to know, and he has to make the decision whether he can fit in or not.”

Joseph C.:

Family background: Joseph is 41 years old. He was barely 1 year old when he arrived in the U.S in 1977. Joseph is the youngest of four children; he has two sisters and a brother. He grew up in New York City. After college he attended seminary and is now a pastor. He is married to a 2nd-generation Korean-American and is raising three children, in 5th, 4th and pre-K grades. Joseph’s parents were not very well educated. They were farmers for a while and his father became a general handyman running a house painting company, but it wasn't successful.
His family came to the U.S. sponsored by his uncle who came to America at a young age, sponsored by a missionary. After they came to the United States, his parents were very limited in terms of what they were able to do. They worked at a clothing manufacturing factory as a seamstress and tailor.

Joseph grew up with fourteen cousins living all together as one big family. His older cousins were starting to get involved with gangs. To avoid the gang activities, his parents moved out of the neighborhood to another area less populated with Koreans, but still a very poor neighborhood. Later the family moved to the Bronx where, Joseph recalls, there were still not many Asians and a lot rougher neighborhood. He witnessed constant arguments and physical fighting. “I think I got into a lot of fist fights when I was younger because of that. My cousins I mentioned before that they were in gangs and stuff, and they basically told me if anyone ever calls you a ‘Chink’ and you don't do anything about it, we're gonna beat you. I took that seriously.” When his parents decided to move to another neighborhood with very few Koreans to avoid Korean gang activities, he experienced other struggles. “I think there was even more so that sort of racism towards us.”

First-generation’s beliefs and practices: Despite the rough environment, Joseph and his siblings did very well in the local high school. He remembers his parents showed up for every school function they could. “If there were any concerts, they were there. If there were any parent-teacher conferences, they were there… However, they were always limited because of language, so my sibling was always there to translate.” Joseph describes his parents’ involvement in the children’s academics as “Mainly in the report cards. I think it's because we always felt like parents wouldn't understand anyway. Things that needed to be signed and returned, either one of my siblings would do or I would just do it myself. Report card was
different, so we will show it to them.” Joseph’s older siblings often substituted in a parent’s role when their parents didn’t have the time or ability to be involved. “Things my parents weren't able to do, for sure my siblings definitely did take care of it.”

For extracurricular activities, “As far as sports activities, they never showed up to any of those. I think that was normal. I don't remember any other parents showing up. That may have just been the neighborhood that we were in. We were all, not only myself, but everybody that was in that neighborhood, all the parents were working very hard.” Joseph played tennis. “I don't remember that there were any parents that showed up for our matches. It was just the team together with the coach. We never felt we were missing out on my parents not being there because nobody else's parents were there.” They were also able to use supplementary educational institutions to get him ready for his college examinations. “Financially speaking, they... I know they made sacrifices in order for us to all be able to go to Princeton Review for SAT prep and things like that.”

When it came time for college, his parents’ involvement was also limited. “I knew the limitations that we were capable of affording and not affording. I basically just applied to schools that I knew that we could afford for me to go to.”

**Second-generation’s beliefs and practices:** Joseph has three children and his academic expectations are high. “We know that they're all very bright, so we expect them to live up to their potential… to do their best.” He is more concerned with effort before results. “We're not concerned with what the grade result is, we're concerned with the effort. I think right now, we're trying to build the foundation of learning, the foundation of how to become a better student. We tell them even if you did well on the test, it doesn't matter if you didn't try your best. You have to be doing your best.” His children are involved in soccer, baseball, Brazilian jiu jitsu,
cheerleading, Girl Scouts, other activities at the church, and music lessons. “We want them to just be good at it so that they can play at it and enjoy it. Because it's to develop them and grow them and not for profession… I think there's a reaction because growing up when we were little, I never did any kind of Little League. I didn't know those things existed. It might've been because we were living in the city, but we wouldn't do any of that…. I think as a result of that, a lot of us 2nd-generation people kind of see that as things that we missed out on growing up, so we want to provide that to our children.”

For discipline and boundaries, Joseph keeps similar expectations as his parents. “My parents are also very strict, and I think we're fairly strict with our children. We're very disciplined so they know what the boundaries are, and they for the most part have been good about living within those boundaries.” There are differences between Joseph and his parents. “I think the biggest difference is the resources that we have because my parents didn't speak English, they were not educated. They were constantly working because they were hardly making ends-meet… With my kids, I think the potential is much greater in that sense because we have open resources. We have the ability to, not just afford more, but also to help more academically speaking, and just kind of know how, understanding what the United States is like, how the system kind of works and things like that.”

Joseph also has high expectations for college. “We do expect everyone to go to college, of course, and hopefully grad school as well…Of course, ideally, we would like them to go to a great school, Ivy League school.” But with a higher purpose: “Whatever it is, we want them to live for a greater purpose than just to be rich and the earthly definition of success.”

**Future outlook:** On the question related to the children’s future and racial issues, Joseph reveals his deep reservation. “On the surface, it seems it's unlimited. If you dig a little deeper,
you realize just how limited actually it is.” His experience with people in Buffalo, NY, was, “They were friendly with us and we were able to build relationships, but it was always at a distance. It was always with reservation…So no matter how close we got, there was always a limitation to how close you can get.” Even among Christians, “there was a boundary, there were kinds of limitations… Part of it is our own, maybe racial insecurity. I remember growing up wishing that I grew up white because it seems like they lived a different life. I always felt like ‘us and them’. We as Asians were this way, and them as white people, they lived that way. I always felt like I wished that we could've been like that.” He always saw the “American Dream was a White Dream” and “Asians were always just trying to climb and trying to become like white people.” “I think hopefully that doesn't exist for the next generation, but for this generation, for my generation I think it's still there. No matter how financially successful you get, you still always feel like you're a step behind.” “As far as my own background is my own limitation, I think there is still some insecurity there… The interesting thing is some of the articles that I've read that talk about this sort of thing, is Asians have a difficult time excelling past middle management, mainly due to lack of leadership training but focusing on diligent work. Working hard with a strong work ethic, but when you get to upper management, the executive level, you have to be very creative and you have to be different to stand out.”

On the other hand, “In a weird way, as much as I want to see integration and I want to see the diversity happening, I also know that there are bigger obstacles when that does happen.” He notices even his children feel more comfortable among their Korean peers in the Korean church they attend. “The kids found a place where they felt they actually belong…. Different values, not necessarily different cultures, may cause trouble…. I think that's why there will be a struggle. I think it's still worth the struggle if you're able to, if you're willing to.”
Young K.:

**Family background** - Young is 38 years old. He was eight years old when he arrived in the U.S. with his father, mother, and an older sister in 1988. After high school, he studied automobile technology. Now, he is a car repair shop owner. He is married to a 1.5-generation Korean-American who grew up in South America. The couple has two children in 1st grade and pre-kindergarten. Young does not know exactly what his father used to do in Korea. His mother was a seamstress. Growing up in Korea, Young almost never saw his parents since both parents came home so late after work, unless it was a weekend. Young’s grandmother lived with them and took care of him and his sister. Once they arrived in the U.S., both of his parents continued to work long hours in the garment industry. Since his grandmother did not come with the family to the U.S., Young and his sister had to take care of themselves after school: latchkey kids.

**First-generation’s beliefs and practices:** Young’s 1st-generation immigrant parents attempted to be involved but that did not last long. Parental involvement was minimal. Young says, “I remember them being involved with me when I was very young, when I first came. When I was in third grade and fourth grade, they would continuously make us read and write English…. Once they realized we picked it up, by the time we were fourth grade and fifth grade, they kind of weren't involved in the educational process. You go to school, do your work, show me grades. If your grades fall, then you're not doing your work.” Young thinks that language was the main reason for them not being involved later. “It's not that they didn't want to, but because they grew up in a situation themselves where they weren't really highly educated.” Young continues, “they couldn't help even if they wanted to, especially because it's a different language… They can't read a word on homework or something, they can't help you.” Another big hindrance was lack of time after their long hours of work. Young recalls, “even when we
moved to America, they had eight to six whatever jobs. By the time they came home, they were already tired. They physically weren't able to help with any homework.” Young’s parents kept different academic expectations between Young and his sister. “They pushed very heavily on my sister…. She was always good with her school work even in Korea and even when she first came here too… They were extra alert for my sister's grades. On the other hand, they would still say ‘you can't get anything under B’. I didn't get into as much trouble as my sister would…. Maybe because I'm the second child, and maybe because I was always... even when we were in Korea, I was playing. I never was studious…. That's why my father encouraged me to look outside the box rather than studying and trying to pursue that kind of future.”

Young rememres his parents pressuring them to work hard, anticipating discrimination in work places. Young remembers his father using “reverse psychology” saying, “if you want to pursue a white-collar job and you want to mingle with the actual people of this country and you still want to be a successful person, you have to work that much harder. He's like, unless you're going to be willing to put in that much more work where you're going to be trampled on, you're going to be discriminated against.”

**Second-generation’s beliefs and practices:** Young wants to push his children in academics as he learned from his parents. He wishes his kids to be white-collar professionals because it is less physically strenuous. “I’m supposed to work eight to six, but often work from eight to eight, six days a week. It takes a toll on your body… I'm not even 40 yet, but sometimes my body feels like 50 years old.” Young notices his wife pushes their children. “She's the one that makes the kids sit down and study, read, and write stuff. I see her push the kids really hard, especially my daughter.” However, realizing his daughter’s short attention span, he sympathizes with her. “I know how she is, so I'd rather just have her do as much as she can in a good way,
like not push her too much, anything like that or make her upset, but as long as she gets her work done, I would say okay it's enough.” He continues, “I know everybody goes at a different rate like everybody learns at a different speed. I don't want to push [her] too hard, so I'd rather let her be a kid. At least as long as you can keep up with the class, I think that's all that I would ask from her… I think what's more important is if she grows up to be a good person, if she can do something that she enjoys.”

When Young was growing up, he felt left out when his parents could not make it to school function while other kids brought their parents to school. “Sometimes other kids brought their parents to school, I didn’t even know why.” Now having two children, he wants to be there for his children. It is because he is able to, but also because he wants to make up for what he missed while he was growing up. “It makes me want to do it more because there is no language barrier. I could be there for her, and I could communicate perfectly fine. And number two, it's like that thing I didn't get, so I kind of want to do it for her.”

**Future outlook:** Young shares his painful ethnic struggle while growing up: He experienced many racial difficulties, particularly from peers, while in middle school. “When I got into like seventh and eighth, I think I was going through a little phase, so I started getting into a lot of fights and troubles. I kind of got to the point where they left me alone [laughter]. I would hate it if my kids have to go through those things.” He hopes everything gets better for his children. “We had it much better compared to our parents, but you always want to be upgraded I guess. Hopefully, they can get as much education as they want to. Not forcefully.” “If they want to pursue education post-college and grad-school, hopefully the opportunity will still be there for them.” Still, Young has some reservations about his children’s future as minorities. “I guess, granted, being still immigrants even though they're second generation and their kids will be third
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generation will still be considered as immigrants because we're Korean-Americans. I'm pretty sure they will go through a lot of heartache only because of the world. I went through it, a ton of those, granted that I think it got a little bit better.” However, he wants his children to become fully assimilated to American values. “So if you want to be considering yourself to be American, even if you are a Korean-American, I think it's important to saturate yourself in society in the way this country works. If they're going to stay here, then I will encourage them to be in America as much as you can because I would like to think that you are no different except for the pigment of your skin that you are no different than anybody else.”

Brian S.:

**Family background:** Brian is 48 years old. He came to the U.S. in 1980 when he was 12 years old with his father, mother, an older brother, and an older sister. Brian’s father was a taxi driver and his mother was a housewife in Korea. Once they arrived in the U.S. both parents worked at a meat packing company. Neither parent had a college degree and they had limited English abilities. He grew up in the suburbs outside of Philadelphia. After studying food science, he works in the public sector as a regulator. He is married to a 1.5-generation Korean-American. The couple has three children, two college students and a high school senior.

**First-generation’s beliefs and practices:** Brian started 6th grade in an ESL program. He remembers “it was a difficult experience.” Even though he had an older brother and an older sister, they could not help him much on his academics since they were much older and they were having a much more difficult time of their own adjusting in America. “So I was the main person who decided what to do, where to go, what to study, and when to study.” His parents could not help with his school work. “I think the language barrier was the major issue not to participate.
And second is lack of time. Even if they had time, I don’t think they were willing to go because of the language barrier.”

**Second-generation’s beliefs and practices:** To Brian, the education of his children is very important. “I am a one-and-a-half generation and my wife is also one-and-a-half generation. We are a little different than the 1st-generation. We go to the PTA meetings and conferences and all of that. We are more involved in school.” As far as academic expectations are concerned, Brian doesn’t really push their kids. “I wasn’t raised in the environment to be pressured to do something… I am pretty relaxed…. I told them to study and play games responsibly …thankfully, they were pretty much independent for studying and their schedule. They are not the smartest kids, however, from what we have seen, as far as academically, they handled well by themselves. I don’t really have to force them to study.”

