

Socialization of morality as a cultural value in young children:

Perspectives of first generation Korean American mothers

Hyeyoon Park

A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2014

Reading Committee:

Brinda Jegatheesan, Chair

Virginia Wise Berninger

Shirley Hune

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

College of Education

© Copyright 2014  
Hyeyoon Park

University of Washington

**Abstract**

Socialization of morality as a cultural value in young children:

Perspectives of first generation Korean American mothers

Hyeyoon Park

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Associate Professor Brinda Jegatheesan

College of Education

This study examines first generation Korean American mothers' perspectives of moral values envisioned in either Korean or American culture or both, with emphasis on their socialization practices for their children reflecting the challenges of their ethnic reality within two disparate cultures in their everyday life. A qualitative methodology that included in-depth interviews, participant-observations of mother-child communicative interactions on specific topics (e.g., friendship, classroom behavior that considers a teacher's well-being), and maternal focus group interviews was used in this study. The findings show that maternal cultural value systems regarding the relations between self and others provide one of the most important socialization themes for children. While these mothers strive for success and acculturation in the United States as immigrants, they simultaneously struggle between the Korean cultural emphasis of dependent and harmonious relationships with others and the American values of individual confidence and independence. Mothers criticized the Korean culture in terms of forcing individuals to constantly lose the true nature of who they are as a person. Mothers also believed that the context in which negative behavior takes place can be rationalized as one that is acceptable or not depending on the context in which the behavior occurs. This finding suggests that morality as cultural value is not universal and is connected to belief systems of people, questioning the 'cognitive developmental theory,' which assumes

the universality of moral development as individuals' react to social environments. This study shows the difference between what people think about moral behavior and what they actually do in interaction with other people in real life. The fluid and varied experiences of the mothers in real life supports the criticism of the overgeneralized notions of ethnic identity, called 'essentialism,' treating minority groups as fixed entities such as Asian Americans who are depicted as a 'model minority' group. Ethnic identity is not a set of prescribed rules; instead it is individual history that is experienced and interpreted throughout one's life.

To my sweet girls, Sheamin and Bomin, and Sun-woo, my best friend.

## Acknowledgements

This dissertation would not have been possible without the support and encouragement I received from my advisor, Brinda Jegatheesan. Her profound understanding of my subject of interests has been critical for the process of my learning in every step of this study. With so much patience and caring, she fostered the same caring and fascination in me to pursue the knowledge and understand the human mind. I have benefited greatly from the comments received from Shirley Hune and Virginia Berninger. I am deeply grateful for the unconditional love that my family has given me. They have accepted me as who I am. I would also like to thank the participant families for sharing their family intimacy and time.

## Table of Contents

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Chapter One. Introduction.....  | 1  |
| History of Korean American Immigration.....   | 2  |
| Historical Factors Influencing Korean American Parenting.....   | 4  |
| Purpose of the Study.....   | 5  |
| Significance of the Study.....  | 5  |
| Research Questions.....   | 6  |
| Chapter Two. Literature Review.....   | 8  |
| Ethnic Minority Identity: Overcoming Overgeneralization.....  | 8  |
| Parenting Socialization of Culture: Generic Culture vs. Micro-interpersonal<br>Relations.....                                 | 13 |
| Interactions as Social Process: Bilingual Socialization.....  | 16 |
| Moral Development in Korean Culture.....  | 22 |
| Chapter Three. Research Design and Methodology.....   | 28 |
| Participants.....   | 29 |
| Access and Recruitment.....   | 29 |
| Description of Families.....  | 29 |
| Procedure.....  | 30 |
| Informed Consent.....   | 30 |
| Demographic Survey and Qualitative Survey.....  | 31 |
| Data Collection.....  | 31 |
| Interviews with Mothers.....  | 31 |
| Observations and Field Notes.....   | 32 |
| Focus Group Interviews.....   | 34 |
| Data Analysis.....  | 35 |
| Transcription.....  | 35 |
| Development of Analytic Codes.....  | 37 |
| Chapter Four. Korean American Mothers' Understanding of Moral Values and Goals; "What<br>Is Right or Wrong? It Depends."..... | 40 |
| Relationship: Contexts of people.....   | 42 |
| Emotions: Korean concept of empathy ' <i>jeong</i> '-feeling duty as a human being.....                                       | 46 |
| Chapter Five. Cultural Morality and Selfhood as Ethnic Identity.....  | 50 |
| Recognition and evaluation of others as a good (' <i>chakhan</i> ') person (vs. a good<br>citizen).....                       | 50 |
| Layers of self.....   | 52 |
| Expanded self: Fluid concept of 'we (' <i>woori</i> ')' as Korean identity.....   | 52 |
| Mother-child attachment based on Korean culture: "My child as extended<br>'I".....  | 54 |
| "Double standard": Struggle between ideal type as a part of ' <i>woori</i> ' and<br>being oneself.....                        | 56 |
| Chapter Six. Processes of Socialization of Morality and Challenges of Two Cultures.....                                       | 60 |
| Socialization of Social Acceptance.....   | 60 |
| Close observation of people in contexts and in specific situations.....   | 60 |
| "Kids are kids": Reminding children of their role in relationship and<br>obligation to others as a group member.....          | 63 |
| "Being in others' skin": Feelings as a consequence of morality and giving the<br>benefit of the doubt to others.....          | 65 |
| Acculturation.....  | 68 |
| Emotional motivation for immigration: Evaluation of Americans being self-   |    |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| sufficient.....   | 68  |
| Distancing themselves from Korean cultural pressure: Criticizing “being good” and finding one’s self..... | 70  |
| Struggles of being in-between.....  | 73  |
| Chapter Seven. Discussions and Conclusions.....   | 78  |
| Morality as Cultural Value System, Identity, and Emotions.....  | 78  |
| Ethnic Identity as Action: Fluidity beyond Description.....   | 81  |
| Limitations.....  | 83  |
| Implications and Recommendations for Research.....  | 84  |
| References.....   | 86  |
| Appendices  |     |
| Appendix A: Interview Questions .....   | 95  |
| Appendix B: Focus Group Guide .....   | 96  |
| Appendix C: Family Information Survey.....  | 97  |
| Appendix D: Parent Consent Permission Form.....   | 98  |
| Appendix E: Focus Group Consent Form.....   | 101 |
| Appendix F: Assent Form.....  | 104 |
| Appendix G: Web Advertisement Prompt.....   | 106 |
| Appendix H: Email Introduction.....   | 107 |

## List of Tables

|                                 |    |
|---------------------------------|----|
| Table 1 Family Information..... | 30 |
|---------------------------------|----|

List of Figures

Figure 1 Process of Data Collection.....35

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

Asian Americans including Korean Americans have been depicted as ‘model minority’ groups in the United States. They have been regarded as diligent, smart, and successful. This ostensibly positive stereotype has proved to be problematic (Lee, 1996; Lee & Kumashiro, 2005; Lew, 2006; Young, 1998). The model minority stereotype conceals the influence of race and its surrounding social structure, and discomfits both Asian Americans and other ethnic groups who do not live up to the ‘model.’ Even those who fit the stereotype would soon reach the limit at the most as ‘middleman minority’ groups (Bonacich, 1973). Middleman minorities succeed above other minorities, but they encounter the discrimination of the dominant group and restriction of the cultural values of their ethnic group. The very values that motivate them could limit their potential in trying other possibilities beyond the stereotype. On the other hand, there have been disapproving responses to the so-called positive stereotype, which point out that Asian Americans are not perceptive of critical thinking because of their desire to conform to social norms and their motivation to satisfy family pride and achieve social status (Kuhn, 2006).

Both idealization and disparagement have the same problem; overgeneralization and oversimplification. It conceals the differences related to class, language, gender, immigration status, and the multitudes of challenges and hardships in each family’s life due to changes in parenting styles and values. For example, Ogbu (1992) illustrates that voluntary immigrant groups across cultures and nationalities actively acquire attitudes and behaviors for acculturation, while involuntary groups such as refugees resist adaptation as depreciation of their original culture. Socioeconomic backgrounds have been highlighted as another factor that complicates the notion of simplistic ethnic stereotypes (Lew, 2004). Socioeconomic differences within Korean American communities result in individuals’ different responses

and interpretations of ethnic identity and social reality.

Given that any kind of ethnic stereotype is misleading, it does not necessary mean that ethnic identity is not meaningful. Ethnic identity plays a significant role in education (Rumbaut, 1994). Thus, what should be studied is how individuals with different socioeconomic backgrounds and motivations of immigration negotiate and interpret the meaning of ethnic identity and practice in real-life situations.

Although not much research exists that directly addresses Korean American immigrants' intrinsic motivations and expectations of immigration, studies have indicated that the definition of success for Korean Americans is more closely related with financial gain and less with educational attainment (Miller, Sung, & Seligman, 1999; Kim, 1993). This result seems to be incongruent with other studies that pointed out the core value in Korean culture was children's education (Yang & Rettig, 2003). This complex aspiration reveals that their concept of values of education is placed in their own cultural value system. They do not want to educate their children just because of a greater opportunity for success or competitiveness. The intrinsic motivation of education should be investigated (e.g., fulfilling a person's innate values). Thus, in terms of educating their children, what they think about being a good and valuable person is related with their own motivation of a strong desire of education.

### **History of Korean American Immigration**

The history of Korean American immigration consists of two waves (Patterson, 2013). The first official immigration started when about 7,000 Koreans came to Hawaii in 1903. The second wave of Korean immigration began with the 1965 revision of U.S. immigration laws, which liberalized immigration by giving equal opportunity to all countries. Since the laws took effect in 1968, most Korean Americans came from South Korea accounting for 95 percent of Korean Americans today. The Koreans in the United States,

including multiracial Koreans, is estimated at more than 1.7 million in 2010 (Min, 2013). Most of them voluntarily moved to the United States with a college education and pre-immigration, middle class socioeconomic status (Kim & Park, 2013). They had to take jobs of lower status than they held before they immigrated (Gudykunst, 2001). Fong (1998) also shows that the post- 1965 Asian immigrants are “better educated, and better off economically than pre-1965 Asian immigrants” (p.68). Gudykunst (2001) described that many of them worked or ran small businesses in ethnic enclaves. The confinement of their economic structure contributed to their upholding the traditional family structure: husbands work outside as breadwinners without being involved in household labor, and wives take care of housekeeping and children’s education as soon as the family financial situation allows them to stay home (Hurh & Kim, 1984).

Kim and Park (2013) explicate the Korean American immigrants’ life experience as two pillars: “achievement of the middle-class dream and ethnic church participation” (p. 1082). This lifestyle was closely related with the situations that they left in Korea. They experienced insecurity in Korea such as the fear of another war after the Korean War, military corruption, and rapid industrialization. In particular, rapid industrialization in the 1970s and 1980s prompted the urban middle class immigration to the United States. They worked hard to realize the middle class dream.

In this process, they have experienced hardship and challenges of settlement, which have made them seek out the meaning of their life as immigrants. Most of them have turned to a Protestant faith that is also prevalent in South Korea. Some studies suggest that more than 70 percent of current Korean immigrants are Christians including about 10 percent Catholics. Hurh and Kim (1984) show that Korean Americans expressed their motives for attending church as religious and psychological. Specifically, they went to ethnic churches for a sense of belonging as religion and ethnicity (Hurh & Kim, 1984) reflecting “persisting

importance of an ethnic fellowship as well as a Christian fellowship” (p. 136).

### **Historical Factors Influencing Korean American Parenting**

Korean Americans have turned to their children’s education as an opportunity to realize the middle class dream. Fong (1998) maintains that both race and class play a critical role in Asian American’s educational success. In particular, parental pressure and high expectations for their academic success is common among Asian Americans who believe that education is the most important means to get ahead in the U.S. society. Confucian ideals have also greatly contributed to their belief in the importance of family, the value of education, and the need for conformity and social order (Lee, 2004). Lee (2004) observes that the Confucian ideal of “filial piety, a strict societal hierarchy, the idea that children must respect their parents leads to the perception that the parents’ primary role is to provide for their children, while the children’s primary role is to serve and respect their parents” (p. 274). This ideal provides a background for the close involvement of Korean American parents in their children's education. Regarding another factor in Asian American parents' hard work for their children's success, Chao and Tseng (1995) explain that “Confucian views regarding the nature of the child have been captured in analogies such as ‘children are like white paper,’ indicating their innocence, lack of knowledge, and innate goodness” (p. 60). This allows parents to be masters of their children's future. This view has influenced the traditional Asian parenting practices: value based childrearing, emphasis on academic achievement, parents’ involvement in children’s education, and family interdependence (Chao & Tseng, 1995).

Traditional ways of parenting among Asian Americans have changed as they adjust to the United States. For example, the effect of a generational divide between Korean American parents and their children who are influenced by the contrasting American culture, contributes to distant parent-child relationships (Lee, 2004; Chao & Tseng, 1995). The traditional roles of parent and child are also changed. Kim, Kim, and Hurh (1991) find that

Korean American parents rely on their children in figuring out how the U.S. society functions, and the parents lose their authority and respect. Despite the change of parenting in the face of challenges as immigrants, Asian parents' concern over children's educational achievement is clear (Chao & Tseng, 1995). Chao and Tseng maintain that Asian American parents hold on to the belief that they are responsible for children's academic success. Thus, they try to heavily involve themselves in their children's education and promote their academic success with available resources depending on their environment.

### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to examine Korean American mothers' beliefs on morality as a cultural value and the strategy they use to socialize their children into moral beings. In addition, this study seeks to uncover the layers of the cultural value system that influence mothers' thoughts, actions, and evaluations of moral behavior to discover how they struggle between two different sets of cultural values. Through in-depth interviews and observations, Korean American mothers' own voices are heard with their own language practices.

Through these findings, this study provides real-life cases to support sociocultural development of morality compared to universal cognitive development theories. The experiences of the participant mothers exemplify the sociocultural development theory that morality is socialized by interaction as processes and experiences of individuals. In addition, I discuss how the construct of multicultural and multilingual ethnic identity is negotiated in relationships in everyday situations.

### **Significance of the Study**

This study intends to contribute to the understanding of morality as cultural values, not as universal reasoning by differentiating people's moral reasoning and moral actions in real life. It also enriches the understanding of ethnic identity as fluid interactions with others

and not as a static stereotype.