Similar to his father’s expectation toward him, Brian expected his children to have a college education. He believes a college education is a prerequisite to fitting into society. He never considered any option other than college education right out of high school for himself and has also never considered any option but college for his children. Brian and his wife let his children choose their own fields of study and careers. He is willing to support their decision whether it is a doctor, a teacher, or whatever they choose after their college education, even if it is a blue-collar job. He believes a college education is also related to his children’s future marriage. He hopes they find spouses with a similar level of education. He believes college is for “something more than just a degree but to learn what you want to do for the rest of your life”.

**Future outlook:** Brian believes the 2nd and 3rd generation Korean-Americans will have more professional white-collar jobs rather than blue-collar technical careers, as he has been noting the trend through his work experience. Brian also expects his children to find their future
spouses in the Korean-American community. He is open to inter-racial marriage considering the recent trend that fewer immigrants are coming from Korea, but he would still prefer “to continue Korean heritage.”

**J. H. Park:**

**Family background:** Mr. J. H. Park is 78 years old. He immigrated to the U.S. in 1974 with his wife and two children, 3 years and 18 months old. After failing at several attempts to get a job at a bank, he got a job as a civil servant and his wife was a night-shift nurse. He later ran several businesses including a wig store, handbag store, grocery, custom jewelry store, a clothing factory, and eventually a cleaning store.

**First-generation’s beliefs and practices:** Mr. Park sent his son to private school from 6th grade and eventually to boarding school in New Jersey. He assumed absolute responsibility for his children’s education, including paying all costs for college and even graduate school for his son and daughter. He also supported them in extracurricular activities: piano for his son and daughter and tennis for his son. He sent his son to boarding school with an idea of his becoming a doctor or lawyer. He shared his view in an implicit way; however, to his father’s surprise, the son eventually majored in history in college. When Mr. Park was a government civil service worker, he learned the importance of a secure job. He believes a medical doctor or a lawyer would provide a stable occupation, especially necessary for a minority. When his son got a job at a New York-based multinational investment bank, his dream was fulfilled. 7 years later his son quit that job, dashing his father’s dream of a secure and stable job once again. The son has more of an entrepreneur mindset than his 1st-generation father.

**Future outlook:** Now, Mr. Park believes parents should not oppress their children with their own thinking but let them accomplish on their own. He believes superior ability is
necessary for the minority to overcome prejudice and break the glass ceiling in America. He thinks, “You can make a simple life in America better than in Korea, but to become a leader in America, you must have superior ability to overcome as a minority.” He also believes a close marriage relationship is more easily found among Koreans, because they can share communication through generations and maintain and cultivate their common culture.

T. D. Pak:

Family background: Mr. Pak is 77 years old. He came to the U.S. in 1974 with his wife and 2 year old son, leaving a 4 year old daughter and a 6 month old daughter behind in Korea in their grandmother’s care. He brought the other two children two years later and another daughter was born in the U.S. They left the two girls behind in Korea for financial reasons and assumed they would go back to Korea after Pak completed his studies. He was a high school physics teacher after completing electrical engineering. They moved multiple times before the children entered middle school. He regrets that the frequent moves probably impacted the children’s emotional stability.

First-generation’s beliefs and practices: Pak also regrets that he was ignorant about his children’s education. Due to the language barrier, he could not communicate with the children’s teachers and he was too busy, going to work early in the morning and coming back home late at night. Still, thankfully their grandmother took care of them without sending them to a child-care facility.

He strictly asked his children to use Korean at home. Now his children can communicate in Korean with him, but he regrets that he missed the opportunity to improve his own English ability. He also did not allow them to participate in after school activities because their grandmother could not provide transportation. Now that he sees his children offering
extracurricular activities by arranging their working hours, he feels sorry for his children for not providing those opportunities. He confesses that he didn’t know anything about those extra-curricular activities, but could not have supported them anyway.

As for his children’s career, his desire was for a medical doctor, a lawyer, a pharmacist, or an accountant. He sees those occupations provide financially secure and stable jobs. Even though not all of his children turned to his dream occupations, he is proud of having three pharmacists among his children. He regrets his strict control based on his decision only. He sees his children are more flexible listening to their children’s opinions and desires.

**Future outlook:** Mr. Pak didn’t feel any detrimental effect of being a minority. Throughout his life in the U.S. he experienced business governed by the rules, not by bribes or by personal feeling. He didn’t experience any damage outright because of discrimination, so he believes his decedents will also be treated equally. He believes language ability, financial resources, and personal ability are the keys to success.

His youngest daughter married a Caucasian American and he loves her child. He is open to inter-racial marriage with Caucasian or with Chinese, though he still reserves that skin color is a consideration.

**S. I. Park:**

**Family background:** Mr. Park is 78 years old and he came to the U.S. in 1968 as a graduate student. His wife also came to the U.S. as a student before she was married to Mr. Park. The couple both graduated from the same well-known competitive college in Korea. His plan was to go back to Korea after getting his advanced degree in educational leadership. They had to fold their plan when his wife got pregnant with their first daughter. His wife became a certified music teacher and he was hired as the director of a newly established Korean school. Soon after
he received permanent residence status, he started his own business: first a laundromat and then a dry-cleaning business, despite strong opposition from his family members and close friends. However, to their surprise, his business took off and he became successful. Realizing he could not go back to Korea without any advanced degree, he took this as his only option and worked long, 12-hour days. As an educated man, he learned the trade quickly and tried to improve the business through research and study. As his business became financially successful, he even hired his wife to do alterations, being able to pay her more than her teaching job at a music school. His successful business story made him a role model among other Korean immigrants in the region and he helped many Korean immigrants to start their own businesses. He has since been a leader of the Korean immigrant community in the region.

First-generation’s beliefs and practices: Mr. Park sent his three children to private school from kindergarten to compensate for his busy schedule. He didn’t have time to care for his children, even though he said he worked hard for his children’s sake, like other typical Korean immigrant parents. There was the language issue as well, but he confesses he didn’t have much communication with his children while they were growing up. He acted very much like a typical Korean parent, telling the children to study without any hands-on involvement. He regrets that he didn’t spend time together or take them traveling, although he spent much of his time getting involved in Korean community affairs. All three children have graduated from college in business related majors. He didn’t have specific desired majors, but he is proud to tell others that two of his children graduated from Ivy League colleges.

Future outlook: Now, he sees his grown-up children spend more time with their children and they discourage their mother’s small talk to her grandchildren to consider becoming a doctor or a lawyer. He believes the 1st-generation immigrants were brought up in a poor country and
still keep the idea that a ‘good living’ means monetary success. Meanwhile, the 2nd-generation Korean-Americans are more assimilated to the abundant life in America and have different attitudes.

**Five Key Findings**

The results of this study reveal several marked similarities and differences between the two groups. Following are the five key findings related to the research questions after the analysis of the interviews and survey questionnaire responses:

**Question 1:** In what ways do two generations of Korean/Korean-American parents view the importance of their children’s academic and extracurricular activities in elementary and secondary school?

**Finding:** Compared to the former 1st-generation parents, the 2nd-generation parents also expect their children to achieve high academic levels, but they are willing to accept alternate achievement and efforts.

Survey and interview data show that both the 1st- and the 2nd-generation parents fully expect their children to get good grades and go to college. Both generation participants shared the common high expectation regarding their children’s academic success and college education. However, the approaches of the two generations are quite different. Unlike the non-negotiable approach of the 1st-generation, the 2nd-generation parents are more flexible. While the 1st-generation parents’ demands for high academic achievement were often strict and uncompromising, the 2nd-generation parents are not as strict as their parents. They are willing to accept alternate achievements as long as their children make an effort and try their best. One 2nd-generation participant, a medical doctor with three children in high school and elementary school, said:
“There's definitely a similarity in that. We want my children to do well. They know that, my children know that, and I knew my parents wanted that. I think the emphasis on doing well academically is very similar for sure. I think the difference is we're a lot more hands on with them, we're a lot more engaged. I also think the difference is there's more room to not do well. It's okay to not be perfect, it's okay not to be number one in your class. It's okay not to have a perfect SAT. I feel like I didn't sense that as much from my parents or even that generation when you talk to people my age. I don't think there was as much forgiveness or grace or acceptance.” (From the Interview with Don)

Compared to the performance-centered 1st-generation parents, the 2nd-generation parents are more process-centered in their parenting practices. The 2nd-generation parents are more concerned with the children’s self-esteem. They are okay with whatever grades their children get as long as they make their best effort. Unlike the 1st-generation parents who demanded a perfect score, not 95%, the 2nd-generation parents are more willing to consider children's talent, ability, aptitude, interests, and effort. “We want our kids to grow up healthy and well-rounded kids… We love them and therefore we push them.” said Grace. Simon, Grace’s husband, said in a separate interview,

“I think with us, grades are still important, but we also want them to do well all around. We want them to be exposed as much as they can right now when they're young, so they learn about what they like and don't like. We want to have them try lots of different things to explore them. We still expect grades to be important for them.” (From the Interview with Simon)
Many 2nd-generation parents want to figure out what their children’s talents are, and make an effort to have their children participate in a variety of extracurricular activities to expose them to many options. They are also willing to consider their children’s work ethic and aptitude, understanding that not every child has high academic capacity. They are more willing to accept lower levels of achievement as long as their children are trying their best, unlike their parents’ unwavering demands to keep the highest level of academic achievement without consideration of other factors.

The 1st-generation parents were more concerned about core academic subjects including math, English, science and social studies, that lead to the academic-oriented fields of study or careers. Meanwhile, the 2nd-generation parents are more flexible and often encourage their children to be more versatile based on wider world views. The 2nd-generation parents recognize that there are diverse opportunities to be successful in the U.S., even without the strongest academic records. Regarding the future career of her children, Grace said “They don’t have to be a doctor, but something that provides financial security, but what they like.”

Under the concept of relative functionalism (Stanley Sue & Sumie Okazaki, 1990), the 1st-generation Asian immigrants perceive restrictions in upward mobility in careers or jobs. They see that education is functional as a means for mobility whereas other avenues are blocked; consequently, education assumes importance. Susan, who graduated from an Ivy League college, described her father:

“My dad did say when I was younger, something to the effect - as a Korean, as a minority in this country, you have to study harder or you have to get better grades than other people if you want to survive, that kind of thing… I guess they just wanted the best opportunities for us, so they really valued education because they
think they see that as a way of getting opportunity.” (From the Interview with Susan)

Meanwhile, 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation Asian-Americans who grew up in the U.S. with full English language ability and a liberal education stressing equal opportunity, seem to believe that their children will be equally treated regardless of their ethnic background. While the 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation used to encourage their offspring to work twice as hard compared to their mainstream population peers to overcome their perceived prejudice in U.S. society, the 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation parents are not as desperate as their parents’ generation. The 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation parents know that their children can be successful without such sacrifices. While 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation parents are mainly focusing on the security, financial reward, and prestige of a career choice (Eun-Young Kim, 1993), 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation parents want their children to find their dreams.

\textbf{Question 2:} In what ways do the two generations of Korean-American parents mobilize their financial, human, or social capital for the success of children’s academic and extracurricular activities in elementary and secondary school?

\textbf{Finding A:} The 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation parents have hands-on involvement while the 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation parents had a hands-off approach due to various obstacles.

Across the board, the 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation Korean immigrants expressed regret that they were not as involved in their children’s education despite their initial intention to be so when they decided to immigrate to the U.S. (KJ Kim, SK Park, HK Yim, TD Pak, SI Park, KH Choi, & JH Park). Typical 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation Korean parents had high educational expectations for their children; however, they were not able to provide the guidance and mentoring needed. According to Don:

“It was subtle. It was not very specific. It was kind of understood. It was subconscious. I knew that’s what they wanted for us and I knew that’s what they
wanted us to do: study hard… But, they weren’t very involved per se, in the actual practical decision making… in the actual day-to-day things.” (From the Interview with Don)

The 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation parents often provided mostly verbal direction without any hands-on involvement by telling their children to study. On top of the lack of English language ability, lack of time compounded the trouble of getting involved in their children’s education. Solomon and Susan described their experience:

“I think they basically said just ‘do well, work hard’. I don’t remember them checking my homework or anything like that.” (From the Interview with Solomon)

“I don’t remember them being really involved in my learning. They just expected that I would just do the work, so I think I was pretty self-sufficient. I don’t remember if they did something else.” (From the Interview with Susan)

The 1.5- or 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation participants, perceived that their parents had all good intentions but were not able to be deeply involved in their educational process (Susan, Solomon, Jeehee, Michael, Grace, Simon, Drew, Jacob, John, Joseph, Young, & Brian). To meet the high expectations set by their parents, the 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation participants had to largely take charge of their own education and the academic decision-making process.

There were several factors that prevented the 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation from being involved in their children’s education. The first two major obstacles were lack of English language ability and lack of time due to long hours of work, including on weekends. Lack of familiarity with the U.S. school system and culture further hindered parents from involvement. Brian and Grace pointed out language barrier and lack of time as the causes:
“I think the language barrier was the major issue not to participate. And second is lack of time.” (From the Interview with Brian)

“They were too busy, not knowing what’s going on in school, and lack of English communication ability.” (From the Interview with Grace)

On top of the language barrier and long hours of work, the 1st-generation parents often faced a financial burden to support their family. In many cases, their post-immigration financial situation became much worse than pre-immigration, at least initially. They endured the downward mobility in hopes of a better future, showing typical immigrant optimism (Kao & Tienda, 1995), particularly for their children. Several 1.5-generation participants (Susan, John, Jeehee, Michael, Grace) who were old enough to remember the situation back in Korea, took this decline in social status as a sign of their parents’ sacrifice for their future.

The 1st-generation parents did not have experience with the school system in America, so they often relied on their own schooling experience or memory of their home country, even though it is very different, culturally. In Korea, parents do not get involved in school matters unless there is a problem. They often did not know what to expect in the American school and they were unfamiliar with school activities such as “donuts-with-dad” (Young). One participant recalls this experience while he was growing up: “I didn’t know why other parents were there” (Solomon).

For many 1st-generation Korean immigrants, overcoming the cultural and linguistic deficiencies are huge barriers to becoming fully involved in their children’s education (Turney & Kao, 2009; Wang, 2008). Similar to other minority immigrant parents, language and cultural barriers to participation were too high to overcome and parents were subsequently less involved at school (Turney and Kao, 2014).
“... in middle school, my dad realized and I also realized that there was a gap, that his understanding of things was not the same as from Korea as it is here. … I think he kind of started letting me go ... When I got to be like 16 or 17 looking at college and certain things, I didn't even ask for that much input from dad.” (From the Interview with Solomon)

“... it's amazing to think how I actually got as far as I did. I don't remember my parents ever having to sign permission forms or make those kinds of decisions… They were too busy working… Even with my sports, they were never able to come out to any games or anything like that.” (From the Interview with Drew)

As a counter-reaction to the experience of their parents not being involved in their schooling, these 2nd-generation parents are trying to get involved. They are so involved, in fact, their participation is often to the point of qualifying them as so-called ‘helicopter parents’ (Susan). They don’t want to be seen as a typical Asian working class family of previous generations who come from a context where interactive learning is not stressed.

Parental involvement patterns have changed significantly. The biggest difference is that, unlike their 1st-generation parents, the 2nd-generation parents are heavily involved in their children’s academic lives, and their involvement is more hands-on rather than merely providing verbal directives.

“Academically, we are extremely involved. I don’t know if that’s a reaction from my parents. I don’t think so because my wife drives that more. We are involved a lot, but I think these days a lot of parents are….Every time they had a test, we would make our own test and test them.” (From the Interview with Solomon)
Despite their best efforts, the 1st-generation parents were not able to help their children academically by helping with homework or preparing for quizzes or tests, except in very limited ways, such as math in elementary school. But the 2nd-generation is able to provide in-depth participation, as a result of their flexible working hours, English fluency, and understanding of the school culture. They can help their children not only by helping with homework, but also attending teacher conferences and school events.

Second-generation parents initiate direct communication with teachers and school officials. The 1st-generation parents maintained a very limited level of communication with teachers, such as participating in teacher-parent conferences only when absolutely necessary. Most of the time, the 1st-generation parents stopped being involved in school affairs, trusting their children’s decisions and school officials, as they were used to doing back in their home country. The 2nd-generation parents are able to communicate with school and obtain school-related information through email and visitation in a way their parents were not able to accomplish. They also volunteer at school activities. The 2nd-generation parents' experience in the U.S. school system also provides them an advantage compared to their parents’ generation. Culturally, they know that they have to engage regularly, not only if trouble develops.

“I guess I'm more involved, I think, than my parents were. I'll email the teacher and sometimes ask them questions… I think there are some differences because I think I am more hands on than my parents were just because my English is better and I can communicate better with the school and with the teachers.” (From the Interview with Susan)
**Finding B:** While both 1st and 2nd-generation parents engage similarly regarding some extracurricular activities (i.e. music lessons), 2nd-generation parents provide many more sports and community-based opportunities for their children.

As with academic expectations, the study showed a number of similarities and differences between generations when it comes to extracurricular activities. The 2nd-generation parents provide many more sports and community-based activities for their children, while both 1st and 2nd-generation parents engage similarly regarding some extracurricular activities such as music lessons.

“Kids nowadays, they do sports with sports leagues, or they do gymnastics things outside of home. My parents didn't know about that stuff really. I didn't participate in sports in elementary school. When I was in middle school, school offered those sports programs, so I did middle school sports. I did lacrosse during middle school. I started getting more involved with sports through school.” (From the Interview with Susan)

The 1st-generation parents were quite familiar with music instruments such as piano, violin, and cello, but often unfamiliar with sports and terms such as Little League, Cub Scouts, intramural sports, or traveling teams. Many of the same obstacles - lack of language and of cultural expectations, and lack of time and finances - prevented the 1st-generation parents from encouraging their children’s participation in non-academic extracurricular activities. Often 1st-generation parents did not even know that their children were involved in extracurricular activities or participating in a sport (Solomon, Grace). One 2nd-generation participant (Michael) was even discouraged by his parents from being involved in sports when he was in high school, telling him to do college prep instead.
“My parents always had us do piano and violin lessons. That was the only thing from home.... My mom thinks it's important...especially for girls to learn piano. She tells me that even now. She tells me ‘why your oldest daughter never learned piano? ... I don't know why.’” (From the Interview with Susan)

To a degree, the 2nd-generation parents engage similarly to their 1st-generation parents when it comes to their children’s music lesson opportunities, particularly in piano, violin, and cello. However, the 2nd-generation parents’ involvement in sports activities is quite different from their parents’. The 2nd-generation parents are much more familiar with sports and community-based organizations for their children. The few 2nd-generation parents, particularly fathers, who were involved in school sports while they were growing up, strongly encourage sports for their children (Jacob, Drew). They also tap into community resources, events, and activities. Many parents expressed they want their children to be able to experience many different activities, unlike in their own childhoods.

According to Grace, her mom and dad pushed her only in academic achievement, but she wants to “step back a little bit to provide different opportunities to the children to see if they find something. Still, academics are important.” While growing up, she didn’t have time and didn’t know anything but studying. She asked rhetorically, “Was there any sports, then?” (From the Interview with Grace)

“My parents never put me in that Little League .... I remember trying out for the baseball team then feeling a sense of shock at how good everyone else was…. I felt that I was disadvantaged in that kind of situation.” (From the Interview with Simon)
Question 3: In what ways do two generations of Korean-American parents aspire for their children’s post-secondary education, fields of study, professional training, and career paths?

Finding: Both 1st and 2nd generation parents expect their children to graduate from college and have a professional career, though 2nd generation parents allow their children more choices of major/career.

The 1st-generation parents fully expected their children would go to and graduate from college. Similar to Museus’s finding (Museus S. D., 2013), parents developed the expectation from early on and the children clearly knew their parents’ expectations (Don, Solomon, Joseph, Brian). The expectation was often delivered to children implicitly, such as when Don and Susan explain they ‘knew that all along’. Parental pressure about which college majors would lead to economically stable careers and limited understanding of other major and career options are common themes.

Both 1st- and 2nd-generation parents view a college education as essential. Many 2nd-generation parents even expect their children to pursue post-college degrees. The 1st-generation parents saw a college education as practical: the only way to secure a stable job immediately after graduation. The 1st-generation parents preferred their children pursue white-collar professional careers that require some sort of certification or license, such as in the medical field, law, education, computers, or finance industry. Their most pressing consideration was whether the children could get a financially rewarding, secure and stable professional career upon completion of study. They worried about any instability, uncertainty, and constant competition.

“It’s a common joke. They all want their children to be a doctor or lawyer. We all understood that… It’s because they want their children to have a stable lifestyle,
but also there's an element of pride to it to say my son or daughter is a doctor or lawyer.” (From the Interview with Don)

Meanwhile, the 2nd-generation parents also see a college degree as a must-have, but they are willing to accept their children’s decision to choose careers different from their study after finishing a college degree. The 2nd-generation parents see the value of a college education in a much broader spectrum. They see the university as a place to meet diverse people, gain maturity, become independent, or try and experience different things. Jeehee believes her children must go to college, even if they end up not using what they study. She believes a college education will help her children meet different people, broaden their perspectives, experience different things, and become independent beings. This view was also expressed by Brian, Yong, Joseph, Jeehee, Simon, Grace, and Drew.

Also, unlike the 1st-generation parents who prefer a professional career with stability and security, the 2nd-generation sees a career as something a person must love and utilizing children’s talent, along with being the means to provide for their families. They see education as not just for mastery, but also involving creativity, social abilities, leadership, etc. Many 2nd-generation Korean-Americans also have resentful feelings about the rigid, demanding parenting style of their parents’ generation. This might have changed their standing regarding the value of academic excellence and the importance of a pipeline to the well respected, financially rewarding professional job.

**Question 4:** In what ways do two generations of Korean-Americans define their racial, ethnic, and cultural identities?
Finding: Regarding racial and ethnic identity, the 1st-generation used the potential racial discrimination to encourage their children. Although the 2nd-generation did not personally experience much discrimination, they still have feelings of marginalization.

A majority of the 2nd-generation parents experienced minimal levels of racial issues while growing up. Nevertheless, the 1st-generation parents often used potential discrimination toward them as minorities to encourage their children to work harder. They believed that mastery of skills will ensure overcoming the systemic barriers and provide security, and that only a special knowledge or talent would keep their children’s’ careers secure. When other paths to success are not widely available, education (or test scores) through hard work and effort is the only way to show their ability. One 2nd-generation interview participant remembers his father encouraging him to either study hard or get skills to overcome potential discrimination as a minority:

“As you know, we came here with no money. We could have been okay if we were in Korea. But, we came here for the sake of your education and your future. So, work hard. As you know I don’t speak English and I work long hours, so I cannot help you much for your school work. So, you work twice harder than others or even ten times harder to overcome any obstacles. If someone in your school ridicules you, picks on you, and calls you by names, just ignore them. Don’t pay attention to them. Stop complaining about your situation, but just work hard. If you work hard, spend more time, read once more, solve one more problem, you can achieve good grades on any subjects. Once you get good grades, then you can go to a good college. You can get a job after that. Get a good job that everyone respects and is financially rewarding. Once you prove yourself that you are not replaceable, get to the position in charge, then no one will challenge
you anymore. I know it is not easy, but if you work hard now, then you will be the last one laughing.” (From the Interview with John.)

Similar to previous findings, Korean-American parents’ perception of racial discrimination and challenges for Asian children’s chances for mobility provides context for the parent’s emphasis on education (Louie, 2004).

Experiences related to racial issues such as bullying or discrimination while growing up were quite different based on the individual’s personality or location. In a region where there were few other Koreans (or other minorities in general), the participants do not remember experiencing serious discrimination. Meanwhile, growing up in cities with minorities, participants remember experiencing various types of conflicts including name calling, bullying, and fighting.

While the 1st-generation parents express an optimistic view on their descendant’s future, the 2nd-generation parents are not as optimistic. Even though they are highly educated and have professional careers with native English ability, some 2nd-generation participants expressed they still feel awkwardness and discomfort in their contact with the mainstream population, namely Whites. Even behind the polite and respectful interactions at their children’s school functions or neighborhood gatherings, they still feel some gaps and barriers. Susan and Joseph for example both said, “They [Whites] are always at a distance.”

“I think for my generation, 1.5 or 2nd generation, we were still kind of different even though we speak English fluently and we're in professional workplaces… I feel like I have to work a little harder. I always have to make more effort.” (From the Interview with Susan)
Both generations admit some sort of racial conflict. The 1st-generation didn’t experience outright racial discrimination. Some of them even enjoyed the U.S. society governed by rules. Some expressed feelings that the situation was better years ago when ‘anyone can achieve if you work hard.’

“I guess, granted, being still immigrants even though they're second generation and their kids will be third generation will still be considered as immigrants because we're Korean-Americans. I'm pretty sure they will go through a lot of heartache only because of the world. (From the Interview with Young)

The 2nd-generation had more personal experience with racial conflict while growing up and worry that the situation is getting worse in their children’s generation. They experienced more racial issues mainly because they were able to pick up on the subtle issues or comments that the 1st-generation parents didn’t recognize due to their language inability.

“Part of it is our own, maybe racial insecurity. I remember growing up wishing that I grew up white because it seems like they lived a different life. I always felt like ‘us and them’. We as Asians were this way, and them as white people, they lived that way. I always felt like I wished that we could've been like that… Asians were always just trying to climb and trying to become like white people. I think hopefully that doesn't exist for the next generation, but for this generation, for my generation I think it's still there.” (From the Interview with Joseph)

**Question 5:** In what ways do two generations of Korean-Americans foresee the future generations of Korean-Americans in their economic standing and racial-ethnic-cultural relationship?
Finding: Both 1st and 2nd-generation parents admit the inevitability of their children having inter-racial marriage, despite their wishful thinking of marriage within Korean, or at least in Pan-Asian ethnic groups.