The findings of this study suggest that moral education for children should consider the cultural specificity. The concept of self in the cultural value system plays the most important role in people's moral decisions.

Also, participant observation and in-depth interview, the research methodologies I use, help reveal that what people say and do is not always consistent. The inconsistency is a valuable clue to uncover embedded value systems. Focus group interviews also help confirm the meanings of individual variances.

### **Research Questions**

1. How do Korean American mothers understand what kind of moral values and goals are envisioned in either Korean or American culture or both?
2. How are the moral concepts that Korean American immigrants have developed connected with their ethnic identity?
3. How does a personal history of immigration and ethnic reality involving the motivation to immigrate, language loss and gain, and desire to assimilate influence parenting strategies and practices?
4. How do Korean American immigrant mothers socialize their children into moral beings during everyday interactions using two languages? What are the challenges in dealing with their children raised with two cultural influences?

In Chapter 2, I provide a literature review of the theoretical and empirical background to understand the issue of ethnic identity of immigrants and moral development. The studies that examine Korean American cultural values and adaptation are reviewed. My research design and methodology is explained in Chapter 3. The recruiting of participant families, the process of data collection, the examples of interview questions, and data analysis are included. In Chapter 4, the participant mothers' understanding of moral values and goals

is described. Their relative concept of morality is explained. The second research question about the relations between the moral concepts and their ethnic identity is also addressed. In Chapter 5, the Korean language practices are provided as examples. The cultural values of self in relation with others are emphasized. In Chapter 6, I describe how mothers deal with the reality as immigrants. I also explain how their own interpretation about their immigration decision and two disparate cultures contributes to their motivation for assimilation in the United States. In Chapter 7, I discuss morality as a cultural value system and how identity plays an important role in people's moral actions. Emotions are a crucial tool to socialize children to learn certain moral values. The limitations and implications of this study are also included.

## Chapter 2

### Literature Review

#### **Ethnic Minority Identity: Overcoming Overgeneralization**

The “overgeneralized notions of similarity and difference” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) among ethnic identity, called ‘essentialism,’ are apparently simplistic and problematic in treating minority groups as fixed entities (Orellana & Bowman, 2003). However, it does not mean that the investigation of ethnic identity is obsolete or impossible. Are there not some markers that make them a bounded group with special traits, characteristics, or formulas of behavior? Such questions should be replaced by how and why ethnicity works for real people in real life situations because the moment we decide to pin down a specific point defining ethnicity, the definition would slip through the overlapped and complex meanings of all involved people and contexts. Ethnicity is not static but fluid.

Ethnic identity still plays an important role in individuals’ everyday interactions and choices. For example, Park (2007) finds that Korean American ethnic identity serves as a mechanism to maintain Korean language fluency. However, ethnic identity is not an independent variable directly causing the language maintenance, but plays a role in keeping family cohesion, which in turn promotes the positive experience and practices of the heritage language. Individuals do not select nor consider some similarity out of their group to make choices, but they act on their own and share the meaning with others during interactions (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). During this process and interactions, individuals experience and practice ethnicity. Bucholtz and Hall (2004) explicate that “social grouping is a process not merely of discovering or acknowledging a similarity that precedes and establishes identity but, more fundamentally, of inventing similarity by downplaying difference” (p. 371). Every individual in a group is different, and even one person acts differently moment to moment.

Agency of individuals making choices and drawing on the shared meaning of ethnic

identity can be a key to overcoming essentialism and at the same time, acquiring generalizability. This understanding of agency of individuals would reveal how ethnic identity works in individuals' everyday life contexts with others. The core dynamics in constructing identity are agency and power relations in individuals' interactions. Individuals as agents choose and negotiate meanings of ethnicity in terms of broader social power relationships. Young (1998) explores Asian Pacific American children's coping strategies being faced with conflicting demands to assimilate to the dominant society and maintain their ethnic heritage. He also points out the importance of acknowledging the diversity even within one ethnic group, arguing that "the loss of one's heritage is not the source of an 'unhealthy' ethnic identity. Rather, it is the perceived deficiency of self in terms of being a cultural being as well as an empowered American" (p. 72).

In terms of dynamics among ethnic group differences, researchers investigating Korean American ethnicity have also found how Korean American immigrants' own perceptions of Korean and American identity have been constructed and how they cope with two distinct associated cultures. Cross-cultural and comparative research yields cases to explain what makes the Korean American ethnic minority group distinct and their cultural motivations as they adapt to their new life in the United States. Lew (2006) compares middle-class, high-achieving Korean American high school students and low-achieving Korean American dropouts. High-achieving students actively employ Korean ethnic identity and utilize ethnic resources and networks, but low-achieving counterparts identify themselves more with general minority status of being poor and experiencing racial, ethnic, and class discrimination. Culture and ethnicity is fluid in the process, negotiation, and interpretation according to individuals' social contexts. Louie (2004) finds a similar complexity within Chinese American students. In both studies, high-achieving Korean American and Chinese American students view education as an ultimate means to overcome the racial discrimination

they perceive. Emphasis on education has been intensified when they have met with opportunities to improve their education such as community afterschool programs or to confirm the importance of education while talking with their parents. Ethnic culture does not have the causal power to influence their choices. They actively interpret and understand their identity and social environment. Culture is not an independent variable outside of individuals or the social structure.

Although comparison provides clear and contrasting images (e.g., Choi, 1995), definitive frames, applied to two distinctive systems of values, could miss the layered cultural motivations. Jung and Stinnett (2005) compare Koreans, Korean Americans, and Caucasians in social and emotional functions. Their findings are consistent with previous image of Koreans who are less self-reliant, showing less positive affect as studies (Choi, 1995; Kim & Hong, 2007) indicate. Although they try to interpret these seemingly negative traits, not as pathological issues, but as the cultural system behind these, they do not go further than pointing out the static image of behaviors based on traditional Korean values, which are described as Korean collectivism: “family interest comes before the individual interest” (p.319), or “an adaptive family pattern where the boundary between self and non-self is less rigid for Asians” (p.320).

However, when Park and Jegatheesan (2012a) place the concept of self in Korean culture in the whole system of emotions and relational values unfolding during interactions, family members are found to actively negotiate and construct cultural self. Their overt strategies might seem that they simply try to adapt to English speaking communicative norms. However, their externally calm and obedient looks are misleading. Moreover, with their shared cultural and communicative tools, self in Korean culture is more like a process to vigorously realize the value of individuals. Their pauses and silence during conversation in English are a way of conveying Korean cultural messages. Park and Jegatheesan (2012a) find

that one of the most important cultural messages is that self is a process of negotiation with others beyond static boundaries or cognitive mental reasoning. In the parenting process, Korean American parents instill selfhood as emotional caring and empathy into their children. Korean American children also exert their negotiations utilizing cultural strategy. Thus Korean American families do not use much verbal communication to accomplish their intentions for other family members, but they rather use subtle and culturally appropriate tactics such as pause and gaze (Park & Jegatheesan, 2012a). Thus, comparative studies need careful interpretation based on the whole cultural system.

Vinden's study (2001) on the relationship between Korean American parents' comparatively authoritarian parenting style and their children's performance on theory-of-mind tasks also gives a clue that simple comparison or surface presentation would not predict educational results. The hypothesis that Korean American children with authoritarian parents would be poorer in critical understanding of reasoning than children with authoritative parents proves to be wrong. They outperform even Anglo-American children with authoritarian parents. One aspect of parenting style, whether being authoritative or authoritarian, is not meaningful to understand the whole structure or parenting culture and its effects. Culture should be understood in its own terms and contexts. Simple advice to Korean American parents not to be authoritarian compared to Anglo-Americans would be misleading. Being authoritarian means and exerts different educational outcomes according to the whole background of culture. Although cross-cultural comparison gives a clear picture of issues, it is difficult to avoid the danger of picking out a similar, but not the same, aspect and meaning from both groups.

The studies focusing on how minority ethnicity plays out in individual realities lead our attention to various relationships between ethnic identity and surrounding social historical personal contexts. Jung and Stinnett (2005) find that the crucial challenge for Korean

American lies in children who experience discontinuity in the expectations and standards of home and the dominant society with data on higher anxiety and social stress comparing to both Korean and American children. Jung and Stinnett compare social, emotional, behavioral, and school adjustment factors among Korean, Korean American, and Caucasian American children, ages 8 to 11, and their parents using the Behavior Assessment System for Children (BASC), Self-Report of Personality (SRP), and the Parent Rating Scale (PRS). The Korean American children showed more adjustment difficulties because of demands for rapid adaptation to American culture and the inherent conflict between Korean collectivism and Western individualism.

Kim and Hong (2007) study how first-generation Korean American parents understood different discipline strategies and styles for both Koreans and Americans and how they choose and forgo aspects of either culture in exercising discipline for their children. They find that “cultural ideology is mingled in shaping parents’ view of acceptable discipline styles” (p. 66). The seven participants’ specific practices in the study were not homogeneous. The interview data reveal that as first-generation Korean American parents adapt to American culture, they try to stop what they perceived to be negative Korean-style discipline such as spanking or hitting and to adopt positive American style such as time-out and control of privileges. Their adaptation process is a result of their perception of living in two distinct cultures. They also reveal different personal and individual reasoning about understanding both cultures. Zhou and Kim (2006) argue that cultural values are enacted by accommodating social and structural support. They attempt to answer the question of how much of Korean and Chinese culture, which emphasizes hard work, perseverance, and high achievement, can account for these ethnic groups’ educational success by comparing two groups’ ethnic systems of supplementary education such as after school activities. They find that “ethnicity cannot be simplified into a proxy for culture because it encompasses not only values and

behavioral patterns, but also group-specific social structures that may be contingent upon circumstance prior to and after immigration” (p.3). They use the case of supplementary education structure to explain that ethnic culture should not be treated as an independent and static factor that commands individuals’ behavior, but as a process and interaction with the whole story.

### **Parenting Socialization of Culture: Generic Culture vs. Micro-interpersonal Relations**

Parental socialization has been studied across cultures. In every culture, parenting practices reflect specific cultural values and belief systems. As a result, the experiences and development of children vary from culture to culture (Harkness & Super, 1995). Weisner (1997), who reports distinct concepts and themes of parenting, point out that American white, middle-class parenting styles are not universal. For example, Kenyan parents do not talk about parenting as dyadic interaction. They are more interested in respect, social interdependence, and other family-adaptive tasks. They see their child rearing within family dynamics and the interconnectivity of its members. This contrasts with “pediatric” or “pedagogical and choice/negotiation models” of parenting in Western society, which he explains “are concerned with early stimulation for literacy or cognitive skills, and independence and autonomy outside the home” (Weisner, 1997, p.180). Such integrative conceptualizations drawn from a socio-cultural perspective provide us with an opportunity to observe culture-specific parenting goals and practices (Mistry, Chaudhury, & Diez, 2005). It also provides us with an understanding of coherent patterns of parenting in a particular community.

Numerous ethnographic studies have documented culture-specific parenting styles and children’s development in different cultures. Fung (1999) explores how young children are socialized into knowing shame as a cultural norm through interactions with parents. In Fung’s study, Taiwanese parents in Taipei situate lessons in the child’s experience, which is

called “opportunity education.” This is also implemented through the child’s active participation during play. This study is based on a critical premise that “shame is a meaning system that cannot be understood apart from its social and cultural contexts” (p. 246). The anthropological study by Lutz (1983) shows how children in Micronesia acquire a culturally constituted emotional meaning system. The author finds that in order to maintain the least violent society in the world, children are raised to follow emotionally peaceful values. The emphasis on a peaceful mind is demonstrated and practiced through language use around the cultural concept known as ‘metagu.’ These studies have shown that linguistic and cultural settings play an important role in socializing children into specific cultural values that are tied to parenting goals.

Especially for immigrant children, parents and other family members serve as strong forces in socializing their ethnic culture and identity, which are not congruent with those of the dominant social environment. For example, the study of Rumbaut (1994) examines over 5,000 immigrant children’s psychosocial adaptation and the formation of their ethnic identity, and reveals the influence of parents’ socialization despite differences in their identity patterns even within groups. The children’s identity coherently reflects their parents’ own perception of ethnic identity.

In addition, the relationship between children’s school performance and parenting and family culture gives clues about the fundamental discrepancy or compatibility that makes possible children’s school success or failure. For example, Heath (1983) finds that school literacy in the U.S. is not a universal and context-free activity but a peculiar form of literacy. The order of presentation of knowledge in school as introduction, contents, and ending is a prevalent cultural norm only in white middle class families. Heath finds that literacy events in the mainstream family, such as bedtime story reading and conversation patterns between parents and children, are compatible with school literacy. On the other hand, Skilton-

Sylvester (2002) finds that in Cambodian culture, written texts are not finished products until they are read out loud like performance, which is generally not the case in U.S. schools. A Cambodian girl may struggle with schoolwork, but demonstrate flourishing literacy activities such as writing plays, letters, and a diary at home. Her literacy activity is situated in the context of a Cambodian oral reading tradition, drawing on a way of communication and positive identity at home. However, in school, the Cambodian girl has difficulty in handling decontextualized reading and says that she is not confident in any school work.

Likewise, for some groups of students, out-of-school and school literacy are not always congruent. Those students do not come to classroom with a clean slate to be written upon by a basic academic curriculum. Minority children's interaction with people of their community, especially parents, equips them to think and behave according to the cultural patterns of home. Understanding how and why the resulting discrepancy or compatibility occurs and plays out is important, because the cultural patterns that children acquire at home may determine their school performance and self-image (Skilton-Sylvester, 2002). Asian American cultural differences can be revealed as students intersect with the U.S. school culture.

Asian American parenting has proven to be an important factor in ethnic identity and cultural transmission. Louie (2001) singles out the commonality of Chinese American parents' high expectations for children's education despite significant difference in their educational strategies and investments depending on their social classes. Their high expectations result from their original cultural viewpoint that emphasizes education. Chinese American parents across social-classes consider education as both an opportunity in the United States and "a way for their children to offset the effects of perceived discrimination" (p. 466). The children respond to their parents' perception accordingly. Schneider and Lee (1990) also find that East Asian American academic success is closely related with the values and expectations of their

parents and the home learning activities. Parents' expectations are painstakingly practiced through cultural contexts where education is of high value. The parental factor in minority education guides researchers to the micro-level interactions where the relationships and outcomes of individuals' history and social cultural contexts unfold.