Looking to the future, the last section of study questions shows more uniformity between generations on the question of inter-racial marriage. Out of nine 1st-generation participants, three participants have children married to non-Koreans. Before their children got married, the 1st-generation preferred marriage to a spouse with Korean heritage. The 1st-generation still prefer their grandchildren to get married to other Korean-Americans who grew up in the U.S. They admit that their wishes may, most likely, not be fulfilled and they are ready to accept marriage to a non-Korean. In that case, they prefer marriage within Asian ethnic groups compared to other ethnicities, with Caucasian also being somewhat acceptable.

Meanwhile, the 2nd-generation parents also prefer their children’s marriage to be within the Korean ethnic group but they know it is not guaranteed. They are open to marriage with non-Koreans, but also preferably within Asian groups because they hold similar cultural expectations:

“I think I was kind of traditional deep down, so I hope that they will marry Korean. If they don't, I think I'll have to be okay with that. I don't think I'm completely closed off to that. I don't think I'm going to be completely forcing them to ‘you must marry Korean’, not that kind of approach.” (From the Interview with Susan)

“Obviously, I still prefer, you know, them to still marry a Korean and raise a Korean family and still keep our heritage. But, realistically, we don't really have control of that…. But, we still feel like, even if they don't, their heritage to Korean American is still going to be part of who they are. Our generations are going
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down. It is important that we, their heritage, they will retain it down to their kids.”

(From the Interview with Simon)

Peripheral Findings: A few topics arose in this study that are peripherally related to the topic of parental involvement, although not specific to academics or extracurriculars. One recurring subject was that the 1st-generation parents often brought their own parents or parents to the U.S. to take care of their children (Solomon, Susan, Simon, & Joseph). Despite their lack of English ability, the grandparents, particularly grandmothers, played an important role as a caretaker of their grandchildren. While parents were still at work, the grandmother stayed home to cook, provide watchful eyes over the children, and remind them to do their school work.

Grandmothers were also retainers of Korean heritage including Korean language and other Korean culture. Many 1.5- or 2nd-generation immigrants who grew up with their grandmothers are still able to understand oral communication in Korean, though they can usually respond only in English. Having a stay-at-home grandmother helped the children make up for lack of parental attention which normally a two-parent family would provide.

Of course, many 1.5- or 2nd-generation children grew up without grandparents, so they often had to take care of themselves when parents were not home: the so-called the “latch-key kids” (Drew & Solomon, Young). When there were older siblings, the older siblings often took care of the younger children, as was the case for Young, Brian, and Joseph. Otherwise, busy working parents often left their children, like Solomon, to take care of themselves until late in the evening. The 2nd generation became independent decision makers early on for matters relating to their academics and extracurricular activities.
I was a latchkey kid. So I come home from school…. I wake up in the morning, my parents are already gone to work. I came home from school, nobody was home. (From the Interview with Solomon)

Another way in which the 1st generation parents tried to compensate for their lack of direct participation was to make sure the outside environment was as good as possible for their children. The 1st-generation parents often used residential relocation as a way to provide a better educational experience for their children. This was true for John, Marcus, and Joseph. Lessons relating to the importance of environment for growing children are widely spread among people in Confucian society through the story of the mother of Mencius, the Second Sage of Confucianism (Stanford University, 2004), who relocated three times until she found a neighborhood suitable for her son’s education (Wikipedia, 2019). First-generation parents often put moving in search of a reputable school district as the top priority in their financial plan. Surveys and interviews show that 2nd-generation respondents were also willing to relocate to a school district with a better reputation or what was perceived to be a better educational environment.

Financially-able immigrants who ran successful businesses, S. I. Park and J. H. Park, decided to enroll their children in private schools, realizing their long hours of work prevented them from caring for their children. The 2nd-generation parents trust public school for their children’s education, but similar to the 1st-generation parents, they are willing to relocate in search of a better schooling experience for their children, as John and J.H. Choi did.

To remediate their limited ability to be involved in school activities, some 1st-generation parents looked to different venues such as supplementary educational centers specializing in test preparation, tutoring, and providing supplementary educational information for their children.
On the other extreme, some completely disengaged from their children’s education or relied on the children’s self-initiative for their education.

Finally, most of the survey and interview participants hold a strong protestant Christian morality and worldview about developing a child's character and future career. Despite the sampling bias, it is notable that the majority of the 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation participants expressed their strong connection with Christian values.

From the very beginning of the immigration history of Koreans to the U.S. which started in 1903, Korean immigrants’ identities are intertwined with Christian affiliation. Many 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation participants responded that they grew up in the context of attending church and still attend church. In many cases, they hope their children’s marriage will be within the same faith – Christianity. This corresponds to other research: Chong (1998) also reported conservative morality and Christian worldview deeply rooted in the 1.5- or 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation Koreans.

“Whatever it is, we want them to live for a greater purpose than just to be rich and the earthly definition of success.” (From the Interview with Joseph)

**Summary**

The research documented the educational philosophies and practices of two generations of Korean American parents. This research has utilized survey questionnaires and semi-structured in-depth interviews to gather the data. The survey questionnaires were used to collect background information from 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation participants. Semi-structured one-on-one interviews were also done. Beside the major topics, additional questions were asked to determine demographic details and respondents’ family circumstances. This chapter is organized into two main sections: descriptive statistics of survey data and reporting of the interview data by family group.
Further, an attempt was made to extract the inter-generational similarities and differences of their educational philosophies, involvement practices, and future expectations. This chapter described detailed survey and interview data. Overall, five key findings to the research questions have emerged. In the following chapter the discussion, conclusion, and recommendations will be presented.
CHAPTER FIVE – DISCUSSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research was initiated to document the educational philosophies and involvement practices of two generations of Korean Americans and the cross-generational transformation between them. Participants were recruited from the Greater Philadelphia region. A total of 24 semi-structured interviews were conducted and 36 survey forms were collected. Several marked similarities and differences between the two groups have emerged through the analysis. In this chapter, discussions, personal reflection, and implications are presented.

Discussions

Among several findings emerged from this research, the discussions will be focused on two main aspects: 1) continuing hope in education with changing parenting styles, and 2) continuing the struggle to overcome minority status and bonding of Pan-Asian ethnicity.

Continuing Hope in Education and Changing Parenting Styles:

Similar high academic aspiration: The results reveal both the 1st- and 2nd-generation participants shared similar high aspirations for their children’s academic achievement and attainment of college degree and beyond. The 2nd-generation participants continue to believe that college education is an essential requirement regardless of their children’s future career.

The result is similar to previous research that while educational aspirations are universally high among all racial and ethnic groups, parents from Asian backgrounds in particular have higher academic aspiration (Dandy & Nettelbeck, 2002) (Kao & Thompson, 2003) (Spera, Wentzel, & Matto, 2009).

Often many of the 1st-generation parents in the research group strived for prestigious Ivy League colleges regardless of their financial situations; but the 2nd-generation parents are willing to consider state colleges or less expensive colleges, considering their financial calculations.
Based on the influence of Confucian culture, the 1st-generation Korean immigrants often strive for status-oriented action, such as a strong tendency of association with the higher class. They often imitate their lifestyle pursuing prestigious named colleges, such as Ivy league colleges, prestigious and powerful careers including medical doctor, lawyer, etc. They strived to achieve dramatic upward movement of social status and adopted competitive attitudes to achieve social stratifiers (Beeghley, 2008) (Gilbert, 2008).

**Changing parenting styles:** Out of four parenting styles identified by Baumrind (1971), Asian Americans are commonly known to be more associated with the authoritarian parenting style (Chao, 2000). Meanwhile, mainstream American educational institutions and parenting experts commonly promote an authoritative parenting style.

While there are great degrees of variance, the typical 1st-generation Korean immigrant parents had been very authoritarian, applying strict rules and discipline, demanding obedience and respect, often using negative reinforcement by making their children feel guilty, and using comparison and reverse psychology. It is known that cultural influence and parental pressure have a powerful impact over the 2nd-generation descendents’ motivation for academic success (Liu, 1998) (Museu (2013). Often, children of Asian immigrants internalize their parents’ sacrifice and sense of responsibility (Hao & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998) (Kang & Larson, 2014) (Kao, 2002) (Raleigh & Kao, 2010). Similarly, in this research, many 2nd-generation participants experienced psychological pressure from their immigrant parents, resulting in feelings of guilt and responsibility.

The children of Korean immigrants, while growing up, had to manage two vastly different cultures and demands - one from authoritarian immigrant parents at home and the other from authoritative mainstream American society (Hong & Hong, 1996). A generation later, there
have been significant changes in parenting styles between the two generations - from the 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation’s authoritarian parenting style to the 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation’s American-style authoritative parenting, or even permissive parenting styles as a counter-reaction to the 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation parents’ strict authoritarian style.

**Second-generation parenting styles:** Parenting styles of the 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation are more complicated. While both generation parents share common high educational aspirations, the 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation parents are struggling to find the right parenting styles for their 3\textsuperscript{rd}-generation children. Being influenced by their American educational philosophy, many adopt an American style authoritative parenting method. Opposed to the typical 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation authoritarian parents, this group of parents utilize positive encouragement, considering a child's gifts and desires, and respecting decisions made by their children.

Some others believe in a mix of Asian style authoritarian methods, believing that most American parents are too lenient with their children. Some parents prefer to be a Tiger Mom (Chua, 2011), stressing hard work, overriding children’s preferences, requesting absolute obedience, and not considering any complaints from children. Still other parents, in part as a reaction to their former generations’ strict rule, are taking more permissive parenting approaches and trying to be friend-like (Kim, Knudson, & Tuttle, 2013). Most commonly, 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation parents are so-called ‘helicopter’ parents, getting involved in everything about their children.

Engagement patterns have also changed between the two generations. Unlike their 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation parents who had a hands-off approach due to various obstacles, the 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation parents have hands-on involvement. Various barriers, including language ability, cultural distance, and lack of time prevented 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation parents from being involved. In contrast, the
2nd-generation parents, equipped with English fluency and cultural and socioeconomic resources, get involved much more deeply with their children's academic activities.

**High but reasonable expectations:** While both generations have similar aspirations, there is a gap between ideal aspiration and realistic aspiration (Han, 1968). Ideal aspiration is a wishful desire and realistic aspiration is a more realistic achievable expectation. While the 1st-generation parents had high ideal aspirations, demanding results and often unreasonable outcomes without proper support, the 2nd-generations have more realistic aspirations with support, hands-on involvement, and also consideration of their children’s aptitude and ability. When 2nd-generation parents relent on their demands or lower their expectations, the aged 1st-generation immigrant grand-parents see that as a sign of leniency, and they wish to see more authoritarian parenting toward their grandchildren.

**Influence of grandparents:** Several 1st-generation grandparents expressed respect for their children’s American style of authoritative parenting, and the deep involvement that they never were able to provide when they were raising their children. However, they are often not fully satisfied with the 2nd-generation parents’ lowered intensity of demands. They expressed concern with their children’s academic expectations being too low or parenting styles too lenient. On the other hand, the 2nd-generation participants often presume their parents’ expectations as typical immigrant mentality and old parenting styles. This seems to be caused by the differences in the upbringing of the generations.

The 1st-generation shows a greater appreciation of consistency and repeated, disciplined practice. Perfectionism and hard work is ingrained in Korean culture. This can be seen through the excellence of Koreans in specific sports relying on repeated practice. It is worthwhile to note that the 1st-generation group’s educational philosophies do not necessarily align with those of
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their contemporaries in Korea. While educational philosophies evolved dramatically in Korea from the 70s to the 90s, the 1st-generation experienced a fossilization of their educational philosophies when they immigrated to the U.S.

On the other hand, the 2nd-generation values creativity and support of their children in their natural capabilities and skills, which aligns more with the American culture.

To remediate their anxiety, the aged 1st-generation grandparents try to influence their grandchildren indirectly without overstepping the parents’ role. When opportunity arises, such as at family gatherings, they try to instill their high educational aspirations. They try to influence their grandchildren throughout their childhoods, emphasizing the value of college education or certain types of professions.

**Spouses with different upbringing and backgrounds:** One interesting cultural phenomenon is the different educational values and practices between spouses when one is born and raised in the U.S. and the other in Korea. Three interview participants were 2nd-generations married to a spouse who grew up in Korea. They often find themselves having quite different opinions and approaches. Usually, a spouse who grew up in Korea has a much stronger desire for prestigious colleges such as Ivy League or other prestigious private colleges, and pressures their children for excellent academic records. The spouses who grew up in Korea are often willing to pay for private prep-courses to get higher scores in college entrance exams such as the SAT or ACT. They often assume expensive private colleges, including IVY League schools, are better.

Meanwhile, U.S. born spouses are satisfied with state colleges knowing that they are as good as expensive private colleges and often more competitive. They are willing to accept less-than-perfect, though still above average, academic success as acceptable.
**Shifting career expectations:** Career expectations are also changing from professional white collar careers to other careers related to students’ talents and aptitude. 2nd-generation parents are willing to let their children take a wider range of careers, including blue collar careers. While 1st-generation immigrant participants tried to avoid unskilled labor work for their children, the 2nd-generation participants are more flexible, as long as the children finish their college degree first. While they still prefer a professional career, some 2nd-generation parents are willing to allow their children more choices of major/career or a non-professional career. However, the 2nd-generation parents still want their children to go to college to get a well-rounded education and learn something more than only what is related to their future career.