It is important to understand that immigrant parents face challenges in socializing their children in the United States. This is unique because they have two cultures, native culture and mainstream culture, in which they desire to socialize their children. In everyday parenting situations, immigrant parents are faced with two sets of cultural norms and values. Parents make choices moment to moment and negotiate with children considering contexts and personal histories. In this dynamic, children participate in the socialization process as a strong force with influence of the dominant culture. For example, Young's autoethnography (2009) depicts an Asian racial self that is not always consciously practiced, but rather contextually performed in the relationships between children and mothers. A Korean American mother and her second generation daughter construct and negotiate each other's hybrid identities. They use language practice of both Korean and English to enact dialogues on inter-cultural identities relating Asian American-ness. As they interact with each other, they constantly re-create shifting cultural identities. To understand this complexity, close examination of the micro-level communicative practices between parents and children is imperative. However, as Johnson (2005) points out, research on micro-processes of ethnic minority parents' socialization during early childhood is scarce, although parental socialization patterns are closely related with children's identity construction.

### **Interactions as Social Process: Bilingual Socialization**

Previous studies of Korean American bilingual children's language socialization processes are in agreement with theory of language socialization (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1986). The relationships of ethnic identity, language choice, and discourse have been foci for

researchers who investigate the tension and formation between individuals and surrounding social environments (Young, 2009; Kang & Lo, 2004). Language has become an analytical interest to disclose social processes in relation to the exercise of power and negotiation of social identity in the sociolinguistics research area (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 1982). The common ground of this perspective is multiplicity of interpretation of linguistic interactions, which is a discernible difference with the Chomskyan view that language is a universal phenomenon. For example, Heath (1983) investigates communication style ingrained in cultural value systems that influences academic performance through interaction with teachers and peers. The view that language is a tool to mediate human thought is proposed by Vygotsky (1978, 1986). Language is a product of history over time; therefore, language is as “psychological tool” that mediates between thought and human interaction.

In addition, language as both individual discretion and a tool to modify interpersonal relations in social domains provides the opportunity to uncover the dynamics and processes of individuals’ searching for meaning of self in relation with ethnicity and culture. To overcome overgeneralization and, at the same time, capture the essence of the individual experience and group formation, theories have been developed.

The theory of language socialization by Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) explains the process of linguistic interactions of people acquiring a group’s cultural values. Their perspective places the focus on children’s acquisition of their cultural world views as they acquire and practice their languages with other members of the community. For bilingual and immigrant families, their language practices are not quite the same as either their first language communities or native-English speaking family. Immigrant parents face challenging situations in which their children learn both the values of their native-immigrant community and the English-speaking dominant society while acquiring both languages. Parents and children negotiate these values in the process of communication. The studies on bilingual

immigrant families' language practices and interactions in everyday life have found strong agency of participants, including children (Schechter & Baley, 2004). While parents influence the children's language use and socialization processes, children use two languages in navigating their social relationships, which are strongly related with identity construction (Park & Jegatheesan, 2012b).

When it comes to language, it is crucial to include non-verbal exchanges. "Contextualization cues" by Gumperz (2003) show the importance of all arrays of language interactions in everyday life such as non-verbal cues, gestures, expressions, and even hidden and shared expectations of all participants. He argues that linguistic behavior gives cues to the participants so that they interpret the meaning and assumptions of the contexts of the interaction such as values, activities, and expected behaviors and speech. These contextualization cues relate to shared experiences, notion of values, and speech practices by the members of the speech community. Participants are constantly in the process of negotiating the interpretations of the multileveled system of contextualization cues, which Gumperz explains as on-going and implicit dynamics:

Constellations of surface features of message form are the means by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows. They are habitually used and perceived but rarely consciously noted and almost never talked about directly. Therefore they must be studied in process and in context rather than in the abstract. A contextualization cue is any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signaling of contextual presuppositions. (p. 140)

His insights on contextualization cues are critical to understand the characteristics of contexts. Contexts and their meanings are not preset but constructed and negotiated by all participants of the interactions. Just like ethnic identity, contexts do not determine individuals. Hull and

Schultz (2001) point out “the creative powers of context,” meaning that contexts should not be treated as a container that surrounds, causes, influences, or shapes. Individuals create multi-layered contexts by borrowing and interpreting multiple contexts.

Bilingual immigrant families in the United States go through a complex socialization process at home in two cultures using two languages. In these families, two languages are used, and hence there are more than two kinds of values that children are socialized into. Song (2009) illustrates how Korean American bilingual children are socialized into two sets of social relationships and ideologies associated with language practices both in Korean and English. She points out that learning a specific linguistic feature “requires not only linguistic knowledge of the lexicon and grammar, but also sociocultural knowledge about the structure of social relationships and the notion of personhood that operates in that culture” (p.213). Song (2009) studies how mothers try to teach their children proper Korean terms of address as showing social respect in Korean culture. In interaction, the children accept and practice their mothers’ lesson, but at the same time, they create their own hybrid language usage borrowing from more individualistic American culture. These findings are important in that children are in the constant process of negotiating in every setting and context. Identity and concept of self associated with the English and Korean languages are not separate entities. Children’s Korean/American identities are constantly negotiated and navigated. It is not a one-time or clear decision in a confined setting or context.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) elaborate what constant negotiations of identity for multilingual contexts mean. Multilingual individuals have limited options depending on particular socio-historic contexts. However, it does not mean that only a corresponding number of identities related with languages are available. Individuals create the meaning of a link between various identity options and different languages. This argument is notable because it indicates that the observation of switching languages alone does not automatically

give insight into how language and identity are interrelated in particular communities of practice. Rather, with either English or Korean, the linguistic interaction within a community through which an individual interprets and makes meanings about himself and the world must be examined. Through this perspective, essentialism (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004), which conceives of identity as pre-set attributes, can be avoided. This view of identity as sociocultural and sociolinguistic processes is contrasted to a psychological approach. The psychological approach focuses on ethnicity, sense of belonging, and in-group solidarity. Thus, it cannot capture the dynamics and complexity among individuals or groups.

Vygotsky's concept of human development as sociocultural processes has been integrated with the view that identity is formed as a result of individual inner mental activity. Based on the tradition of the sociocultural approach, the context-specific and activity-involved views of identity formation have been considered pertinent to language minority populations in the United States. (Norton, 1997). In the sociocultural approach, language has been one core representation of human development in relation with others in a society.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) also point out how multilingual individuals choose and navigate identities. Their identity and language options are valued differently, which endow relations of power. Individuals with agency deal with unequal values associated with languages and identities. The notion of "social structures involving relations of power" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 36) as an implication of "legitimate peripherality" is a valuable concept which helps one to understand the situation of language-minority children at the interplay of power and agency. Lave and Wenger explain that when legitimate peripherality happens in a situation with related communities, it can be "a source of power or powerlessness" (p. 37) depending on whether a learner can interchange among related communities. It is clear that a language-minority child has at least two related communities. The situation of these overlapped communities at home influences their language-use pattern especially in

interaction with parents. Children resist speaking their heritage language and try to practice English at home when they are influenced by the experience outside home where their first language is ignored. They would assume that their heritage language is not worth learning or an obstacle to learning English. At the same time, parental strategy, perception, and attitude can impede or promote the interchange of a language-minority child's two communities. Power issues cannot be ignored to understand language learning, and thus children's language practices involve their specific response to political circumstances (Watson-Gegeo, 2004).

Gee (1996) explicates the implication of power in language with the concept of Discourse with a capital D.

Discourses are ways of being in the world, or forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, and social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions, and clothes. A Discourse is a kind of identity kit which comes complete with the appropriate costume and instructions on how to act, talk, and often write, so as to take on a particular social role that others will recognize. (p.127)

Discourse for multilingual minorities can be how they interpret their experience and share their interpretation in forms of communication. The sociocultural and contextual complexities of language minority students require us to examine how language use is related with identity formation and power relations.

The meaning of identity in multilingual and multicultural society is fluid. Because individuals interpret being a member of a certain community as individualized meaning according to their personal experiences, they are always in the process of meaning-making about being a member of a community regarding class, race, and sub-category within the community. Identity constructs associated with a language for bilinguals are embedded in their personal experience with others over time, as well as other social factors. This implies that identity associated with language is not a matter of two exclusive categories, Korean or

American. Just as important, it also implies that no simple definite number of categories can be isolated from others in explaining how an individual engages in a practice of a community. For example, an individual interprets every day experience with Korean and English language as being a Korean or non-Korean, who constructs and constrains language following experience with either language. Language is a primary tool people use in attributing themselves and others as a member of a community. The concepts and characterization associated with the categories are created, interpreted, and negotiated through social processes such as linguistic interaction with others.

### **Moral Development in Korean Culture**

In order to understand morality in Korean culture as Korean American immigrants interact with American culture, understanding their processes of negotiation and their cultural and social worlds is important. Park and Jegatheesan (2012c) show that respect as morality in Korean cultural system is related with the understanding of personhood and self in relation with others and group. In addition, Korean American parents want to hold onto the moral theme in their children's education despite different degrees and understanding of acculturation through language.

The morality in the Korean traditional value system is not a didactic instruction about justice in society. Kim and Greene (2003) explain how learning and moral virtues are directly connected in Korean culture and imbued with Confucianism.

According to Confucian philosophy, human nature, heart, and mind are endowed from Heaven with innate virtues. These virtues need to be cultivated through continuous learning, are the source and the root of one's self, and supply the power and force of personal growth. The effort put toward cultivating innate moral virtues is closely connected to the concept of self-learning. Self-learning cultivated one's personal life, reveals one's inner character, and provides strength against selfish desires. (p. 109)

This connection is important because it reveals that Korean American parents' great emphasis on education is part of a moral value system. It is not about justice or reasoning. Morality is a personal and individual achievement. Morality can be built on honing personal innate virtues, which leads to being humble, because individuals should always continue to cultivate their innate potential. Therefore, an individual cannot be proud of one's own achievement because it is a moral obligation to realize one's own endowed potential. The Korean American parents in the study of Kim and Greene (2003), facing the challenges in American schools with their children, can generate a hopeful and positive interpretation of their experience by drawing on Confucian beliefs that the challenges the children experience now will cultivate learning, growth, and positive identity development throughout their lives.

Moral reasoning is also closely related with the surrounding cultural value system. Bear, Manning, and Shiomi (2006) compare the moral reasoning of Japanese and American fourth- and fifth-graders. Each student was given scenarios that commonly occurred in school: hitting, fighting, saying mean things, and spreading rumors. After each scenario, the children were asked why one should not commit those aggressive acts. Almost all of the American kids thought of the consequences of the bad behavior, such as punishment. In stark contrast, Japanese students never mentioned getting caught or punished. They were more likely to say that doing something bad would hurt other children or cause them to feel shame or guilt. Japanese children focused more on the intrinsic reasons. Bear, et al. attribute this difference to social values and styles, especially the way that Japanese mothers dealt with behavior and conflict problems. Japanese tends to use indirect and psychological methods rather than coercive ones to manage their kids' behavior. In particular, they often use moral reasons, encouraging children to conform to the rules of the group, appealing to their children's feelings and goals, and asking them to consider how their behavior looks to others. Japanese parents are more likely to manipulate children through guilt, anxiety, and shame. This

comparison shows that moral reasoning and judgment is socialized through parenting and its cultural values.

The Korean language is also specifically used to deliver moral judgment through interactions (Lo, 2009). Korean speakers are polite and indirect linguistically, not speculating on another person's feelings, intentions, and mind, respecting a fixed distance between people based on age, gender, and generations. However, Lo finds that passing on moral evaluation is a peculiar exception to this general linguistic practice within the Korean American community. Moral judgment is powerful enough to blend self and other positioning. More importantly, through interaction, moral evaluation and checks on one another as a moral being happen constantly.

Morality as a cultural value and interactions and socialization can enrich the general theory of moral development. The socialization process of morality of a bilingual family can contribute to the consolidated understanding of moral development drawing on both cognitive and socio-historical theory.

This approach shatters the assumption of traditional moral development research. In a tradition of child development research on morality, Piaget (1932) has provided a foundational model called 'cognitive developmental theory,' which has been extended by Kohlberg (1963). One of the principal assumptions is that individuals have intrinsic desires and thoughts and go through stages of development regarding rules and morality. Piaget argues that a child develops as a result of adaptation to the society and social rules. Piaget acknowledges the importance of the social world in a child's development. However, the importance that he focuses on is confined to the social world as an environment that stimulates the individual to understand and construct the reality surrounding him or her. The specificity and locality of environment is not emphasized as much. Kohlberg (1963) maintains that human beings develop a universal morality through certain stages.

Since Piaget and Kohlberg, the cognitive development theory has been tested and reinterpreted by scholars over decades. The assumption that a universal and fundamental moral development exists has been attacked. Cortese (1990) pays attention to specific cultural and historical settings arguing that morality contains no intrinsic laws of development. Cortese points out that the cognitive and universal development theories only explain the ability to make moral judgments. However, the moral actions of individuals and their effects on social relations depend on concrete contexts and their specific linguistic and emotional implications. Those complexities go beyond what justice is. Understanding the definition of morality is involved with not only evaluating the concept of rules and thoughts but also people's reality, which is subjective.

There is also a major contribution to moral development literature in women's studies, namely, Carol Gilligan's work. Gilligan (1993) criticizes the universal moral stage of Kohlberg's theory with a comparison of moral reasoning of one boy and one girl. She uses Kohlberg's well-known Heinz dilemma. A hypothetical man, Heinz, has a wife with a rare and deadly cancer for which treatment was discovered by a man. He would charge Heinz ten times the actual cost of the treatment. Scraping together only half of the price, Heinz begs him to sell the drug and promises he would pay the last later. The man refuses, and Heinz steals the treatment. According to Kohlberg's stage, the boy with a clear reasoning based on logic and justice rates a higher moral stage than the girl. However, Gilligan points out that Kohlberg's assessment reflects the way of men's thinking. The girl's moral reasoning cannot be said to be in a lower stage than the boy's, but it is more about relationship. Brown and Gilligan (1991) expand an alternative moral reasoning based on a narrative of relationship. This concerns more the result of actions in terms of long term human relationship.