Overall, the 2nd-generation parents keep their high hopes similar to that of their parents. However, their aspirations seem to be getting lower as compared to the former generation. Previous studies show 2nd-generation children outperformed their 3rd-generation counterparts (Fuligni, 1997) (Kao & Tienda, 1995) in academic achievement. Researchers suspect that it is probably due to the combination of 1st-generation parental high level of aspiration and 2nd-generation English fluency.

**Continuing Struggle to Overcome Minority Status and Bonding to Pan-Asian Ethnicity:**

**Relative functionalism and optimism:** First-generation immigrants often perceive restrictions in upward mobility for their children in careers that do not require a higher level of education. Consequently they assumed the utility of education (Sue & Okazaki, 1990), particularly in fields relying less on financial capital or social capital. It is far reaching for recent immigrants to play major significant roles, or even participate in non-technical industries that require a vast network or social capital.
“In particular, Vietnamese and Chinese parents’ reported preference for university education, as opposed to other forms of post-secondary education, provides indirect support for Sue and Okazaki’s hypothesis that there is a perception among these parents that university education will lead to professional occupations where success and financial reward are less affected by racial discrimination and prejudice.” (Dandy & Nettelbeck, 2002, p. 625).

Korean immigrants had their hopes in the true nature of the American Dream, solely relying on individual ability and efforts. Although they weren't able to help their children directly due to various obstacles, they still maintained high educational expectations and optimism (Kao & Tienda, 1995).

Second-generation participants were burdened by model minority expectations while growing up. Many successfully pulled through; but still, several participants struggled to keep up with the expectations of educational achievement from parents, and model minority expectations from school teachers and administrators, particularly in urban areas (Lee, 1994) (Lew, 2004, 2006, 2007).

**Continuing struggle to overcome Minority Status:** Regarding racial and ethnic identity, this research shows the 1st-generation used potential racial discrimination to encourage their children. Although the 2nd-generation did not personally experience much discrimination, they still have feelings of marginalization. Having grown up in liminality, in-between-ness and ambiguity (Turner, 1967), Korean immigrant descendents have critical awareness of identity and negotiate dual identities (Yoon, 2012). Many 2nd-generation participants in this research also shared their feelings of in-between-ness. They often felt that they are not Korean enough at home, but also not American enough outside of their home. In addition to the experience of conflict
between family traditional values and those of the dominant society, they also had to navigate racism and prejudice.

As they entered the working environment, they started realizing structural obstacles and the glass ceiling effect, which the 1st-generation never experienced. Many participants in this study expressed a feeling of marginalization and stereotypical expectations despite their English language fluency and professional career. They are more keenly aware of the racial issues than the 1st-generation’s superficial perception. They have experienced some discrimination and structural barriers in their own lives. Despite their higher educational attainment and income, they are in-between, between black and white, between mainstreamed and marginalized (Kim, 1998).

The 1st-generation immigrants had a hope that in the U.S., they and their children could achieve solely based on their hard work, overcoming any discrimination and restricted opportunity. They put their hope in education as a primary path to income attainment. Meanwhile, the 2nd-generation participants are aware that they possess unequal resources and view their lives and that of their children with an understanding of the impact of ascription (Beeghley, 1989/2008). They often worry about possible restricted opportunity through invisible forms of discrimination, and articulate ways that benefits are not equally shared by racial and ethnic minorities.

**Building of social capital:** The 2nd-generation Korean-Americans are developing increased societal capital compared to their parents (Kim, Knudson-Martin, & Tuttle, 2019). Asian Americans perceive themselves as more prepared, motivated and more likely to have greater career success than whites (Wong, Lai, Nagasawa, & Lin, 1998). The middle-class Asian Americans are establishing and enforcing high-achievement norms and pride of Asianness for
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high-achievement, hard work, and success (Jimenez & Horowitz, 2013) (Kao & Thompson, 2003). They are getting more confident that they can provide a network of cultural capital to support their children, which their 1st-generation immigrant parents could not do.

**Bonding to Pan-Asian ethnicity:** Both 1st- and 2nd-generation parents admit the likelihood of their children’s inter-racial marriage, despite their wishful thinking of marriage within Korean, or at least within Pan-Asian ethnic groups. In that case, they prefer marriage within Asian ethnic groups compared to other ethnicities, with Caucasian also being somewhat acceptable. Meanwhile, the 2nd-generation parents also prefer their children’s marriage to be within the Korean ethnic group but they know it is not guaranteed. They are open to marriage with non-Koreans, but also preferably within Asian groups, because they hold similar cultural expectations.

Formation of Asian-American bonding is based on the shared experiences as Asian-origin persons, including being racially labeled as Asian by the dominant society, of growing up in an Asian home adhering to the similar values -- an emphasis on family, education, hard work and respect for elders (Kibria, 2010). This trend is confirmed by the research literature. According to a survey by the Pew Research Center (2017), fewer than three out of ten Asians married someone of a different race or ethnicity in the U.S. The 1990 U.S. census shows more Pan-Asian interethnic marriages among later-generation native Asian Americans (Qian, Blair, & Ruf, 2001).

In sum, the 2nd-generation Korean-American parents in the Greater Philadelphia region have achieved advanced assimilation during the last three to four decades. Similar to the 1st-generation, the 2nd-generation Korean-Americans have continuing high expectations for their children’s academic achievement. However, unlike their 1st-generation parents, the new-
generation parents are transitioning in terms of parenting styles, involvement patterns, and choice of extracurricular activities and careers for their children. In addition both generations of Korean-Americans share the feeling of marginalization and bonding with a Pan-Asian identity.

Implications

The results of this research provide us with several useful guides to inform parents, educators, and policy makers to facilitate better educational opportunities for Korean-American descendants. In addition, the author took advantage of his insider status to enhance the understanding of the interviewees.

Implication for Practice:

One implication of the findings for 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation Korean American descendents is a need to reflect on the question, “What is the right balance in parenting - not too strict or too lenient - to ensure continual achievements of subsequent generations?” While 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation parents were mainly focusing on the security, financial reward, and prestige of a career choice (Eun-Young Kim, 1993), the 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation parents want their children to find their dreams, the American dream that provides individual personal fulfillment and satisfaction. There is an emphasis on the American dream of individual self-actualization.

The findings of this study show that the 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation Korean-American parents hold high academic expectations similar to the former generation. Its implication is clear that in a society in which economic returns for schooling are perceived as rising, education is still an important channel to socioeconomic success and social mobility. School teachers and educators can facilitate continuing high academic expectations.

As many researches have revealed, 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation parents are generally more highly educated than the third- or beyond generations. If the 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation advantage is the result of
parenting changes and applicable to Korean-Americans, it will be critical to find the middle ground between swinging from one extreme to the other extreme. Second generation parents stand in a unique position where they can potentially get "the best of both worlds." By taking advantage of both the 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation's work ethic and focus on education, and the 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation advantages of increased social capital, language and cultural fluency, 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation parents could position their children for greater academic and professional success.

The results also show advanced assimilation of the 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation parents in language ability and the willingness to have deeper involvement in their children’s education. School teachers and educators can create diverse opportunities to utilize the full engagement of 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation parents in and out of the classroom. Educators should not assume all Asian parents are like the typical immigrants who have high expectations but who are not directly involved due to various obstacles. As a counter-reaction to the experience of their parents not being involved in their schooling, these 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation parents are trying very hard to get involved, which could be used to the benefit of classroom teachers who can always seem to use another set of hands or eyes. Teachers can also take advantage of the different experiences and cultural knowledge of this group of parents to expand their students’ knowledge of the world.

Educators need to have critical reflection on diverse cultures and the considerations for increasing parents’ school involvement and different perspectives on their children’s education. School counselors can utilize these findings in navigating Korean descendents’ future careers. While both 1\textsuperscript{st}- and 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation parents are firm with the idea that a college degree is a must, career choices are changing. The 1\textsuperscript{st}-generation parents preferred children’s careers to be related to math and science, such as engineers or doctors, but the 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation parents are more
flexible and often encourage their children to explore a variety of careers. The 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation parents recognize many more opportunities to be successful in the U.S.

Educators also should understand the underlying insecurity of Korean Americans. Even though they were born in the U.S., speak native English and have the financial well-being of the middle-class, they are still hesitant to get involved due to feelings of being left out in America. Educators and school policy makers should implement policies to facilitate the inclusion of well-equipped and well-intended 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation Korean Americans who are raising third-generation Korean descendants in the U.S. education system.

Further, a deeper understanding of their complex identity issues can provide valuable insights in appreciating the bi-cultural heritage of descendents of Asian immigrants. They have the potential to participate in the shaping of the social, political, and cultural environment in a unique way. School administrators can promote multicultural environments among student groups and staff hiring practice.

**Implications for Future Research:**

Educators and educational leaders are facing the challenging dilemma of providing appropriate instruction for all. In our quest to continue on the journey toward excellence, researchers interested in pursuing may consider one of the following avenues for further study:

Looking ahead, it would be interesting to study the relationship between the parenting style of 2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation parents and their children’s educational achievements to investigate whether the ‘2\textsuperscript{nd}-generation advantage’ is apparent among Korean American descendents.

A few participants in this study displayed different educational philosophies and practices from their spouses who grew up in different cultures - South Korea. In recent decades, the economy of South Korea has developed dramatically to become the 12th largest in the world.
Along with economic development, every aspect of society has evolved. Most young couples are college educated and often working couples. Birth rates have recorded a steady decline in recent decades and the average number of children a South Korean woman has decreased from 5.6 in the 1950s to just 1.1 in 2019. As a result, family structure has changed and so has the parenting styles and value of education. It would be interesting to investigate further how they navigated their different educational philosophies, and whether the dominant practice was successful.

Lastly, we found differences in educational philosophies between two generations of parents. The 1st-generation, who came to the U.S. three decades ago, have Confucian educational philosophies that have fossilized as a result of being unable to be influenced by American educational philosophies, largely because of the language barriers. In future research, the educational philosophy of American Koreans living in the U.S. compared to native Koreans in Korea of similar SES can be studied. It would be interesting to find the impact of cultural and social systems in the two countries through longitudinal research that identifies children in immigrant families, and tracks how these children are able to translate their education into socioeconomic mobility.

**Conclusion**

Since the enactment of the INA 1965, many Koreans have immigrated to the U.S. in pursuit of the American Dream - the great dream that everyone has an equal opportunity and anyone can achieve his dream through one’s own hard work.

Immigrants from Korea during the 1970s and 1980s were ingrained with the old social system and class structures in Korea where education was the best shot for financial security and promotion of social status, individually for their children and collectively for their family. They came to America with the belief that they can achieve the dream through their diligent work and
education of their children despite the lack of financial resources and cultural capital, and presumed discrimination as racial minorities.

Meanwhile, the 2nd-generation Korean descendants who were born in the U.S. developed different perspectives on economic systems and social hierarchy. They see education as an important thing, but, unlike their 1st-generation counterparts, they also see different options to achieve their financial security and upward social movement in the U.S. Being influenced by American educational philosophy and capitalism, they don’t see education as the only way, but rather as one venue of promoting their social status and financial security. While the 1st-generation immigrants saw with their limited world perspective, the 2nd-generation parents see more widely. They, however, still see education as an important tool to achieve their American Dream - that has been deeply ingrained by their parents - but not the only way.

Both generations of Korean Americans are not very optimistic regarding their racial status. As members of a visible minority group, no matter how successful in educational or financial achievement, Korean Americans still expect to struggle to overcome their minority status in the foreseeable future. Living in regions where visible minority status is still obvious due to lower density, both 1st- and 2nd-generation Korean-Americans are drawn to Pan-Asian alliances to mitigate their situation and to increase their sense of community.

Within one generation, despite various obstacles, many Korean descendents have made great strides to the middle-class, mainly through education. The 2nd-generation Korean Americans also believe in education for the next-generation’s future prospect. However, they also acknowledge the challenges and struggles ahead to overcome as a member of Asian American.
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APPENDIX A: IRB APPROVAL LETTER - Side 1

ARCADIA UNIVERSITY
Committee for the Protection of Research Subjects
450 S. Easton Rd.
Glenside, PA 19038
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
(Federal-wide Assurance # 00000449)

DATE: July 18, 2017
TO: Haewon Rho
FROM: Arcadia University IRB
PROJECT TITLE: [1082402-4] Hope and struggle for American Dream: Cross-generational metamorphosis of parental educational beliefs and practices in case of Korean Americans
STUDY #: 17-06-02
SUBMISSION TYPE: Amendment/Modification
ACTION: APPROVED
APPROVAL DATE: July 18, 2017
EXPIRATION DATE: July 17, 2018
REVIEW TYPE: Full Committee Review

Thank you for your submission of Amendment/Modification materials for this project. The Institutional Review Board has APPROVED your submission. This approval is based on an appropriate risk/benefit ratio and a project design wherein the risks have been minimized. All research must be conducted in accordance with this approved submission.

This submission has received Full Committee Review based on the applicable federal regulation.

Please remember that informed consent is a process beginning with a description of the project and insurance of participant understanding followed by a signed consent form. Informed consent must continue throughout the project via a dialogue between the researcher and research participant. Federal regulations require that each participant receives a copy of the consent document.

Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be approved by this committee prior to initiation. Please use the Modifications/Changes form for this procedure.

All UNEXPECTED PROBLEMS involving risks to subjects or others (UPIRSOs) and SERIOUS and UNEXPECTED adverse events must be reported promptly to this office. Please use the Adverse Events form for this procedure.

All NON-COMPLIANCE issues or COMPLAINTS regarding this project must be reported promptly to this office.

- 1 -
Please note that all research records must be retained for a minimum of three years after the completion of the project.

If you have any questions, please contact Karen Russo at 267-620-4111 or russok@arcadia.edu. Please include your project title and reference number in all correspondence with this committee.

This letter has been electronically signed in accordance with all applicable regulations, and a copy is retained within Arcadia University IRB's records.
Consent Form for Interview Participation

Date: June 2, 2017

Dear Participant:

My name is Haewan Rho and I am a doctoral student in the School of Education at Arcadia University. You are invited to participate in a study that I am conducting for my doctoral dissertation. The title of my project is “Hope and struggle for American Dream: Cross-generational metamorphosis of parental educational beliefs and involvement patterns in the case of Korean-Americans”.

After the INA 1965, sizable number of Korean immigrants arrived in the United States of America starting from late 1960s and mostly during 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Their descendants who came to the U.S. with their parents at their young ages or those who were born in the U.S. (1.5-generation and 2nd-generation) have now grown up and are parents of their own school-aged children. The purpose of the current research is to explore the cross-generational transformation of their educational beliefs and involvement practices with respect to their children’s academic achievements, educational attainments, fields of study, and career choices.

The 1st-generation immigrants are those who were born and raised in a foreign country before arrived at the U.S. at their adult age, usually older than 18 years of age. The 1.5-generation immigrants are those who came to the U.S. prior to their adult age. The second generations are those who were born in the U.S. with both or one parent was born in foreign country (Rumbaut, 2004).

The study is based on in-depth, semi-structured interviews of first and second generation, Korean American parents. Participants need to meet the following criteria:

- Participant must be a self-identified 1st-generation Korean immigrant or 1.5-/2nd-generation Korean descendant currently living in the United States.
- A 1st-generation Korean immigrant participant must have raised a 1.5- or 2nd-generation child who is now a parent of school-aged child in the U.S.
- A 1.5-/2nd-generation Korean descendant participant must have been educated in the U.S. at least from the 9th grade or earlier, 14 years old or younger, therefore proficient in English and being able to respond to the survey written in English.
- A 1.5-/2nd-generation Korean descendant participant must be a parent of a child currently attending a school – an elementary school, a secondary school, or a college in the U.S.

The results of this study may determine how changes between two generations impact future education and career outcomes and how parents might better equip their children to realize their own American Dreams.

Your decision to participate an interview must be a voluntary one. Once you agree to participate, the interview will be done with me, the researcher, on one-to-one base. In general, a couple will be

Participant Initials: ________
interviewed separate. The interview will be done at a place and time of your choice, for example a local library, your home, or any quiet places where you feel secure, comfortable, and convenient.

We can conduct the interview either in English, Korean, or both languages based on your preferences. I am fluent in Korean and English. If any of the interview questions make you feel uncomfortable, you may choose not to answer them.

If you allow me, I will use an audio recorder, my cell phone, to record the interview to ensure accuracy of information. This interview will take approximately 45 minutes. If you prefer me not to record it, I will just take notes during the interview and the interview will take little longer, even up to 60 minutes.

As a researcher, I will keep all information resulting from the interview confidential. This means that no names or any other identifying information will be used in the results of this study. After the interview, I will transcribe the interview and replace any identifiable information with fake names (pseudonyms). Also you can, at your discretion, withdraw from this study at any time. If you chose to withdraw, any information collected from you up to that point will be deleted.

If you would like to contact the researcher to discuss any aspect of the study or to discontinue your participation, you may reach me through email at hrbo@arcadia.edu or at 267-968-4941. You may also contact the supervising faculty of this study, Dr. Peter Appelbaum at email: appelbap@arcadia.edu or at 215-572-4476. All signed consent forms will be stored in a locked file cabinet in Dr. Peter Appelbaum’s Arcadia University office, Taylor Hall, room 312, to ensure confidentiality. Audio files of the interviews, and transcriptions, will be saved in different locations on the password-protected, personal computer belonging to the researcher. Two years after the completion of the study, all audio files of the interviews, transcriptions and surveys will be destroyed or shredded.

This study has been approved by Arcadia University Institutional Review Board (IRB). To ensure that this research continues to protect your rights and minimizes your risk, the IRB reserves the right to examine and evaluate the data and research protocols involved in this project. If you wish additional information regarding your rights in this study you may contact the Office for the Committee for the Protection of Research Subjects.

Karen Russo, Senior Coordinator, COPRS
2059 Church Road, Glenside, PA 19038
Phone: 267-620-4111; Fax: 215-881-8750; Email: IRB_JACUC@arcadia.edu

Your signature on the following page indicates that you have read the information provided above and have decided to participate in the study. If you later decide to withdraw your participation in the study, you may do so at any time without any negative consequences to your relationship with me or with Arcadia University. Please send one copy, signed and dated, back to me in the envelope provided. You may keep the second copy for your records.

I appreciate your willingness to consider participation in this study.

Participant Initials: _______
APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM for Interview Participation (in English) - Side 3

Respectfully,

Haewon Rho
1810 Jefferson Court, North Wales, PA 19454
Email: hrho@arcadia.edu
Phone: 267-968-4941

******************************************************************************************

I have read the consent form and have been given a copy of this consent form. This study has been explained to me, and I agree to take part in a Semi-Structured Interview:

Participant Name: ____________________________________________________________

Signature: _______________________________ Date ______________________________

Researcher Signature: _______________________________ Date ______________________________

******************************************************************************************

Permission for Voice Recording of the Interview

☐ Yes, I do agree to record this interview using researcher’s cellphone.

☐ No, I do not want our interview to be recorded. The researcher may take written notes.

Participant Name: _______________________________________________________

Signature: _______________________________ Date ______________________________

Researcher Signature: _______________________________ Date ______________________________

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JUN 18 2018
VALID FOR NO MORE THAN ONE YEAR

Participant Initials: _______
개인 인터뷰 참여 허락서
Consent Form for Interview Participation in Korean

Date: June 2, 2017

참여자 여러분:


이미 1세대로 졸업한 한인에서 태어나 18세가 지난 성년의 나이에 미국에 온 이민자를 말합니다. 1.5세로 졸업한 성년이 되기 전, 17세이하의 나이에 미국에 온 이민자를 말합니다. 2세로 졸업한 완충 모두 또는 한쪽 부모가 이민 1세대 가정에서 미국에서 태어난 세대를 말합니다.

다음의 조건에 맞으시면 인터뷰에 참여하실 수 있습니다:
• 현재 미국에 거주하고 있으며, 스스로 한국어 1세 또는 1.5세 또는 2세라고 하시는 분
• 이민 1세는 미국에 이민을 오셔서 자녀를 가르치시고, 그 자녀가 성장하여 또 자녀를 낳아 현재 학교에 재학 중인 분
• 이민 1.5세 또는 2세는 미국에서 최소한 9학년, 14세, 이전부터 교육을 받았고 영어가 가능하신 분
• 이민 1.5세 또는 2세는 성우로 자녀를 낳아 그 자녀가 현재 초등학교, 중학교, 고등학교, 또는 대학교 재학 중인 분

이 연구의 결과는 한인 이민 1세와 성인 2세대 사이에서 발생하는 자녀 교육관 및 직업관의 변화 및 주제를 알게 되고, 더 나아가 미국 내 한인 3세대 및 다음 세대가 미국 인에서 어떻게 자신의 꿈을 성취하게 나갈지에 관한 귀한 자료가 될 것으로 믿습니다.

이번 인터뷰 참여는 전적으로 자율에 허락하며, 자원자료 제공으로서 제와 개인 인터뷰를 갖게 됩니다. 인터뷰 장소 및 시간은 참여자가 편리한 장소와 시간에 진행됩니다. 인터뷰 보상은 안전하고 편리한 장소, 예를 들어 인근 도서관 또는 가정 집 등을 통해 주시고 그 장소에서 인터뷰를 하겠습니다.

Participant Initials: ________

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APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM for Interview Participation (in Korean) - Side 5

APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM for Interview Participation (in Korean) - Side 5

Page 5 of 3

IRBNet ID: 1082402-1

허락하시면, 정확한 인터뷰 자료를 얻기 위해 녹음을 하겠습니다. 인터뷰는 약 45 분 정도로 예상합니다. 만약 녹음을 허락하지 않으시면 인터뷰 내용을 노트에 기록하도록 하겠습니다. 이 경우에 인터뷰는 약 60 분 정도 걸릴 것으로 예상합니다. 사용하는 언어는 편리한대로 영어 또는 한국어로 답해 주시면 됩니다.

인터뷰 과정 중에 답변하시기 불편한 내용은 담을 하지 않으셔도 됩니다. 연구자가 설문 및 인터뷰를 통해 얻은 모든 자료는 개인 자료 및 사적인 정보는 절대로 보호 하겠습니다. 논문 작성 시, 민감한 사생활 및 개인 정보가 노출될 만한 모든 이름은 가명으로 대체될 것입니다. 또한 인터뷰를 마친 후라도 인터뷰 내용을 삭제하기 원하시면 모든 인터뷰 내용은 바로 삭제 될 것이며, 또한 논문 자료에 포함되지 않을 것입니다.

인터뷰에 관한 질문이 있으시거나, 참가 의사를 취소하시기를 원하시면, 전화 또는 이메일로 연락주시기 바랍니다. (노헤원: 267-968-4941; 이메일: hho@arcadia.edu). 참고로 저의 논문 지도 교수는 아카디아 대학의 Dr. Peter Appelbaum 입니다. (215-572-4476; 이메일: appelba@arcadia.edu). 접수된 모든 하락서는 사생활 보호를 위해 아카디아 대학의 지도 교수 사무실의 임명 서류에 보관 되었습니다 (Taylor Hall, Room 312). 기타 인터뷰 녹음, 기록 등은 다른 장소의 임명 장치가 있는 연구자의 개인 컴퓨터에 저장하겠습니다. 연구가 끝난 후 2 년 후에 모든 인터뷰 자료, 기록, 녹음, 기타 연구에 사용된 모든 자료는 폐기 처분될 것입니다.

이번 연구는 아카디아 대학의 연구 심사 기관 (IRB)의 심사를 거쳐 허락받은 연구 과제입니다. 연구 심사 기관 (IRB)은 자료 수집 과정에 관한 관여할 권한이 있습니다. 이번 연구 과제에 관한 더 세세한 정보 및 연구 대상자의 권리를 알고자 원하시면, 아래로 연락하시면 됩니다.

Office for the Committee for the Protection of Research Subjects (COPRS)
Karen Russo, Senior Coordinator
2059 Church Road, Glenside, PA 19038
Phone: 267-620-4111; Fax: 215-881-8750; Email: IRB@JACUC@arcadia.edu

이번 연구 과제에 관한 내용을 읽어 보셨고 또한 잘 이해 하셨으면, 따라서 참여하시기로 허락하시면 다음 절에 있는 하락서에 확인해 주시기 바랍니다. 또한, 인터뷰 녹음을 허락 체크 마크에 체크 표를 하십시오. 인터뷰 녹음을 허락해 주시기 바랍니다. 마지막으로 서명 날인하시고 날자를 기입해 주시기 바랍니다. 자료에 따라 하시면 언제든지 참여를 취소하실 수 있습니다. 서명 날인하시고 날자를 기입하시면서 편리한 토론을 위해 읽어 주셔 주시기 바랍니다. 안내서는 보관하시기 바랍니다.

저의 연구에 참여해 주시기로 결정해 주심에 감사 드립니다. 모아진 자료는 한국 인민자와 다음 세대 자녀의 교육에 관한 연구의 귀중 자료가 될 것입니다.

감사합니다.

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JUN 1 8 2018
VALID FOR NO MORE THAN ONE YEAR

Participant Initials: _______
APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM for Interview Participation (in Korean) - Side 6

Consent Form for Participation to Interview

☐  인터뷰 녹음을 허락합니다 (Recording).
☐  인터뷰 녹음을 허락하지 않습니다 (No Recording). 녹음에 기록하는 것은 허락합니다.

Participant Initials: _______
APPENDIX D: CONSENT FORM for Survey Participation - Side 1

Dear Participant:

My name is Haewon Rho and I am a doctoral student in the School of Education at Arcadia University. You are invited to participate in a study that I am conducting for my doctoral dissertation. The title of my project is “Hope and Struggle for American Dream: Cross-generational transformation of parental educational beliefs and involvement patterns in the case of Korean-Americans”.