When it comes to teaching morality to children, the relationship between implicating self and the effectiveness of teaching has been of interest in research (Grusec & Redler, 1980;

Bryan, Adams, & Monin, 2013). Grusec and Redler compare the effectiveness of commending generous behavior versus generous character. After 8 year olds' generous sharing, the experimenter said, "You shared a lot. You did a nice thing," or "you are the kind of person who helps others. You are nice." The study reveals that praising their character fosters a sense of identity of a good person. Identity is an indispensable part of understanding how a child can be raised into a moral being.

However, the sociocultural understanding of moral development does not mean that morality is all relative or that social cultural factors dictate children's development. Culture is easily conceived as a preset condition that is separated from individuals. However, we need to escape from the question of cultural effects or influences, which assumes that individuals are outside of culture. Rogoff (1990) believes that individuals and sociocultural contexts "represent differing angles of analysis of an integrated process" (p. 26). Sociocultural contexts are not just some factors that influence individuals but are inseparable from the process of human development:

Development involves individual effort or tendencies as well as the sociocultural context in which the individual is embedded and has been since before conception.

Biology and culture are not alternative influences but inseparable aspects of a system within which individuals develop. (Rogoff, 1990, p. 28)

Rogoff's view sheds an important light on child development, namely, the processes, goals, and meanings in a particular individual situation. Cognitive processes can be understood only when they are situated in the relation with all these elements. In this way, individual differences reveal sociocultural structure as individual constructs in a specific context. This sociocultural structure is not a pre-set environment that influences individuals. It is fluid, reflecting individual peculiarity and history: thus it avoids the danger of essentialism.

Rogoff's sociocultural perspective is influenced by Vygotsky's symbolic

development. Vygotsky (1978) proposes that the development of thoughts with language as symbolic tools is not lineal, but thoughts and language go through a spiral development course. With distinct languages mediating the social world, there exists not a universal course of development but various courses, goals, and means of development across social and cultural groups (Rogoff, 1990).

So far, I have given theoretical background to overcome essentialism to understand the Asian American and Korean American identity and how the study of the dynamics and complexity of ethnicity in everyday-life language interactions can enrich the field of human development in relation with the sociocultural world. In particular, moral development of bilingual minority children through interactions with their parents will provide an opportunity for better understanding their ethnic reality and theory on language, power, and development.

## Chapter 3

### Research Design and Methodology

To pursue a study of parenting and moral development among immigrant Korean American households with attention on the mother's voice and actions, I adopted a qualitative research design. The methods employed participant observations, in-depth interviews, and focus-group interviews. Qualitative studies are an excellent tool to comprehend the complexity and process of human reality in everyday life (Fontana & Frey, 2005; Lee, 2002; Schwandt, 1998). In particular, when examining minority culture and its differences in language from the dominant society, ethnography and qualitative studies are critical to differentiate participants' own perspectives (Heath & Street, 2008).

Ethnography is particularly useful to investigate the issue of human development. It is "an adaptive project of individuals and communities" (Weisner, 1997, p.181) that requires revealing the goals of participants, situations, actions, and interactions. Goals defined by the participants in the community and their actions in multiple contexts can be found through ethnographic inquiry. Ethnography provides the answer to the question of why, by discovering the local culture "embedded in relationships in a human community" (p. 181). The locality of ethnography is beneficial for the participants being concerned with "the achievement of cultural well-being," which is the ability of a child to actively and innovatively participate in the activities deemed important and valued by a cultural community" (p. 182). To gain a meaningful understanding of the multiplicity of the meaning of cultural well-being, it is imperative to approach individuals in their implicit cultural system to which ethnography attests.

Especially when we consider race and cultural community as a category, we need to consider the danger of overlooking heterogeneity or variation within one community. That is why individuals' everyday practices and their meaning making are crucial to be investigated.

Hence the study examines Korean American immigrant mother-child dynamics in their everyday life situations to disclose their cultural value system. The study was conducted between December 2013 and April 2014. The participant families lived in a suburb in the Northwest of the United States.

## **Participants**

**Access and recruitment.** Gaining access to participants and their sites is a difficult and complex situation to navigate (Stake & Jegatheesan, 2008). To obtain participants for the study, I posted an advertisement on Korean community website boards (See Appendix G for Web Advertisement Prompt). As the Korean immigrant community is active around church networks, I also asked Korean church leaders to spread the word about the study and to help recruit participants (See Appendix H for Email Introduction). The four focal mothers introduced some of the focus group mothers who also suggested other focus group mothers.

The criteria for selection of four pairs of participating mothers and children were: a) being a first generation Korean immigrant family, and b) having a daughter (1<sup>st</sup>~4<sup>th</sup> grade) who had experienced the U.S. formal schooling since kindergarten. Previous studies show that women and men have different moral perspectives (Gilligan, 1993). In this study, I focus on the cultural aspect of morality by adjusting to one gender. I recruited middle-class and nuclear families whose home language was predominantly Korean.

**Description of families.** As shown in Table 1, the mothers of the four key families were homemakers. The fathers were a physician, a restaurant owner, an engineer, and an insurance broker. The girls were aged six to nine; two had sisters and two had brothers. The mother had higher education; three of them with bachelor degrees from Korean colleges and one with a doctoral degree in the United States (See Table 1). Pseudonyms were used throughout the transcription and this dissertation to protect their identity.

Socio-economic status plays a role in immigrant families' viewpoint on education

(Zhou & Kim, 2006; Louie, 2001). The mothers of Korean middle class families mostly take charge of children's home education (Park & Jegatheesan, 2012b; Park & Jegatheesan, 2012c). Based on language socialization theory (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1986), Korean parents who speak mostly Korean are likely to socialize their child with Korean cultural values. Therefore, I excluded Korean American parents whose primary language was English or whose English proficiency was 'zero.' I aimed to observe how parents managed the process of socialization of dual-language-speaking communities while facing their child's socialization into the English-speaking community. In addition to the level of language use of both Korean and English, I sought out families who maintained the connection to the Korean community, such as frequent use of Korean culture-related facilities (e.g., church, groceries, language school, hospital), contacts with Korean friends, and/or regular visits to Korea.

Table 1. *Family Information*

|                             |                  |                 |                  |                 |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Mother                      | Mrs. Sunny       | Mrs. Noori      | Mrs. Bae         | Mrs. Taeyoung   |
| Ethnicity/Language          | Korean           | Korean          | Korean           | Korean          |
| Mother's age of immigration | 20               | 25              | 17               | 27              |
| Age                         | 35-40            | 40-45           | 35-40            | 35-40           |
| Mother's education          | BA               | PhD             | BA               | BA              |
| Father's occupation         | Restaurant Owner | Engineer        | Insurance Broker | Physician       |
| SES                         | Middle           | Middle          | Middle           | Middle          |
| Target Child (Age)          | Hailey (Girl, 9) | Terry (Girl, 7) | Haejin (Girl, 6) | Linda (Girl, 7) |
| Sibling                     | Jenny (6)        | Sister (5)      | Brother (2)      | Brother (4)     |

## Procedure

**Informed consent.** I met with each family to explain the study and to clarify doubts and questions. I made sure that they knew that the schedule would be set according to their convenience. I also let them know that I would always use pseudonyms and change circumstantial clues to protect their identity (See Appendix D for Parent Consent Permission Form and Appendix F for Assent Form).

**Demographic survey and qualitative survey.** I collected the social demographic information of four focal families (See Appendix C for Family Information Survey). The mothers completed a brief demographic survey, including information such as how long they had been in the United States, their English proficiency level and occupations, and any information about parenting themes regarding morality, language, and educational environment that the parents provided. This survey was followed by a short informal, ‘warming-up’ interview to obtain some preliminary information about the family. The interview was intended to get a whole picture of how they had lived as immigrants in America. It covered their everyday life experiences. Interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Interview transcriptions were kept only for analysis. Participants could request to turn off the recording at any time during the interview.

### **Data Collection**

**Interviews with mothers.** I first conducted open-ended unstructured interviews. This ethnographic type of interview gives deeper understanding than a structured interview (Fontana & Frey, 2005). As a preliminary question, I collected the oral history of participants’ immigration and adaptation experiences. Specifically, “the study of memory and its relation to recall” (Fontana & Frey, 2005) helped the participants reconstruct their life as immigrants as a social process to face with a new culture and language. In particular, I delved into what had made them decide to immigrate to or choose to live in America in light of their children’s education. Through their recollection, they compared their expectations and their real life situations.

The interviews dealt with parents’ beliefs and goals regarding their child’s moral development and socialization at home. Also, the mothers and I identified the most relevant and salient anecdotes of moral issues in their everyday life. I asked them to have a casual conversation on this with their child for observation data.

Based on the first interview and subsequent observation data, I formulated directions and frames for the follow-up interview. In addition, I clarified and confirmed the meaning of the children's behavior in the preceding observation. In this manner, observations and interviews were conducted in a sequential plan so that the observations and interviews informed one another. The first set of observations and interviews were scheduled in separate sessions according to the family's convenience. Right after the observation, I reviewed it and conducted a preliminary analysis in order to plan for the follow-up interview. Each interview lasted for approximately 1.5-2 hours. Sample of the interview questions are in the Appendix A.

**Observations and field notes.** The purpose of observation was to examine what contexts and experiences make parents and children choose specific moral goals and parenting practices in their linguistic communications. According to language socialization theory, linguistic interaction results in socialization of values associated with the language in use. However, in the case of a bilingual family, I observed whether the association of language and its corresponding culture was still maintained. Did they use English while they socialized Korean values or used Korean while they socialized American values? For example, mothers spoke to their children in English using the direct imperative mode without "please" or "why don't you do something?" The focus group confirmed that their children were annoyed by the parents' blunt English use. However, they explained that they just translated Korean linguistic style into English.

My observation of language practices supplemented interpretations solely based on individuals' responses during interviews. Self-reports have two criticisms (Schechter & Bayley, 2004). "First, respondents' recollections and opinions are colored by their need to make favorable impressions on the people who are questioning them. Second, self-report data are constrained by the social, cultural and political influences of the time the study is being

carried out” (p.607). Through observations, I confirmed and counter-checked the interview data.

The first observation followed the first interview. Observation data also provided informal interview data (Fontana & Frey, 2005). I observed how the mothers explained the moral issues that we had previously identified together with the children. I also observed the mothers’ emotional expressions and related communication. How did emotions by the mothers and the children unfold in the process of communication? How was the interaction influenced by language practices? I took notes on how cultural meanings and value systems were reflected and transformed during their communication.

I also observed the mother-child general interactions in natural settings such as dinner time, homework time, and extracurricular activity. Home is a natural setting where real contexts of moral socialization of mothers are happening. For example, other family members such as siblings interrupted. I took notes when the distraction was relevant with the theme of moral socialization. Each observation was audio-recorded for approximately 2-3 hours. I described a) where the interactions happened such as an open place like a kitchen or a living room; b) how they handled the subject of moral issues, implicit or instructive; c) how the family structure was constructed such as whether they were interacting with other family members often, or whether the mothers devoted her time fully to the child; and d) what the characteristics of the mother’s attitude toward conversations, the child’s role, and parenting styles were.

The observation provided information about the fundamental dynamics of parent-child relations in terms of communication in two languages. I was also able to observe their facial expressions and gestures combining their talk and emotions.

After analyzing the data from the observations and the previous interviews, I developed particular points for each family for a follow-up interview. Field notes included

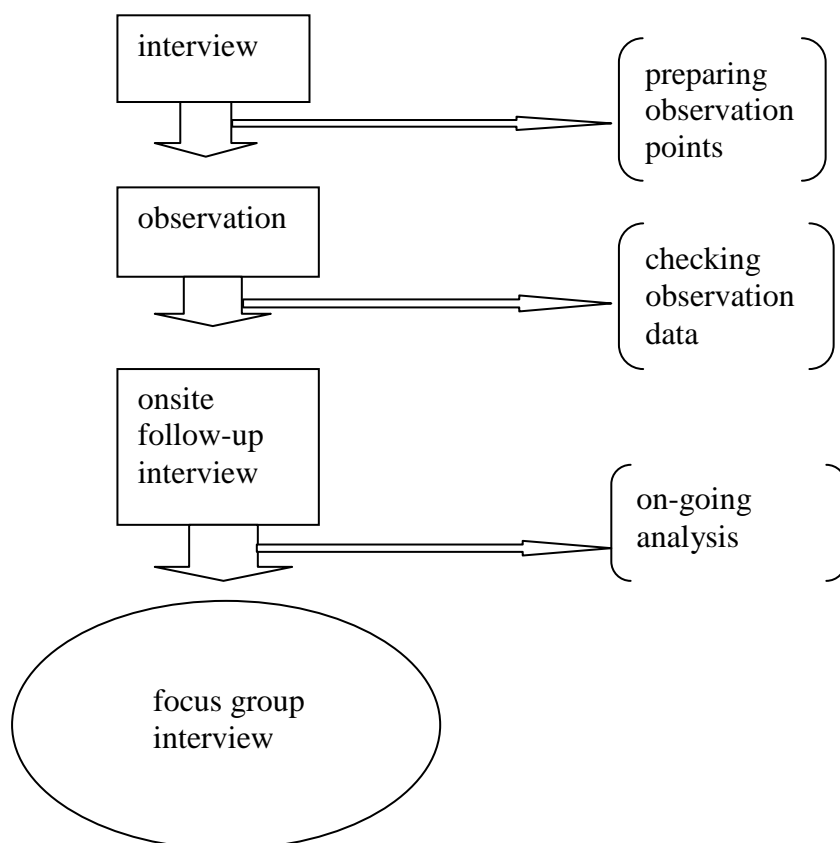
how parents and children interacted with each other in verbal and non-verbal communication, home environment, researcher's reaction, and reflection after exiting the field. I also documented my reflections, such as on the general impression and emotional reactions to what happened and compared them to my own specific experiences.

**Focus group interviews.** Focus groups have been used in qualitative research to reveal group dynamics. They help provide social discourse of interests as well as new meanings beyond dyadic interviews. Individual recounts can be promoted and discussed during group conversations. Also, the guiding and dominant role of the researcher in dyadic interviews is diminished in group interviews allowing for new information to be discovered to correct a researcher's prejudgment and perception. Interactions among focus group members also complement field observations (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005).