After the INA 1965, sizable number of Korean immigrants arrived in the United States of America starting from late 1960s and mostly during 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Their descendants who came to the U.S. with their parents at their young ages or those who were born in the U.S. (1.5-generation and 2nd-generation) have now grown up and are parents of their own school-aged children. The purpose of the current research is to explore the cross-generational transformation of their educational beliefs and involvement practices with respect to their children's academic achievements, educational attainments, fields of study, and career choices.

The 1st-generation immigrants are those who were born and raised in a foreign country before arriving at the U.S. at their adult age, usually older than 18 years of age. The 1.5-generation immigrants are those who came to the U.S. prior to their adult age. The second generations are those who were born in the U.S. with both or one parent was born in foreign country (Rumbaut, 2004).

The results of this study may determine how changes between two generations impact future education and career outcomes and how parents might better equip their children to realize their own American Dreams.

The study includes a survey of first and second generation, Korean American parents. I hope to have approximately 60 individuals agree to participate in this survey.

Survey participants need to meet the following criteria:

- Participant must be a self-identified 1.5-2nd-generation Korean descendant, currently living in the United States.
- The 1.5-2nd-generation Korean descendant participant must have been educated in the U.S. at least from the 9th grade or earlier, 14 years old or younger and are expected to be able to respond to the survey written in English.
- The 1.5-2nd-generation Korean descendant participant must be a parent of a child who is currently attending a school – an elementary school, a secondary school, or a college in the U.S.

If you agree to participate, your participation is voluntary and will include responding to a Participant Survey Questionnaire: The survey contains multiple questions related to your demographic information, immigration history of your family, your educational background and career; your thoughts about your

Participant Initials: ________
own parents’ desires for your future; and your thoughts as a parent on your vision for your child’s academic and career-related future. It is expected to take about 15 to 20 minutes to be completed by a participant.

If any of the survey items make you feel uncomfortable, you may choose not to answer them. Please do not write your name on the survey.

As a researcher, I will keep all information resulting from the survey confidential. This means that no names or any other identifying information will be used in the results of this study. Signed consent forms will be stored in a separate location from the survey responses, to keep the identity of the survey responses confidential. Also, all survey information will be presented in aggregate in the final dissertation, or referred to using a fake name.

Your decision to participate is completely voluntary. You may choose not to participate. If you chose not to participate, simply discard this form and the survey copy. If you would like to contact the researcher to discuss any aspect of the study or to discontinue your participation, you may reach me through email at hrbo@arcadia.edu or at 267-968-4941. You may also contact the supervising faculty of this study, Dr. Peter Appelbaum at email: appelbaum@arcadia.edu or at 215-572-4476. All signed consent forms will be stored in a locked file cabinet in Dr. Peter Appelbaum’s Arcadia University office, Taylor Hall, room 312, to ensure confidentiality. Audio files of the interviews, and transcriptions, will be saved in different locations on the password-protected, personal computer belonging to the researcher. Two years after the completion of the study, all audio files of the interviews, transcriptions and surveys will be destroyed or shredded.

This study has been approved by Arcadia University Institutional Review Board (IRB). To ensure that this research continues to protect your rights and minimizes your risk, the IRB reserves the right to examine and evaluate the data and research protocols involved in this project. If you wish additional information regarding your rights in this study you may contact the Office for the Committee for the Protection of Research Subjects.

Karen Russo, Senior Coordinator, COPRS
2059 Church Road, Glenside, PA 19038
Phone: 267-620-4111; Fax: 215-881-8750; Email: IRB_IACUC@arcadia.edu

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above and have decided to participate in the study. If you later decide to withdraw your participation in the study, you may do so at any time without any negative consequences to your relationship with me or with Arcadia University; simply do not return this consent form or the survey. If you do consent to participate, please send one copy, signed and dated, back to me in the envelope provided. You may keep the second copy for your records.

I appreciate your willingness to consider participation in this study.

Respectfully,

ARCADIA UNIVERSITY
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JUL 18 2017
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Participant Initials: _______
Haewon Rho  
1810 Jefferson Court, North Wales, PA 19454  
Email: hrho@arcadia.edu  
Phone: 267-968-4941

I have read the consent form and have been given a copy of this consent form. This study has been explained to me, and I agree to complete the survey as described above:

Participant Name:__________________________

Signature:__________________________ Date________

Researcher Signature:__________________________ Date________

Details:

Participant Initials: ________
Sample Interview Questions (IRB Net ID: 1082402-1)

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview.

Participation in this interview is completely voluntary. You may skip any question you do not want to answer by simply telling me. We can stop at any time if you wish.

The purpose of this study is to explore the cross-generational transformation of educational beliefs and practices of Korean American parents with respect to their children’s academic achievements, educational attainment, and career choices. Your response is valuable in understanding patterns in Korean-American educational beliefs and practices. Your answers to these questions will be kept confidential and secure.

This interview is divided into four major parts, starting with background information. Then, I would like to know about your parent’s expectations for you regarding your academics and career. Thirdly, I would like to know about your expectations for your child’s academics and career. Lastly, I would like to know your opinion regarding your child’s future as an ethnic minority or Korean-American. Based on your response, I will ask additional questions to clarify my understanding.

1) Let’s start with your family’s immigration background.
   a) Please tell me about the circumstances of your parent’s or parents’ immigration: The year, family composition, and the age of family members, including you.
   b) What was your parents’ socio-economic-status prior to immigration? Please include educational attainment, occupations, and English language proficiency.
   c) What was your parents’ socio-economic-status after immigration? Please include their education, occupation, and location and place of living.
   d) Please tell me about your current socio-economic-status? Please include your education, occupation, and location and place of living. Any religion?

2) Let’s talk about your parents’ educational views and practices on you.
   a) How old were you and what grade were you when you first started the school in America?
   b) What type of school did you attend?
   c) Were you proficient in English? Did you take any ESL class? If you did, for how long?
   d) Please tell me about your parents’ expectations for your academic achievement.
   e) Were their expectations aligned with your own interests or abilities? Were you able to meet their expectations?
   f) Did you parents pay any special attention on a particular subject?
   g) What did they do to ensure your academic achievement?
   h) What was your parents’ involvement in your school or extra-curricular activities?
   i) What were your parents’ aspirations for your post-secondary education and field of study?
   j) What were your parents’ aspirations for your career and occupation for living?
   k) Were their aspirations aligned with your own interest or ability? Were you able to meet their expectations?
APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRES in English – Side 2

1) What has been the most advantageous aspect of being an ethnic minority or Korean-American while you were growing up?

m) What has been the most challenging aspect of being an ethnic minority or Korean-American while you were growing up?

3) Let’s talk about your first child and you.
   a) How old is your first child? What grade? What type of school does the child attend?
   b) Was the child proficient in English when he/she first entered the school?
   c) Please tell me about your expectations for your child’s academic performance. Is there any particular subject area you pay special attention to?
   d) To what degree has your child been able to meet your expectations?
   e) What is the purpose of your specific expectations for your child’s academic performance?
   f) How did you arrive at your specific expectations for your child’s academic performance?
   g) What do you do to ensure your child’s academic success?
   h) What has your involvement been like in your child’s school or extra-curricular activities?
   i) What are your aspirations for your child’s post-secondary education and field of study?
   j) What investments (time, money, energy) do you make in your child’s academic performance and extra-curricular activities?
   k) What are your aspirations for your child’s career and occupation for living?
   l) What is the most important point of consideration behind your aspiration of your kid’s post-secondary education or field of study?
   m) In what aspect, is your way of raising kid closely aligned with your parents’?
   n) In what aspect, is your way of raising kid completely different from your parents’?

4) Let’s talk about the future of Korean-Americans.
   a) Who are Korean-Americans? How do you measure one’s Korean-ness?
   b) What would be, in your thought, the most advantageous aspect of your child being an ethnic minority or Korean-American in his/her near future?
   c) What would be, in your thought, the most challenging aspect of your child being an ethnic minority or Korean-American in his/her near future?
   d) In what aspect do you believe that your child’s generation will be better off than your generation? (Considering education, career, social status, culture, race and ethnic relation, etc.)
   e) In what aspect do you believe that your kid’s generation will be worse off than your generation? (Considering education, career, social status, culture, race and ethnic relation, etc.)

Thank you so much for your help.
APPENDIX F: INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRES in Korean – Side 3

Sample Interview Questions for Interview Participant in Korean (IRB Net ID: 1082402-1)

언터뷰에 자발해 주셔서 감사합니다. 아래의 질문 중 답하시기 곤란하거나 불편한 것은 답하실 필요도 없으셔도 됩니다.
언터뷰 도중에 미안하시면 말씀해 주시기 바랍니다.

이번 연구의 목적은 자녀의 학교 성적, 학력 성취, 직업의 선택에 관한 한인 이민 1세와 1.5세 또는 2세 학부모
간의 자녀 교육 절차 및 교육 방법의 변이 상황을 연구하고자 하는 것입니다. 여러분의 응답은 한인 이민자의
교육 절차 및 교육 방식을 이해함에 있어서 중요한 자료가 되겠습니다. 여러분께서 주시는 응답은 사생활 보호를
위해 안전히 보관하겠습니다.

이번 인터뷰는 이번 배경에 관한 질문부터 시작해서 네 부분으로 나누어져 있습니다. 이어서 여러분의 자녀를
교육시키시면서 가장 고민한 교육 및 직업 선택에 관한 질문을 드리겠습니다. 이어서 여러분의 자녀가
중간하여 자신의 아이를 기르면서 갖고 있는 교육 절차 및 방법에 관한 것입니다. 마지막으로, 미래 한인
후예들이 소수 민족으로 미국에서의 위상에 관한 질문입니다. 주시는 답변에 따라 중간 중간 보충 질문을
드리도록 하겠습니다.

1) 먼저 가족 이민 배경부터 시작하겠습니다.
   a) 이민 배경을 말씀해 주십시오. 연도, 가족 구성, 가족의 연령 등
   b) 미국 이민 오기 전 경제 상황은 어떻게셨습니까? 교육, 직업, 영어 구사 능력 등
   c) 미국 이민 오신 후 경제 상황은 어떻게셨습니까? 교육, 직업, 정착하신 장소 등
   d) 현재 경제 상황은 어떻게셨습니까? 교육, 직업, 사시는 곳, 종교 등.
2) 다음과은 자녀를 교육하시면서 가지셨던 교육 절차 및 방법에 관한 질문입니다.
   a) 미국에 도착할 때 큰 아이의 연령 및 학년은?
   b) 어떤 학교에 다녔습니까? (공립, 사립, 기타)
   c) 영어는 어떻게 배웠나요? ESL 을 했나요? 일일동안?
   d) 자녀의 학업 성취에 대하여 어떤 기대를 가지고셨나요?
   e) 자녀의 재능 또는 능력과 비교하여 적절한 기대였다고 생각하시나요? 그 자녀가 그 기대에 맞게
      성취하셨습니까?
   f) 특별히 관심을 둔 과목은? 성업 성취를 유지하기 위해 특별히 하신 것은?
   g) 학교 활동 및 특별 활동은 어떻게 참여 하셨습니까?
   h) 고등 학교를 마친 후 자녀의 고등 교육 또는 전문에 관한 기대는 어떻게하셨습니까?
   i) 직업 및 직장에 관한 기대는 어떤 것이 있었습니다나?
   j) 그 기대와 자녀의 적성 또는 능력과 어떤 관계가 있었습니다나? 그 기대에 맞게 이루어졌습니까?
HOPES AND STRUGGLES

APPENDIX F: INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRES in Korean – Side 3

k) 자신이 성장하는 과정에 어떤 면에서 한국계 소수 민족인 것이 득이 되었고 생각하십니까?
l) 자신이 성장하는 과정에 어떤 면에서 한국계 소수 민족인 것이 해가 되었고 생각하십니까?

3) 다음은 장성하여 학부모가 된 자녀의 교육 철학 및 교육 방법에 관한 질문입니다.
   a) 큰 아이의 (손자 또는 손녀) 연령, 학년, 재학 중인 학교 (공립, 사립, 기타)
   b) 학교에 진학할 때 영어가 가능했습니까?
   c) 자녀분이 가지고 있는 손자 또는 손녀의 학교 성적에 관한 기대는 어떻게 생각하십니까? 특별히 감상할 무르 과목이 있습니까?
   d) 손자 또는 손녀의 학교 성적이 자녀분의 기대에 맞추어 잘 하고 있습니까?
   e) 자녀분이 손자 또는 손녀의 학교 성적에 관해 가지고 있는 관심의 이유 또는 근거는 무엇이고 라고 생각합니까?
   f) 자녀분의 그 관심에 마주한 손자 또는 손녀의 학업을 위해 취하는 행동에는 어떤 것이 있습니까?
   g) 자녀분이 손자 또는 손녀의 학교 활동 및 특별 활동에 어떻게 참여하고 있습니까?
   h) 자녀분이 손자 또는 손녀의 고등학교 졸업 후 교육 또는 전공은 어떤 것을 원하는지 아십니까?
   i) 자녀분이 손자 또는 손녀의 학업 또는 특별 활동을 위해 시간 또는 금전적으로 투자하는 것은 어떤 것이 있습니까?
   j) 자녀분이 손자 또는 손녀의 미래 직업 또는 직종에 관한 어떤 특별한 기대가 있습니까?
   k) 자녀분이 손자 또는 손녀의 미래 학업, 직종의 선택에 있어서 특별한 고려 사항이 있습니까?
   l) 어떠한 면에서 자녀분의 교육 방향이 나와 많이 미치하다고 생각하십니까?
   m) 어떠한 면에서 자녀분의 교육 방향이 나와 많이 다르다고 생각하십니까?