Three groups consisting of three mothers in each group were gathered (See Appendix E for Focus Group Consent Form). The focus group mothers were different from the focal mothers. The criteria for selecting focus groups were congruent with those for the focal group: a) being a first generation Korean immigrant mother, b) being middle class, and c) having a school-age child.

Each focus group interview lasted about two and a half hours with a break in the home of one of the mothers in each group. I provided general questions and they talked freely about their parenting practices, moral issues, and parenting goals. They also asked questions of one another. I included sample questions for focus group interviews in Appendix B. They provided real-life examples including their friends and themselves. They exchanged responses with one another.

Figure 1. Process of Data Collection



## Data Analysis

**Transcription.** I employed conversation analysis (CA) for transcription. CA is an analytical method dealing with social interaction in everyday life situations to reveal people's layered values and means to create meanings with others (Goffman, 1983). With a detailed transcription of conversation including verbal and non-verbal expressions, a researcher constructs patterns of interaction and explains those patterns with a theory or a model. Theoretically, language socialization by Ochs and Scheffelin (1984) makes possible argument about how the sequential discourse achieves meanings by interactive conversation in spoken as well as other factors in situations. According to CA in the language socialization tradition, temporal discourse processes are not only about representational symbols but also construction of meaning structures among conversation participants. Each choice they make

moment to moment is highlighted in terms of negotiation and construction of meanings.

Participants' linguistic and non-linguistic choices signal meaning and underlying assumptions within an interaction. Gumperz (2003) calls this interactional sharing of meaning 'contextualization cues.' According to Gumperz, communication is constrained by a multilevel system of shared and closely constructed verbal and nonverbal signals. Contextualization cue is any linguistic form that delivers the 'contextual presuppositions,' which relate to history, values, and norms shared by the members of community. The participants negotiate in the process of interpretation of each other's contextualization cues. Thus, verbatim should reflect verbal and non-verbal features for analysis.

I recorded verbatim as participants spoke. I used italics for English as they spoke. For Korean, I translated into English after completing the transcription. Nonverbal information was a part of the transcription as well. Pauses, expressions, and gestures that showed emotional status were included.

In describing culture, Briggs (1992) argues for and shows a line-by-line analysis of participants' actions and speech to provide a vivid and complex reality of their experiences. The analysis is made possible with "data about the actors' life situations and about the background knowledge on which they can draw in interpreting one another's words and actions" (p. 42). She elaborates that this complex and background analysis results from consideration of a specific individual experience as a cultural aspect, which could lead to questions about other children with a firm ground for asking. These questions would truly reach the general understanding of individuals and their cultural experiences because "similarities and differences not merely in behavior and in the substance of attitudes but also in the structure of understandings and motivations, the thinking-and-feeling processes that support the visible and audible behaviors and attitudes" (p. 43).

To address the criticism that CA can neglect "contextual factors, such as participants'

history and roles, details about setting, and wider institutional and cultural factors” (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999, p.71), I complemented CA by using interviews with participants. Beyond the transcription, I sought participants’ own interpretations of meaning as confirmation for what they had said. Thus, transcription was not only presented as a final product of data but also gave a platform to following interview questions. For the interview transcription, verbal communication was the focus with reference to previous observation. Nonverbal expressions and dynamics with the interviewer were included in field notes.

**Development of analytic codes.** I coded the entire data with the open coding system. To gain validity and reliability from the data set, “member checking” has been used (Johnston, 2000). Researchers confirm and validate their interpretations by asking the participants. They remind the participants of their behavior and speech and ask for their own interpretations. There still exists the possibility that the participants are prejudiced and unconsciously misleading. Focus group interviews were used to clarify any obscurity.

Korean mothers’ interactions with children were interpreted regarding how they tried to instill morality through language practices. The peculiarity of language use of the immigrant family was that they had two distinctive sets of cultural value surrounding both languages. In order to capture the complexity of two sets of cultural factors, I analyzed all the conversations between parents and children based on overlapping frames. There were several overlapping frames: different attitudes toward certain moral issues, the value systems of being a morally responsible person, and relationships with others. Heath’s claim (1991) that “individuals avail themselves of certain options and forgo others: they operate within a collusive frame to maintain the definition of the situation and their position in it” (p. 120) was useful in analyzing the immigrant home conversation around English/Korean practices. Overlapping frames were detected in immigrant family life, because parents were also facing challenges of cultural adaptation. Both parents and children revealed frames of both Korean

culture and the prevailing American society, but their attitudes toward those surroundings and what they maintained and forewent were different. Accordingly, the conversation between immigrant parents and children created the overlapping frames chosen or neglected by meanings and goals at the moment of interaction.

After data coding, I developed the categories based on the emerging themes and issues. First, there was a category for demographic description: how long the family had lived in the United States, how many years the child and the parents had been formally educated in the United States, what their social economic status was, and how fluent the child's and the parents' English was. Second, throughout the preliminary interview, I asked the parents what important moral values they emphasized for their children's education, if any. I also asked them what American moral values were the most important in their children's adjustment.

When I conducted my observations and interviews and found it necessary to change coding categories, I recorded the reason for any change accordingly. For example, I started with 'moral concept' as a general category. As I conducted more interviews with other mothers and focus groups, the mothers clearly differentiated between what they thought was right or wrong and what they would do in a real-life situation. Thus, I separated two categories, moral reasoning and moral actions. Throughout the process of analyzing I revised, replaced, expanded, and merged the categories.

Credibility was addressed through triangulation (use of different kinds of data as checks against one another – such as interview data against observation data, with a backdrop of researchers' reflexive notes). Peer debriefing was done with the participants of focus interviews. I also talked with the mothers about what they understood about their child's responses and behavior. The analysis of the mothers was compared to check for consistency in themes. I also discussed coding and analysis with my advisor, who was Asian but non-Korean. She could provide a view of both an insider and outsider, which helped accuracy and

completeness of the analysis.

## Chapter 4

### **Korean American Mothers' Understanding of Moral Values and Goals; "Right or Wrong? It Depends."**

This chapter focuses on the first research question, "How do Korean American mothers understand what kind of moral values and goals are envisioned in either Korean or American culture or both?" To all mothers, morality was relative and fluid. No one could provide a definitive answer to a simple question about moral decisions. Their answers could not be summarized as right or wrong but rather descriptions of related situations and people. They emphasized complex situations and various relations with other people. Thus, the same behavior could be evaluated differently.

During the data collection period, a Korean American man who graduated from a local high school and entered Harvard University was arrested on a charge of writing bomb threat e-mails to avoid exams. The e-mails caused fear and evacuation on campus although there was no bomb. Participant mothers' interest in this incident was strong because Harvard University was "a symbol of success of parenting among Koreans" (Mrs. Bae). The mothers brought up this incident as an example of morality, which was not equivalent to reasoning and brightness.

No one doubted that his actions were problematic. However, the answers to the question of what made his action so problematic show that they consider social contexts rather than action and its consequences.

Mrs. Noori said, "He must be a kind of person who only thinks about himself and is not interested in surroundings such as social atmosphere. Nowadays, American society is extremely sensitive to terrorism. He was ignorant of that. I think that is a bigger problem."

I probed into morally wrong behaviors, asking, "Do you mean the action of his writing a false threat e-mail is not morally wrong? Is it less wrong than not knowing social

atmosphere?” She asked me, “What is really a moral problem? I don’t think there is such thing as right or wrong.” Then she made a distinction between a moral problem and a prank to show that morality is relative concept:

Moral problems and pranks are actually the same kind of aberration, something that you are not supposed to do. However, immoral behavior is not acceptable. Why? To whom? Who to judge? They differ in whether they are acceptable to the victim. Let me try an example. On April Fool’s Day, let’s say you come to your neighbor’s door and say, “Your child is badly hurt and was taken to an emergency room,” which is not true. On a normal day, it could be laughed off. But what if on that day, the neighbor’s family had a tragedy like another child dying? Then it would be a morally wrong behavior not a prank. Depending on how other people accept it, the same behavior could be a prank or unethical behavior. Let’s go back to the Harvard kid. If he could be more sensitive to the current social atmosphere about terrorism, he wouldn’t have done that. Not because he would be morally superior but because he would be more capable of thinking beyond himself. (Mrs. Noori)

I asked whether she thought of morality as mental competence or the ability to predict the consequences of one’s actions. She denied the definition. She added, “I just don’t agree that there is a firm standard to decide what’s wrong and right. All circumstances should be considered. But so-called circumstances are numerous and also could be so different to each player. To be honest, I feel so sorry for the Harvard boy.”

Focus group mothers as well as Mrs. Noori expressed similar sympathy for the Harvard student. They pointed out what might lead him to this criminal act. They conjectured that he might have been under enormous pressure to be successful, in which case it could be said that writing a bomb threat e-mail to have the exam cancelled was a side effect of fierce competition, not his morality. They tended to depict his problematic behavior not as his

individual moral issue but as a part of influences from surrounding people and society. Their responses seemed too lenient on surface, but their judgment was focused on two different domains affecting individuals: relationships and strong empathetic emotions.

### **Relationship: Contexts of People**

Other people and their relationships play the most important role in moral judgment in two aspects: “Being moral is everything about others’ evaluation” and “not to hurt others” (Mrs. Taeyoung). ‘Hurting others’ was not limited only to not inflicting intentional pain. It covered a broad range of inconveniences. Three out of the four mothers separately put forward a Korean phrase, “not causing *minpae*” meaning not troubling others by holding back their self interest. Thus, this concept caused some confusion about who “others” are and how to decide their troubles. For example, they had difficulty in understanding what was wrong with insider trading because they did not instantly find victims directly affected by the immoral actions. They said, “Moral judgment should be based on situations of relationship with people. In the case of insider trading, the doer does not intend to hurt others, so it is a matter of law.” To them, who is affected by one’s action and what kind of relationship one is with others are most important to judge morality. When I challenged them saying that corporate insider trading could be just same as stealing money, they asked back who the victim is. They viewed that the greediness of those who did insider trading was a personal flaw and law should punish them, but that moral or immoral actions should directly involve persons in relationships.

The complexity of “others” was reflected in the following statement about the uneasy feeling toward a moral person. Mrs. Noori said,

I don’t like a so-called good person or moral person. They have to sacrifice and preserve themselves, but the problem is where the boundary of themselves is. Who is within the boundary of self? Only himself or the family? For example, fighters for

social justice such as national independence or whistleblowers usually make their families suffer. They might be considered moral but they do not carry out their responsibility for their families. Are they still moral to their families?

Mrs. Noori considered multifaceted consequences of so-called morally correct behavior. According to her, a moral action could harm one's family and close friends although it might benefit others. I asked, "Even with a small sacrifice from one's families and friends, couldn't it be still said that an action that causes good for society or more people should be praised as having made a moral action?" She opposed the notion of morality as a correct action, saying, "You should try to be in the position of one's family who should pay for one's heroic action. Then you couldn't say that. And it is moral to only those who benefit from it." The relationship with and impact on people in real life, not the action itself, was her most important standard for morality. Thus, factors around people and their relationship are not always constant.

Likewise, "others" are not always clearly set in terms of relationships. The influence of an individual's moral action follows the liquid concept of related people. By the same rationale, the most important value in educating children about morality was "being considerate of others, respectful for elders, not selfish," (Mrs. Bae) or "being able to be in a good relationship with others" (Mrs. Sunny). In the following conversation between Hailey, age 9, and her mother, Mrs. Sunny, Hailey demonstrated that not hurting others' feelings by suppressing her own desire was a moral behavior.

[Hailey: daughter (Age 9)/ Mrs. Sunny: Mother]

1: Hailey: Briana sits next to me and she said, "Hailey, you are so nice. Can we play with each other every day?" I don't want to play with her every recess. But I can't say anything.

2: Mrs. Sunny: Why didn't you say you didn't want to play with her?

3: Hailey: You know that's really mean.

4: Mrs. Sunny: What do you mean by "mean?"

5: Hailey: Saying "I don't want to be your friend with you anymore." Just like Kaitlin treated me. At reading time, she said that.

Mrs. Sunny later talked about Hailey. It seemed to Mrs. Sunny that Hailey was almost scared of hurting others' feelings. Hailey believed that conforming to others was being a good kid, which was not unfamiliar to Mrs. Sunny. Mrs. Sunny said that she also was raised like Hailey and that it was how Korean mothers raised children.

Mothers also taught the children how to be sensitive to others' needs in everyday situations. For example, Mrs. Sunny scolded her other daughter, Hailey's sister, Jenny, for eating too much cereal. The rationale behind what was wrong about Jenny's behavior was expressed as, "Hey, no more cereal for you. How come you eat up all the cereal? Think about other people in here who would want to eat cereal too. Your mouth is not all you got here" (Mrs. Sunny). The importance of sensitivity to others' needs regarding food sharing was also brought up in a focus group interview:

I don't like when kids eat whatever they want when they are with others without looking around. I think they should check others' preferences and leave popular dishes for others. When we eat with others, we have to balance what I want to eat and what others want to eat. (A mother from a focus group)

The food arrangement on the table for Korean families helps this complex interaction among people. They do not have personal portion of food on individual plates. They share food altogether on big plates in the middle of the table.

The importance of recognizing relations with others was evident when a mother explained her priority in dealing with the children's lies. "I try to trust my daughter even if I believe that she is lying. Her morality would develop when she believes that her mother trusts

her” (Mrs. Noori). In her value system, expectations from the relations with the mother were seen as more effective motivation for moral judgment than the evaluation of lies.

Another mother, Mrs. Bae, also showed the importance of human relations by saying:

It does not matter whether you are caught and punished for immoral acts. If you are a human being, you cannot help but feel the sting of conscience watching others suffer because of your acts. The conscience and penitence would give you a second chance.

Mothers in focus group interviews also confirmed that punishment would not matter for morality as much as the relationships and people who one feels obligations to. They understood that being sensitive to human relationships would be the most powerful motivation for morality.

The standard of morality in these Korean American families comes from other people’s evaluations, which are effective as long as one is sensitive to others’ needs and situational cues. The participant mothers explained how they wanted to raise their children as such. For example, in a focus interview, a mother said, “I want them to behave accordingly to situations depending on who they are dealing with. They should know how to change themselves quickly. Even the standard of right or wrong behavior changes depending on who they are associated with.” They emphasized that this ability to read people’s minds and situations and change themselves was not due to cunning personality but understanding the importance of people and caring for them.

At the same time, mothers in a focus group interview agreed that because of too much emphasis on human relations, there was a side effect, which a mother explained as

Koreans are really good to people whom they know because human relationships are so important. But because of that, we don’t think much about the whole society and fairness itself. Koreans are impolite and unkind to those who are not in a direct

relationship with us.

### **Emotions: Korean Concept of Empathy *jeong*'-Feeling a Duty as a Human Being**

Emotions were a key factor in human relations. For the immigrant Korean families, emotions were understood not as individuals' fleeting status of mind but as natural and obligatory feelings toward other people. The Korean concept of *jeong*, or empathetic emotions, was frequently referred to as a motivation for ethical behavior.

Mrs. Taeyoung explained the emotional aspect of motivation for a moral action such as generosity:

I cannot pass begging homeless people without giving some money. Once I gave five dollars to a homeless kid on a New York street. Then he followed me, asking for more money. I was so scared that I went into a store and asked for help. The cashier's response was really strange to me. "Why did you give money to him?" In Korea, such a response wouldn't be imaginable. Koreans are supposed to feel *jeong*. It's hard to look away from a poor person. We don't think about consequences such as their using the money for drugs. We just help out of pity. That's moral education in Korea: respect elders; feel pity; and help poor people no matter what. I feel a prick of conscience if I don't help poor people. It's very emotional. I think Americans are not like that.

She pointed out that not reasoning but feelings were the basic motive to be good to others.

Other mothers in focus interviews also confirmed that "conscience, the foundation of morality, is something that a human being is naturally born with. Any human being can feel it"; "feelings for others make humans different from animals," and that "people should feel shame and sadness once you hurt others. Moral behavior naturally comes from mind or heart as a human being. Feeling sorry for others is just a human condition, isn't it?" (Mrs. Sunny).

When it comes to morality and *jeong*, which is an obligatory emotion specific to

relationships with others in Korean culture, the mothers presented several examples of how the emotional relations between people could be created by *jeong*:

Let's say we offer something like food or goods to others. Even if they say "It's okay, you don't have to give it to me," we still give more. That's *jeong*. We just understand that the initial decline is just for being reserved and caring for us, which is also an exercise of *jeong*. Americans' "no" is more likely than a "no" from Koreans. But we don't take "no" as its literal meaning and give even more for others' benefit. It's another way of caring. Not caring for others is immoral. Thinking about only oneself could lead to immoral acts. (Mrs. Bae)

In short, *jeong* was considered the basic duty and emotions in human relationships.

According to the Korean mothers, people do things for others beyond what is asked. They should know and care more than verbal communication and even beyond what others think for themselves. Mrs. Noori gave another example of *jeong*:

While watching American movies, what I don't understand is when a person in distress asks his close friend or spouse or parent to leave him alone, saying he needs some space. What on earth is that space? If a Korean says the same thing to a close person, no one would just leave him alone. We would get closer and ask again what we could do. Even without asking, we would do what we think they might need. If someone just left him alone to give space as asked, that person has no *jeong*, too cold and inhuman.

She gave a few assumptions of *jeong*: that a close and long relationship between people allows one to assume others' needs even against the other's verbal expressions, and that one could know others' welfare better than themselves because human beings are capable of feeling in the position of others, which blurs the boundary between others and self.

However, the mothers also acknowledged the negative side of *jeong*, that the

distinctive emotion of Koreans could be a source of complications and misunderstanding:

We Koreans are tolerant towards unfairness and unjustness. We think we are good and full of *jeong* when we accept problematic persons as “our” people because we are so emotional. For example, there is so-called “Korean time.” We feel that we are obligated to wait for the person who is late. That is *jeong*, just to accept and look the other way when we feel for someone. So Koreans think being late is not a big deal.

(Mrs. Bae)

Another example of a negative effect of being emotional was pointed out:

Moral judgment in Korea is about taking sides because we are so emotionally charged that we think someone who is not on our side cannot be right. Even if someone is morally wrong but he is one of us, we tend to cover for him. Sometimes, we are too emotional to see behavior objectively. We just focus on people and their relationship with us, not consequences and behavior. (Mrs. Sunny)

Feeling a certain emotion is considered a tool to teach a child a moral lesson. Mrs.

Noori explained why she sometimes played along with her child’s lies:

When the sisters fight and I don’t know who is responsible, I just ask the older one who should be blamed. Even if she lied, I would believe what she said. She would feel guilty when she watches her sister be scolded because of her lie. That’s important.

She should have an opportunity to feel how bad the guilty feeling from lying is.

She supposed that anybody would feel bad by causing others’ suffering and emotions were a powerful vehicle to stop people from harming others.

The degree of consequence and punishment of problematic behavior was also related with emotional evocation. Mrs. Noori and her daughter, Terry, were talking about her teacher’s punishment for a certain behavior of a boy at school. The boy who was naughty in class lost his class points so he could not buy things on class market day. Terry admitted that

the boy was warned several times, but she still felt that the punishment was too harsh. Mrs. Noori tried to make her express sympathy for him and asked her why she felt bad for him. When Terry told her mother what would happen when he did not have enough points at the market day, such as he would want to borrow from her, which would bother her, that it would not be much fun for her to sell if he had not enough money to buy, or that the harsh punishment could happen to her. However, her mother challenged her that these reasons would not be likely to affect her, so finally Terry said, "I don't know." Then the mother asked, "What would he feel when the teacher took away his points?" She induced her daughter to sympathize with what he felt. At the same time, she delivered the message that reasoning does not always help understand human relations. Morality was a matter of context, which consisted of relationship and obligatory emotions. All those concepts were culturally experienced and defined. The mothers gave detailed pictures of Korean cultural morality.

In summary, morality was a fluid concept for these Korean American mothers. They considered who was involved with situations and what kind of relationships they had with them. They held a culturally specific emotional response to others to recognize what was right or wrong, which was called *jeong*. It was an empathetic emotion to judge what acceptable behaviors were for a human being. They viewed morality as what human beings were born with.

## Chapter 5

### Cultural Morality and Selfhood as Ethnic Identity

This chapter addresses the second research question, “How are the moral concepts that Korean American immigrants have developed connected with their ethnic identity?” Korean American mothers understand morality as harmonious relations with others, which constructs the concept of self.

#### Recognition and Evaluation of Others as a Good (*chakhan*) Person (vs. a Good Citizen)

No participants mentioned fairness or justness when they were asked about their definition of morality and moral children. Instead, “nice” or “good” were the most common words to describe a moral child. However, they were all confused when they were asked about the meaning of being nice or good. The Korean adjective *chakhan* was commonly compared to “good.” They agreed that Korean *chakhan* and English “good” were not the same. The decisive factor that differentiated two concepts was that others’ recognition and praise were needed to be *chakhan*’ in Korean culture. A mother in a focus group interview said,

It is kind of an obsession I have to become a *chakhan*’ person, who is praised by others. Others’ approval and recognition are always needed. Maybe it is because I am not so confident. It is kind of a Koreans’ tendency. How others see me is so important. When I grew up, people always mentioned that my face looked cold and aloof. Kids bullied me because of my look. I needed to gain their approval. In order to do that, the only thing I could do was to be very *chakhan*. I should always say yes to others. Then people began to praise me as very *chakhan* and accept me. To me, it is just the same as a moral person. I believe most Koreans think likewise.

Other mothers in the focus group confirmed her belief that morality is a means to gain others’ acceptance as a good person.

Being a good child is also related with being able to mingle with others and fulfilling others' wishes. Mrs. Taeyoung explained expectations for children:

*Chakhan* kids are probably those who listen to their parents. They have to follow parents' orders all the time. I know kids cannot be like that. Then I'm confused. Maybe they are expected to get along with others and don't make any trouble. So when my daughter had a quarrel with her friend, I told her to keep it to herself. Maybe I want her to be a good kid. In Korea, we teach children to keep quiet to be good. They are supposed to be reserved. We are not supposed to express our opinions boldly. We should suppress ourselves to be a good person. But here in America, it's not like that. (Mrs. Taeyoung)

Mrs. Sunny also recalled how she was raised in Korea to be good as a means to achieve others' recognition:

When I was in Korea, I thought being good is to put others ahead of me. And I have to comply with others by saying yes all the time. It was really hard on me. For example, when I was little, my cousin took away my toys but I could not say "no" to her because I was taught that being a good kid was to suppress myself and be good to others. (Mrs. Sunny)

The mothers pointed out that a good person was susceptible to others' wishes and complied with them by suppressing oneself. The following conversation between Mrs. Sunny and Hailey also showed that Hailey put the cultural value of being good into practice at school.

[Mrs. Sunny: Mother/ Hailey: Daughter (age 9)]

1: Mrs. Sunny: You said sometimes you didn't understand what the teachers said. Then what do you do?

2: Hailey: Sometimes I do wrong things.

3: Mrs. Sunny: In that case, what would you do?

4: Hailey: Well, I don't say anything. I just let go.

5: Mrs. Sunny: You could ask your teacher. Are you afraid of the teacher?

6: Hailey: Well, not really. Feels like she's going to get tired if I ask. And everybody would say, "You don't even know that? This is easy."

Hailey was not afraid of any consequence of asking questions of the teacher. She tried to put herself in the teacher's position. She did not want to make her teacher tired. In addition, she was conscious of what other students would think of her. Mrs. Sunny later said that Hailey was conscious of what others think of her and how she might cause trouble to others. Mrs. Sunny recalled that Hailey and herself as children were similar.

The focus on human relations regarding the practice of morality was compared to the American education of being a good citizen. The mothers in focus group interviews agreed that moral education within Korean American homes and U.S. schools was not comparable. They explained that being a good citizen in the U.S. seemed to be someone who spoke up for causes that would affect all society, but that Korean culture emphasized keeping good relations with others and getting their approval. The mothers expressed their focus on relations, saying, "What I worry about my kids is mostly how they manage human relationships and will mingle with others when they are adults" (Mrs. Bae).

### **Layers of Self**

For immigrant Korean mothers, understanding the self was not based on isolated and static abstractions but came from dynamic interactions with others. Assurance and identification of the valuable self was a strong motivation for morality.

**Expanded self: fluid concept of 'we (*woori*)' as Korean identity.** Given that Korean American mothers defined morality as doing right or wrong to others, the concepts of others and self need to be addressed. The boundary between self and others was not clearly fixed.

“Others” had layered meanings depending on how self-identity was defined; self was decided by relations with others. The overlapping area between the self and others mattered greatly, which was “we” (*woori*). They clearly said that the English “we” and *woori* did not share meanings and usage in context. The mothers elaborated the concept of *woori* as follow:

It is hard to explain the concept of *woori* or *jeong*. Almost impossible to get it unless you are a Korean. It is a kind of love and warm feeling, but it is beyond myself;

In America, individuals are still individuals even in a group. But in Korea, when I am in *woori*, individuality just melts away within a group. Individual identity is defined by being in a group because they are part of me as *woori*;

Korean *woori* is different from community. It is the same in that it gives sense of belonging. But more than that, it gives warm feelings which only Koreans can understand, connection with others beyond myself. For example, we never say “my mom,” or “my husband.” It sounds almost grammatically wrong. Instead we always say *woori* mom (our mom), *woori* husband (our husband) although it doesn’t make sense. Korean *woori* is so different from English word, we, and is closely related with *Jeong*;

The harmony of the group is the most important. The group is *woori* and at the same time it is “I”. Once we regard a group as *woori*, we don’t discard any member. We just carry altogether even if someone causes trouble or pain.

The particular concept of *woori* explains why Koreans are ambiguous about morality and sometimes tolerant towards wrongdoing.

The mothers recognized that the boundary of *woori* was obscure even to Koreans. The boundary seemed to change depending on contexts and situations, which required constant questioning and confirmation of one another. The blurred boundary between others and self is explained below:

We Koreans tend to step into another's privacy. Actually, privacy itself is unfamiliar concept to Koreans. There's no such thing as others' business. Americans let others alone when they are asked to leave others alone. We don't. We just presume that we are altogether and we all need one another. We barely say "thank you" or "sorry." It is because we don't need to say that because we don't differentiate between you and me. In contrast, when Americans habitually say those expressions, it feels like to me they try to draw lines between others, saying, "I've done what I have to do, so don't interfere with my business." (Mrs. Noori)

The concept of teamwork or leadership in America is different from that in Korea. They agree on rules as individuals but we, Koreans, just assume and help poor people out of feeling pity because we are altogether *woori*. (Mrs. Taeyoung)

The fluidity and uncertainty of self and others confuses Koreans themselves and makes them anxious. The mothers expressed negative aspects of *jeong* and the blurred boundaries of self and others. Depending on contexts, they complained that they felt obligated to sacrifice themselves even when they were not directly asked, which sometimes felt like "too much sacrifice" or "too dependent on each other" (Mrs. Taeyoung). Mothers in focus group interviews also suggested that "Koreans could be too rude or too selfish because they would make excuses that 'it is not only for myself but *woori*'."

#### **Mother-child attachment based on Korean culture: "My child as extended 'I'."**

The mothers concurred in that the attachment of Korean mothers and their children was not just a natural mother-child bond. They equated themselves with their children as extended selves. One mother at a focus group interview pointed out that the only possible case that the possessive "my," instead of "our (*woori*)" could be used is with one's child. They refer to only "our school, our husband, our mom" and so on, but "my child" sounds right. They would never consider grown children as independent persons feeling they should take care of

them “forever.” The mothers provided many examples of Korean parents’ sacrifices and treating their children as extended selves:

Most Korean parents that I know support their kids’ education even with their retirement fund (Mrs. Bae);

Korean parents are obligated to make their children in their thirties or forties get married. So they seriously search for a bride or groom for their children (Mrs. Taeyoung);

I feel that she is still a baby. I’m always worried and anxious excessively about everything such as her safety and social relationships. I overprotect her. Most Korean mothers are not so different. They tend to worry about their children forever. (Mrs. Sunny)

However, extensive caring was not always expressed as indulgent or enduring. From the outside, Korean mothers seem blunt and unfriendly to their children. They do not feel the need to express and display their love for their children because they assume that the attachment with their children is not something between equal individuals but rather part of oneself. All mothers observed that they were surprised that American mothers were so kind to explain everything to their children. They said that they were not familiar with those relationships of mother and child. Mrs. Taeyoung reflected on the rugged caring of her mother as follows:

When I was young, I burned myself. My mother got furious and scolded me. I was crying, thinking it’s not fair because I was the one who got hurt, but my mother scolded me. But I think this is common to Koreans. They care too much to distinguish between themselves and their children. I gave lots of money to my mom and yelled at her saying, “Why don’t you live for yourself?” But I do the same thing to my daughter. I sacrifice and get protective about her.