4) 다음은 한인 후손의 미래에 대해서 질문을 드려겠습니다.
   a) 한인 후혜라 한때 어떻게 정의하십니까? 어떻게 한인 후혜를 측정할 수 있습니까?
   b) 어떤 면에서 미래에 한인 후혜로서 특이 되는 것은 어떤 것이 있다고 생각하십니까?
   c) 어떤 면에서 미래에 한인 후혜로서 특이 되는 것은 어떤 것이 있다고 생각하십니까?
   d) 어떤 면에서 (교육, 직종, 사회 계층, 문화, 연중 등) 한인 후혜의 미래가 지금보다 낫아질 것이라고 생각하신가?
   e) 어떤 면에서 (교육, 직종, 사회 계층, 문화, 연중 등) 한인 후혜의 미래가 지금보다 나빠질 것이라고 생각하십니까?

이렇게 귀한 시간을 내주셔서 대단히 감사합니다.
APPENDIX G: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES – Side 1

Instructions for Survey Questionnaires

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this survey. Please do not write your name on this survey.

The purpose of this study is to explore the cross-generational transformation of educational beliefs and practices of Korean American parents with respect to their children's academic achievements, educational attainment, and career choices. This survey contains questions about your demographic background and other questions related to the above topics.

Your answers to these questions will be kept confidential and secure. This survey is completely voluntary. You may skip any question you do not want to answer. Please use check mark (✓) or write-in to indicate your most appropriate response. Your candid response is valuable in understanding patterns of Korean American educational beliefs and practices.

SECTION A: Demographic Information

1) What is your first child's grade level?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kinder</th>
<th>1-2</th>
<th>3-4</th>
<th>5-6</th>
<th>7-8</th>
<th>9-10</th>
<th>11-12</th>
<th>College</th>
<th>Beyond</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

If your first child is not old enough to be in a Kindergarten program, then you do not meet the criteria for this study. Please stop completing this survey now, and do not return it to the researcher. Thank you.

2) How old were you when you first arrived in the United States of America?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Was born in the U.S.</th>
<th>1-2</th>
<th>3-4</th>
<th>5-6</th>
<th>7-8</th>
<th>9-10</th>
<th>11-12</th>
<th>13-14</th>
<th>Older</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

If you were older than 14 years of age when you first arrived in the U.S., you do not satisfy the criteria for this study. Please stop completing this survey now, and do not return it to the researcher. Thank you.

3) How old are you now (years)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>≤ 25</th>
<th>26-30</th>
<th>31-35</th>
<th>36-40</th>
<th>41-45</th>
<th>46-50</th>
<th>51-55</th>
<th>56-60</th>
<th>61-65</th>
<th>66+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

4) Gender: 5) Marital Status:

<p>| | | | | | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Partnered</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6) What percentage of the time do you speak Korean in your daily communication with your first child?

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English Only</td>
<td>about 20%</td>
<td>about 40%</td>
<td>about 60%</td>
<td>about 80%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Korean Only
**SECTION B: Your Elementary and Secondary Education**

1) Where did **you** receive the following education or training? (Leave blank if it is not applicable.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In Korea</th>
<th>In U.S.</th>
<th>Other Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□ Elementary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□ Middle School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□ High School or GED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□ Training through Military Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□ Associate’s Degree or Vocational Certificate at a Junior College or Community College (A.A. or A.S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□ Bachelor’s Degree at a College or University (B.S., B.A.; etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□ Master’s Degree or Certificate of Advanced Graduate Study (M.A.; M.S.; etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□ Doctor’s Degree or Post-Graduate Professional Degree (Ph.D.; M.D.; D.D.S.; J.D.; etc.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How likely are you to agree with the following statements?

2) My **mother** set high academic standards for me in elementary and secondary school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>Definitely don’t agree</th>
<th>Probably don’t agree</th>
<th>Neither agree or disagree</th>
<th>Probably agree</th>
<th>Definitely agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3) My **father** set high academic standards for me in elementary and secondary school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>Definitely don’t agree</th>
<th>Probably don’t agree</th>
<th>Neither agree or disagree</th>
<th>Probably agree</th>
<th>Definitely agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4) In what three subjects did you excel most during your elementary and secondary school years?

5) What three subjects did your parents care most about with regard to your academic performance?
6) Did you participate in any in-school or outside-of-school non-academic extra-curricular activities (such as athletics, playing instrument, performing arts, etc.) while you were attending elementary and secondary school?

<p>| | | | |</p>
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</thead>
</table>
| No | Yes | If “Yes”, list the activities.

7) How important was your performance in extra-curricular activities to your mother?

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| N/A | Not important | Somewhat important | Important | Very important | Of utmost importance

8) How important was your performance in extra-curricular activities to your father?

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| N/A | Not important | Somewhat important | Important | Very important | Of utmost importance

9) How often did your parents participate in your school activities each year (such as parent-teacher conferences, PTA, concerts, athletic events, etc.)?

<p>| | | | | |</p>
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<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| None | A few | Some | Many | Most | All of them

10) If your parents did not participate in school activities, what were the reasons? You may choose multiple reasons.

- My parent didn’t have any issues with participation.
- My parents did not care.
- My parents had too little time.
- Language barriers and cultural isolation deterred my parents.
- My parents were overwhelmed, intimidated, or unwelcomed at school.
- Lack of resources such as transportation or childcare.
- I didn’t allow my parents’ participation.
- Other reason. Please specify.
### APPENDIX G: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES – Side 4

**SECTION C: Career and Occupation**

1) Did your **mother** insist on a specific field of study or degree for you to pursue after high school?

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>If &quot;Yes&quot;, what field?</td>
<td>What degree?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) Did your **father** insist a specific field of study or degree for you to pursue after high school?

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>If &quot;Yes&quot;, what field?</td>
<td>What degree?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3) Did your **mother** insist on your attendance at a specific college or university?

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>If &quot;Yes&quot;, for what reason?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4) Did your **father** insist on your attendance at a specific college or university?

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>If &quot;Yes&quot;, for what reason?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5) Who made the final decision about your field of study, degree, or college?

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Me</td>
<td>Collective Decision</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6) What skills, certifications, or degrees did your first full-time job require?

- [ ] It required a professional certification or license.
- [ ] It required special knowledge or proficiencies that I learned through education.
- [ ] It required special athletic, artistic, or performing talents.
- [ ] It required no particular skills or training.
- [ ] It required an entrepreneurial attitude.

7) Was your first full-time job related to your field of study?

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>If &quot;No&quot;, please briefly describe the difference.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8) Have you made (or considered making) a career change since your first full-time job?

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>If &quot;Yes&quot;, please briefly describe the reason.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### SECTIONS D: Your expectations regarding your child’s education

1) How many children do you have?  
   - [ ] 1  
   - [ ] 2  
   - [ ] 3  
   - [ ] 4+  

2) What is the gender of your first child?  
   - [ ] Male  
   - [ ] Female  

3) What type of school does your first child attend?  
   - [ ] Public School  
   - [ ] Charter School  
   - [ ] Parochial School  
   - [ ] Private School  
   - [ ] Home School

4) How important are your child’s academic grades to you?  
   - [ ] N/A  
   - [ ] Not important  
   - [ ] Somewhat important  
   - [ ] Important  
   - [ ] Very important  
   - [ ] Of utmost importance

5) Who is responsible for your child’s academic grades?  
   - [ ] Myself  
   - [ ] Child  
   - [ ] Peer  
   - [ ] Teacher  
   - [ ] School  
   - [ ] Other

6) If your child’s academic grades were not to your expectations, how would you remediate the situation?  
   - [ ] I will help.  
   - [ ] Encourage or push child.  
   - [ ] Find a tutor.  
   - [ ] Seek help from teacher.  
   - [ ] Other

7) Check three major reasons why your child’s academic achievement is important.  
   - [ ] Good grades will lead my child to a good college.  
   - [ ] Good grades will secure my child’s future success.  
   - [ ] Good grades provide family pride. Bad grades damage a family’s reputation.  
   - [ ] Good grades mean my child is disciplined with good working habit.  
   - [ ] Other. Please specify.  
   - [ ] Other. Please specify.

8) Does your child participate in any school-based or community-based extracurricular activities?  
   - [ ] No  
   - [ ] Yes  
   - [ ] If “Yes”, list the activities.
### APPENDIX G: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES – Side 6

9) How important are your child’s extra-curricular activities to you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>Not important</th>
<th>Somewhat important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Very important</th>
<th>Of utmost importance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

10) What is your responsibility to your child? Number the following items in order of importance from 1 to 5.

- Teaching good citizenship and respect for others
- Teaching good work habits and life skills
- Providing good educational opportunities
- Providing secure job skills
- Providing a physically and psychologically healthy environment
- Other. Please specify

11) What level of education do you expect your child to attain?

- High School Diploma or GED
- Vocational Certificate or Associate’s Degree (A.A. or A.S.)
- Bachelor’s Degree at a College or University (B.S., B.A.; etc.)
- Master’s Degree or Certificate of Advanced Graduate Study (M.A.; M.S.; etc.)
- Doctor’s Degree or Post-Graduate Professional Degree (Ph.D.; M.D.; D.D.S.; J.D.; etc.)

12) What future profession or occupation do you envision for your child?

- Inventor, Investor, or Entrepreneur
- Professional Sports, Artist, Singer, Performer, or Media Entertainer
- Career Military Service, Law Enforcement, Civil Service, or Elected Public Officer
- Vocational Technician with Vocational Certificate or Skills, Small Business Owner
- Marketing, Finance, Business Management and Administration
- Science and Researcher, Information Technology, Engineer, Manufacturer
- Professional with Professional Degree or License (Medical Doctor, Dentist, Lawyer, etc.)
- Architecture, Construction Worker, Contractor, Real Estate Developer
- Journalist, Writer, Publisher, Educator
- Other. Please specify
SECTION E: Supplementary Questions

1) When choosing a career, what would be the order of importance of the following items, from 1 to 5?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Your parents (for you)</th>
<th>You (for your child)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial reward</td>
<td>Financial reward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job security</td>
<td>Job security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prestige and respect from others</td>
<td>Prestige and respect from others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority and power</td>
<td>Authority and power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alignment with talent and aptitude</td>
<td>Alignment with talent and aptitude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other. Please specify.</td>
<td>Other. Please specify.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) How likely are you to agree with the following statement? “I believe that my parenting style is similar to that of my parents.”

- [ ] Definitely don’t agree
- [ ] Probably don’t agree
- [ ] Neither agree or disagree
- [ ] Probably agree
- [ ] Definitely agree

3) Please provide one or two examples of similarities or differences between your parenting style and that of your parents.

4) How likely are you to agree with the following statement? “I believe that my expectations for my child’s academic performance are similar to those of my parents for me.”

- [ ] Definitely don’t agree
- [ ] Probably don’t agree
- [ ] Neither agree or disagree
- [ ] Probably agree
- [ ] Definitely agree

5) Please provide one or two examples of similarities or differences between your parenting style and that of your parents.

6) How likely are you to agree with the following statement? “I believe that my expectations for my child’s career are similar to those of my parents for me.”

- [ ] Definitely don’t agree
- [ ] Probably don’t agree
- [ ] Neither agree or disagree
- [ ] Probably agree
- [ ] Definitely agree
7) Please provide one or two examples of similarities or differences between your parenting style and that of your parents.

8) What level of racial prejudice, discrimination or barriers did you experience in your career?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>None at all</th>
<th>Slight</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Very high</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

9) What level of racial prejudice, discrimination or barriers do you think your child will experience in their future career?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N/A</th>
<th>None at all</th>
<th>Slight</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Very high</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

10) What are the most important factors for your child to achieve his/her American Dream? Pick three items.

- [ ] Prestigious of college attended or graduated
- [ ] Field of study (up-and-coming trending occupation)
- [ ] Level of educational attainment (degree or certificate)
- [ ] Family financial resources
- [ ] Personal talent and aptitude
- [ ] Diligent and honest hard work
- [ ] Specific hand-on skills
- [ ] Creativeness, entrepreneurial spirits
- [ ] Family connections
- [ ] Communication skill, person skill
- [ ] Other. Please specify.

11) What was your average yearly personal income during the past three years?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Below 30K</th>
<th>31-45K</th>
<th>46-60K</th>
<th>61-75K</th>
<th>76-90K</th>
<th>91K or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

12) What is your religious affiliation?

Thank you so much for your help. Please return this completed survey to the researcher, Haewan Rho, using the self-addressed, stamped envelope provided, together with a signed copy of the consent form.
If you have any questions, you may contact the researcher using the following methods: Email: hrho@arcadia.edu; Phone: 267-968-4941