Excessive caring and sacrifice of Korean mothers were a result of their view of the children as extended selves. The fluid concepts of self and emotional attributes of morality originate in the first relationship of a person's life.

**“Double standard”:** Struggle between ideal type as a part of *woori* and being oneself. Layered and blurred concepts of self resulted in conflicting standards for the right actions. As a member of a group (*woori*, we), Koreans hold generous and ideal standards in their relationships. However, the view that someone is a part of self makes one assume entitlement to behave without respect and manners. A good example was Korean mothers who are willing to sacrifice for their children just like for a part of themselves but at the same time unfriendly and blunt;

The boundaries between we, I, and others are so complicated. If someone is within “we,” we are so generous that we could overlook his wrongdoing. But at the same time, we might be rude or cruel to one of us because he is within “we,” part of us and comfortable. (Mrs. Bae)

Mrs. Sunny gave an example of relationship among family members regarding the blurred boundary between self and extended self as follows:

Outside of home, Hailey [her daughter] tries hard to be praised as being good. She is so nice to everybody. But at home, she is mean to her sister or me. It is a double standard. Koreans are like that. For example, traditional Korean husbands are kind to others but at home they are distant and authoritarian to their family. It is because families are easy compared to others from whom they have to earn approval. After they try hard to please others outside of the home, they come home, be themselves, and act mean to families. Families are part of oneself. That's why.

The double standards were reflected when the mothers differentiated between two answers: “What kind of child would you think is morally well educated?” and “How would

you wish to educate your own children?”

There are kids who behave exemplarily and make me think they must have had a good upbringing. They are polite and kind to others and respectful of elders. But I do not wish my kids to turn out like them. Rather, I hope they are those who speak up for themselves as long as they don't seriously harm others. The discrepancy is because of the distance between ideals and actuality. Korean education is like that. Parents set the ideals for their children, which are supposedly approved by others; how good they should be at school, how respectful they should be to elders. I am one of those parents but I hate that. I cannot but help that. Because we Koreans should be always better for others and meet standards of others. (Mrs. Noori)

Mrs. Taeyoung also expressed mixed attitudes concerning her daughter's considerate character. Her daughter, Linda, wanted to dye her hair pink, so Mrs. Taeyoung called their hairdresser to check if she had a pink color. The hairdresser said yes, but when they went for the appointment, the hairdresser dyed Linda's hair blue. During a slight altercation, Linda tried to thank the hairdresser and was willing to hold back what she wanted to say. Mrs. Taeyoung said with a sigh of resignation:

Linda is so understanding and nice to others. I know I raised her that way, to be an exemplary person from others' perspective. I should be happy. But I'm not that happy. I'm worried what if she was the only one who is nice and suffers a loss. But I cannot teach her to be selfish, so I'm confused. There might be no right answer.

The following conversation between Mrs. Sunny and her daughter Hailey revealed how being an extremely kind person in relationships panned out. A boy in Hailey's class took away her book.

[Hailey: Daughter (age 9)/ Mrs. Sunny: Mother]

1: Hailey: He took my book.

- 2: Mrs. Sunny: Then what did you do?
- 3: Hailey: Well... some of my friends helped and got it for me.
- 4: Mrs. Sunny: Oh, your friends helped you? But you didn't do anything about that?
- 5: Hailey: Well, I am too shy.
- 6: Mrs. Sunny: To him? Did your teacher know about that?
- 7: Hailey: No.
- 8: Mrs. Sunny: Were you okay?
- 9: Hailey: I was angry but I didn't do anything.
- 10: Mrs. Sunny: But you act out when you are mad at me.
- 11: Hailey: I know but... (laughter)

Hailey did not speak up for herself when the boy took away her book. Instead, she let other friends speak for her. However, as Mrs. Sunny mentioned, Hailey was not as the same as when she was at home. She showed her true emotions with her mother. Mrs. Noori also explained that she was imposing double standards on her children:

I'm just like average Korean mothers who emphasize good grades at school and respect for elders. But sometimes, I feel sorry for my kids who must have had hard time in learning all the social norms and high standards to get accepted by others. I cannot be consistent in teaching them. Sometimes I'm very lenient, letting them be themselves, selfish and naughty, saying, "You know you shouldn't be like that outside home." Then they reply, "Of course, I know." Then I feel uneasy that it seems that I make them two-faced. I know I'm inconsistent. I'm confused, too.

When the mothers were asked what raising a moral child means, they agreed that it was a hard question to answer. A mother at a focus group interview said:

To me, a moral child is to give away his own gain to put others ahead of himself.

They always have to say yes to others not to hurt others' feelings or hold back what

they want to say. I'm not sure if it would hurt my children when they are in the fiercely competitive society.

In sum, Korean American mothers thought that being a morally good person required approval from others with whom one had a close relationship. They pointed out that American culture taught children to behave in a certain right way regardless of who was involved, but that Korean children were raised to be good by conforming to others' wishes or social surroundings. The value system that made this socialization possible was the concept of self. Self was not limited to an individual. The extended self was reflected in the concept of *woori*, which was equivalent to "we." However, *woori* played the role of a larger standard, especially in the relationship between mother and child, the first relationship one forms with others, providing the foundation of the extended self.

## Chapter 6

### Processes of Socialization of Morality and Challenges of Two Cultures

This chapter answers the third and fourth research questions: How does a personal history of immigration and ethnic reality involving the motivation to immigrate, language loss and gain, and desire to assimilate influence the parenting strategy and practices? How do Korean American immigrant mothers socialize their children into moral beings during everyday interactions using two languages, and what are the challenges in dealing with their children raised with two cultural influences? The mothers' history of immigration and experiences in the United States revealed that they modified their understanding of both Korean and American cultures and, accordingly, their parenting strategy. However, they could not lose their own cultural concept of "self" that was not compatible with American culture, which led to their struggles in-between two cultures.

#### Socialization of Social Acceptance

The Korean mothers socialize their children into a culturally appropriate morality during their everyday interactions by using several patterns and themes.

**Close observation of people in context and in specific situations.** The mothers taught their children to closely observe other people's situations. Mrs. Bae told me how she had taught her daughter, Haejin, to behave well in school. She said to Haejin, "You talk too much during school time. Think how many kids are in class. Think about your teacher. She would find it so hard and get so tired if all kids talk that much, right?" She directed her daughter's attention to the person affected by her actions.

In the mothers' view, being right or wrong could not be determined by one's behavior alone. The contexts, such as those that involved other people and emotional feelings towards others needed to be considered to make a final judgment or behave in an appropriate way.

Mrs. Noori explained why she was inconsistent in her reactions to her children's

behavior when it was the same:

As a parent, I think what matters is not the child's behavior. It is rather my mood and situations. For example, I answer kindly to her in a normal situation. But when I talk with my husband, I scold her. 'Hey, do you think your talking is so important? Don't you see and hear we talk here? Is it important enough to break our conversation?' The same behavior, but my reaction is totally different. The kid might be confused. But my message is clear. "Developing quick wits (*noonchi*), judge the surrounding whole situation when she acts or talks."

Other mothers in a focus group interview also pointed out that *noonchi*, which means the capability to make a situational judgment when reading people's minds was important to learn as children grow up.

Another teaching strategy of the mothers was to remind their children of the meaning of others' presence as a form of comparison and measurement of one's life. Mothers in focus group interviews said,

We Korean mothers raise our kids by constantly comparing them to so-called 'others' in every way of life, such as grades, personality, friendship and network. Actually, they are not complete strangers. The "others" are a broad concept of "we," somewhat related to myself so we cannot ignore them.

These mothers socialized their children into feeling others (*woori*) as a part of judging one's own life.

The mothers commonly praised their children for being keenly aware of others' behavior and situations and being able to adapt accordingly. Observation of others was the first step. Most mothers pointed out that they could recognize an only child. They said an only child was not usually good at watching others and reading meanings from their observations, so they could not help acting selfishly. In contrast, children with siblings had

more chances to develop observation skills during family interactions. Mrs. Bae explained what her children had learned by observing other family members' interactions. "My second daughter, Haejin, is quick-witted (*noonchi*). She watches her brother get scolded and corrects herself accordingly. She is quick to observe people and situations" (Mrs. Bae). *Noonchi* was frequently referred by the other mothers to describe a desirable character, which means a capability of reading the subtle nuances of situations and the intentions of others while being quiet. They explained that an equivalent term for *noonchi* could not be found in the English vocabulary.

All four mothers in the study said that Korean American students, including their own children, were quiet and reserved at school, although they were talkative at home. Jenny, Mrs. Sunny's second daughter, in the following conversation with her mother was lively at home, but at school she usually quietly watched the other students:

[Mrs. Sunny: Mother/ Jenny: Daughter (age 6)]

1: Mrs. Sunny: Why are you so quiet at school?

2: Jenny: I don't know. I just watch other kids.

3: Mrs. Sunny: You don't want to talk at school?

4: Jenny: No.

5: Mrs. Sunny: Why?

6: Jenny: I feel shy.

7: Mrs. Sunny: What is that?

8: Jenny: If I say something, they stare at me and I don't know what to do. Teachers stare at me, kids stare at me, and I'm so embarrassed.

Mrs. Sunny heard from Jenny's teacher that she was too quiet at school. Mrs. Sunny said that it surprised her that being quiet could be a concern for American teachers. She said that she understood Jenny's embarrassment and shyness because she would feel awkward to be

singled out and pressured to speak for herself. Other mothers agreed that in Korea being too outspoken would be a problem more often than being quiet. They said they were taught in Korea that they should watch and think what was going on before they spoke.

Children were expected to observe not only others but also what others think of them.

Mrs.Sunny explained:

Korean kids usually are not much confident about themselves. I think it's because Koreans are raised to be conscious about others' thinking. For example, Korean women should put on perfect makeup even when we go to a grocery store. We constantly check how we look to others. And we have to show that we are conscious of others.

Confidence in oneself was a new virtue that Korean American children had to display in American schools. Quiet observation was not counted as a legitimate strength, though it was encouraged in Korean culture.

**“Kids are kids”:** Reminding children of their role in relationship and obligation to others as a group member. Korean parents teach their children that proper behaviors as a certain role in a relationship are more important than expressing individual preferences.

Children are supposed to observe how adults interact with one another. They are not equal to adults. Mrs. Noori explained how children were positioned as not as being individuals:

My parents always said that little kids don't know anything and ignored my thinking and my own opinions. They didn't let me develop my own things. They were not unusual. Koreans traditionally don't believe that kids have their own world and that they should respect them. Whatever I expressed myself, they shrugged off saying, “What would a kid know?”

In Korean culture, father, mother, and children have predetermined behaviors in relationships. A mother in a focus group interview explained the Korean family structure:

When I grew up in Korea, parents did not need to think much about how to be a good parent. A father went outside of the home to make a living and at home was very reticent. But he had his own seat at the table, his own utensils. And nobody could eat before he started to eat. He was respected unconditionally. A mother also took care of children's needs. Children are supposed to listen to their parents no matter what. Nobody worried and mulled over what they should do as a parent or a child or their individual desires. Here in America, parents should constantly check their parenting and each child's individual needs. It's not familiar to me.

Mrs. Bae also expressed the expectations for her children as family members:

I don't like my kids to grow impudent and be a know-it-all, which is a totally Korean concept (*dwebarajida*). I don't think there is a matching English word for it. I want them to have a sense of obligation as a member of the family. Thinking or talking only for themselves is too much. For example, I make kids wait for Dad at the table until he starts to eat, no matter how hungry they are. I cannot accept that kids just act or speak as they please just as if they are the most important person in the world. American individualism, the "who cares?" attitude, doesn't look good to me.

Other mothers in a focus group interview provided Korean linguistic practices that reflected their belief of predetermined roles as members of a family. "Korean parents do not say 'sorry' to their children. We think parents cannot be wrong and say 'sorry' because we are a parent and not an individual. We are a role in a relationship rather than an independent individual."

Mrs. Noori observed an interesting difference in punishment between American and Korean cultures. She was talking with her daughter, Terry, about punishment when students were loud at the classroom. She told Terry about her experience when she was a school-age student in Korea. When one broke a certain rule, the group or the whole class that the person

was in were all punished. Thus, all students felt responsibility as a member of the class because one's wrongdoing would inflict punishment on the other members. At the same time, they had to watch out for one another's behavior to avoid this group punishment. It did not matter that I did a right thing as long as I was a member of a group. However, her daughter, Terry, did not have any clue how this kind of punishment worked. She kept asking, "Why should a kid be punished when she didn't anything wrong?" Mrs. Noori tried several times to explain to Terry the concept of responsibility as a member of a group:

I think it would make kids behave well if your teacher imposes penalty points or takes away a privilege from not just a bad kid but all table members altogether when one of your table members behaves badly. What do you think?

Terry replied, "I don't know about that. How is it possible? I don't get it. Maybe the teacher hates all of us?" Terry never understood the intention of the group punishment and Mrs. Noori gave up. Mrs. Noori later said that the group responsibility as a form of punishment made students conscious of each other and emphasized the importance of a larger group beyond oneself. She explained that her daughter was going to an American school, so she was familiar with individual responsibility and consequences.

Mrs. Taeyoung revealed a sense of group responsibility when she said she donated more to her children's school in order not to be criticized as a Korean. She said, "I don't want school teachers to think all Koreans are stingy because of my behavior." Also, when the mothers talked about the Korean American Harvard student mentioned above, their first comment was "too shameful as a Korean." In their view, individuals do not accept only their own responsibility but they also share others' shame and reputation as a member of a group.

**"Being in others' skin": Feelings as a consequence of morality and giving the benefit of the doubt to others.** When the mothers taught their children the right behaviors, their common strategy was to make them feel what it was like to be in others' position. The

following conversation between Mrs. Noori and her daughter, Terry, exemplified the instruction of being nice to others and thinking about their feelings.

[Mrs. Noori: Mother/ Terry: Daughter (age 7)]

1: Mrs. Noori: I was at your school during lunchtime. And I saw you and the other girls. Ella asked you to meet with her later. You completely ignored her. So I got so mad at you. Do you think that you can shut off people when they are a little annoying?

2: Terry: I think Mommy thinks whenever somebody asks you, you have to answer nicely. When I was with Ashley, I just ignored Ella because I knew Ashley didn't like Ella. I'm just wondering why you always have to be nice to everybody. Because sometimes you could be frustrated. I don't know why Mommy thinks differently. That's the trouble.

3: Mrs. Noori: Think about last time when Ashley was very frustrated and she ignored you. So you were very embarrassed. Right?

4: Terry: Oh!

5: Mrs. Noori: Right?

6: Terry: Yeah!

7: Mrs. Noori: How did you feel? Did you like that?

8: Terry: I was half confused and half sad. 'Why is she mad at me?' So I was confused. And she said she won't be my friend anymore, so I was sad.

9: Mrs. Noori: Yes, the same reason. Even if you don't want to be nice to others, even though it can be very superficial, you can say nicely. They won't be embarrassed or confused. That's why I keep saying 'be nice to others.' When you ask me math problems, if I say 'You don't know this? Huh? (mimicking yelling),' then will you be happy?

10: Terry: No.

11: Mrs. Noori: When your friends come to you and ask about math problems. You answer them nicely but they couldn't understand you. Then you answer the second time. They still don't understand. Then you can be frustrated. Still you can ask them nicely to go to a teacher or somebody else. You leave the situation without losing your temper. Controlling yourself and being patient are important in relationships with others. Don't burst out whenever you want. Don't do as you please.

Mrs. Noori guided Terry to Ella's hurt feelings by reminding her of the same situation where Terry was in the same position as Ella. She emphasized "controlling oneself and being patient" in relationships. Mrs. Noori later said that the capability to understand others' feelings when one's action could hurt their feelings was the basic cause for morality. She said she could not let Terri get away without being scolded when she acted as she liked before she thought about others' feeling.

In order to be in others' skin, one needs to focus on others' feelings. The mothers did not mention logical consequences or universal moral rules for individuals. They always connected their children with others' feelings. Mrs. Bae explained how she taught her daughter, Haejin, to be nice to her friends. "If Haejin wouldn't share toys with other kids, I would say, 'If other kids wouldn't share toys with you, how would you feel?' I would say 'if you were the other party, how would you feel?'"

Mrs. Bae also gave another example of the kind of moral behavior she taught in order not to feel "sad." She said, "Haejin lied once. She checked off her piano practice homework although she didn't do it. I told her 'Once you tell a small lie, then later nobody will believe you. Then how would you feel?' She said that she would be so sad." Mrs. Bae emphasized that she would feel sad when her relationships with others became a problem. The importance of human relationships was associated with bad feelings.

One of the most important features of morality was to give others the benefit of the

doubt and believing in the others' good intentions. Mrs. Taeyoung and her daughter, Linda, were talking about their hairdresser's deceiving deception.

[Mrs. TY: Mother/ Linda: Daughter (age 7)]

1: Mrs. TY: The other day we went to the hair salon to dye your hair. We called in advance to check if she had a pink color. She said, yes. And you also told her you wanted pink hair when we walked in. But after she dyed your hair blue, then she said she didn't have a pink color. Don't you think she lied to us?

2: Linda: (hesitating) Well, I don't know.

3: Mrs. TY: Maybe we didn't have to pay her because you got the wrong color.

4: Linda: We should pay her so she is not poor. She might have heard something else when you talked about pink. She did hard work even with the blue color.

Later, Mrs. Taeyoung said "I have hoped to raise a child who would think about others even when it is doubtful. I think this just the basics of being a human."

Mrs. Bae also expressed a similar hope for her children, "I want my kids to put aside food for their siblings without being asked. They need to think what others might want to eat. That's consideration." Other mothers also described morally ideal children as "kids who can get along with anybody, even with a difficult friend. They should be able to find their merits. So they will have lots of friends." The reason why all Korean mothers emphasize greeting others was that, "Persons who brightly greet anybody have an open mind to all."

## **Acculturation**

**Emotional motivation for immigration: Evaluation of Americans being self-sufficient.** The mothers explained the new era of Korean American immigration. They pointed out that the American Dream was no longer a strong attraction to middle-class Koreans since the Korean economy was expanding. They understood that the job opportunities and economic prospects for an Asian immigrant in America were relatively slim,

especially because the participants were in the middle class with a decent education in Korea. Nonetheless, they said that the desire for immigration had not lessened for a different reason. Mrs. Sunny, who came to America as a college student and decided to settle down, explained her motivation:

I failed to enter a “good enough” college to show others in Korea. The level of college is so important in Korea. We almost think the name of college reveals one’s value. Even my parents were ashamed of me because of the level of college I entered. I felt suffocated being busy thinking that others might look down on me. That was a big motivation to move to America as an escape.

After she had children, she came to face the harsh reality as an immigrant family. She said that her children were not thriving at school because of language and cultural barriers and added that her economic situation seemed to be behind that of her friends in Korea with a similar social economic status. However, she still did not regret her decision to raise her children in America as follows:

I want my kids to have a life for their own in America. I think that is happiness. In Korea, it feels like we live to show something to others such as a good college. However much Koreans achieve, it is hardly enough to satisfying because we are always conscious of others’ standards. In America, there is diversity, so people can live however they want to live. I want my kids to live a life not caring about others’ thinking. Just as they want.

Mrs. Noori also decided to settle down in America after obtaining her doctoral degree. She explained her decision, “I was certain that I could get a decent job with the doctoral degree. But I didn’t want to fit myself to the rigid standards in Korea, such as house values, the level of children’s school.”

Mrs. Taeyoung, who married a Korean American and moved to the United States,

expressed her determination to immigrate to America even before she met her husband, “I didn’t want to marry a Korean guy and live in Korea because I hated the fact that I would have to prove that I’m worthy of someone’s mother and wife and a good daughter-in-law.”

The mothers in the focus group interviews also confirmed that the social pressure to be conscious of others’ judgment and standards became the source of their desire for immigration. Mrs. Noori compared Korean and American schools:

All Korean immigrant kids and parents who I’ve met definitely preferred American schools over Korean schools. In Korea, all have to fix eyes on one single goal and nobody can be left out. Instead, in America, individuals can choose their own path. To them, what seemed most attractive in American life was their relative freedom to express themselves in every aspect of life such as college, job, marriage, and children’s education.

**Distancing themselves from Korean cultural pressure: Criticizing “being good” and finding one’s self.** The mothers recounted their change of perspective about being good since they immigrated. A mother in a focus group interview said:

I hate so-called good persons. The Korean concept of good person is totally different from the American concept. For Koreans, good persons are conformists. They don’t complain and follow groups’ decisions because they need to be approved by others. Koreans try to show others that they are a good person whatever their real personality is. But nowadays, they are seen as a stupid person because they get to suffer a loss to be good.

The mothers’ criticism of the Korean concept of morality was based on what they had observed since they left Korea. They could evaluate their own culture when they had some distance from it.

The mothers evaluated and changed their behaviors accordingly. Mrs. Sunny said:

Now I come to understand that the reason why I couldn’t say no to others was that I

assumed that I should make others love me. I thought I should not let them down.

Actually, I had no doubt about that. I didn't even know how I was. Now I changed since I lived in America. Now I think, "so what?"

Their criticism about Korean culture came from their personal experience of the incompatibility of Korean culture and American social norms. A mother in a focus group interview said:

Being good as a Korean standard is not appreciated in America. Although I'm used to pleasing others by being a compliant person, here in America, it plays as a factor to cause insecurity here. First of all, I don't get involved with many people. I don't feel I belong here. I cannot share myself with Americans. It's hard. Especially the status of minorities in society adds more pressure to be good in order to be accepted. The desire for being accepted is especially strong for Koreans. But being quiet doesn't work here. We have not been educated to speak up for ourselves. That's morally wrong.

They had also evaluated their own upbringing in Korea, drawing on American parents' parenting practices and modifying their parenting. A mother in a focus group interview related her experience:

My parents didn't explain reasons. They just thought kids should listen to their parents. So they told us to do this or that. Then I had to do it without knowing the reasons. They were not any worse than any other Korean parents. All Korean parents assumed that kids didn't know anything. I hated that. So here in America, I try to explain to my kids.

Their re-evaluation also applied to the relationship between Korean traditional mothers and their children. They viewed the unconditional sacrifice of parents as self-effacing and eventually the loss of self. They emphasized the performance of their roles as

family members were too demanding for both mothers and children. They said that parents demanded grownup children's caring to be equivalent to their sacrifices. A mother in a focus group said, "Their demand for children's duty after their sacrifice is understandable. 'How could you do this to me after all the sacrifices?' But it is too hard for children nowadays." Another mother in a focus group interview agreed that they tried to be a different mother from their own mothers:

As a mother, I try to find myself. My parents sacrificed too much for me and then they expect reward from their children, which pressures me too much. They are disappointed, which makes me feel guilty. It is very common relationship between Korean parents and children. I don't want the same thing to happen between my children and I. I know Koreans would see me very cold mother. But I try to keep some distance from my children. I want them to have some independence.

They applied the same line of criticism to the Korean view of being good to others. A mother said, "Being good and considerate too much could be harm or a burden to others" (Mrs. Sunny). Another mother made the same observation, "Koreans tend to think they have rights to interfere others' lives because they just do unsolicited good things to them. But then, there could be misunderstanding of good will and confusion and expectations. They think consideration for others gives them some entitlement to invade others' privacy" (Mrs. Bae).

They also expressed their "enlightened" expectations for their children's education. They wanted their children to love themselves. This showed that they came to believe that it was important to claim self and not to be uninfluenced by others. "About Hailey's education, what concerns me most is that she seems not confident and timid when she is among others outside of her family" (Mrs. Sunny). Other mothers in focus group interviews expressed similar wishes for their children:

I want them to love themselves and then they will live a happy life. In order to do

that I think they need to find something they themselves like to do for living not thinking about others' standards or expectations. Looking back at what I have gone through in my life, I would have lived a better life, if I had found something I myself enjoyed to do regardless of what others might think.

**Struggles of being in-between.** Their modified understanding and behaviors did not mean that they could discard and abandon their basic world view and Korean cultural norms of behaviors. Although they expressed concerns and expectations for their children to be confident about themselves and free from others' approval, they still upheld the Korean values and taught them to their children. A mother in a focus group said, "I tell my kids not to insist their opinions all the time because I don't want them to struggle in human relations."

Mrs. Taeyoung also explained how her teaching had shaped her daughter to behave like "a typical Asian girl":

I'm confused about how I should raise my kids. From the American perspective, she could be a leader. But from my perspective as a Korean mother, she looked like that she was way too ahead of others and bossy. So I think I stopped her from expressing herself. Now her teacher said, she was just like an Asian by being quiet and minding only her own business. She would be better if she developed leadership skills.

The following example also shows the inner conflict between promoting self-confidence and socializing modesty:

When I went to my daughter's field trip, she raised her hand to answer the teacher's question. In my mind, I thought I should like her outgoing and confident personality. But without thinking, I found myself holding down her hand, thinking "What if her answer was wrong, it would be embarrassing." (Mrs. Sunny)

They also had difficulty in adopting the American parenting style. Traditionally, Korean mothers did not have a constant and direct relationship with their children because

they did not have to build the relationship as an individual rather the relationship was set as roles. Mrs. Sunny complained about a new expectation for a mother in the United States:

When I grew up in Korea, mothers were not supposed to play with kids. Here in America, mothers should play with them and read books to them. I'm not familiar with that so too much stress for me.

Mrs. Taeyoung expressed the same kind of struggle:

Korean parents and children don't talk much. Mothers arrange education and food for them. Without talking, we just know what we are to each other. But here in America, people talk constantly. My daughter talks about all the things in her life. That drives me crazy. I'm not used to it. I'm worried about how I can build a relationship with my daughter who is raised in America.

Their struggle as an immigrant parent became vivid when their children brought home American cultural expectations and norms. A mother in a focus group said:

Kids think that mother doesn't know anything because of English and immigrant status. But they are also typical Koreans in that they are so conscious of how others think of their mom. The other day, I went to my kid's school to pick him up. A kid nearby was the last one standing there to wait for his ride. So I asked, "Do you need a ride home?" Right away, my kid was mad at me. He said, "In America, you can be seen as a kidnapper." He preached me, "In America, you cannot offer help without thinking." But a few days later, another American neighbor mother offered my son a lift and he took it.

This episode showed that the child brought home an American behavioral norm, but at the same time, he also carried the "double standard" from being conscious of Americans' evaluations and was harsh to his mother as an extension of himself. Another mother in a focus group interview also complained about the incompatibility of her Korean parenting

practices and her children's misunderstanding. She explained that Korean parents treated children as inferior and dependent, "But my children are educated here. So what I'd like to give as a Korean mother is considered pampering. Children are annoyed by that."

As children showed both the acceptance of American culture and maintenance of Korean way of thinking of relationship, their struggle was a Korean cultural way of adaptation; they constantly observe and desire to accept the American way of life and culture. The Korean moral values that human beings should follow their group's evaluation applied to the process of adaptation to the American culture.

They tried to keep a balance between two different cultural norms. Mrs. Bae explained:

I want to equip positive values for my kids from Korean and American culture.

Americans are too individualistic. I don't like that. I want my kids to be respectful of elders as Koreans. But I don't want to support and sacrifice for them to make them dependent on me. I know this could be inconsistent.

The following conversation between Mrs. Noori and her daughter, Terry, showed the confusion between the two cultural values. Mrs. Noori asked about Ashley, a friend of Terry's who had been rude to her:

[Mrs. Noori: Mother/ Terry: Daughter (age 7)]

1: Mrs. Noori: Why are you still her friend? Do you like her?

2: Terry: (laughs) Half (hesitation), I don't know.

3: Mrs. Noori: You don't want to say nice things about her because you know I don't like her.

4: Terry: (laughs)

5: Mrs. Noori: You don't have to worry about me. You can be honest. I know the other time when I was there you pretended not to hear Ashley and ran away from her

because you were afraid of me not liking her.

6: Terry: (laughs) Well. When she is nice, she is really, really nice. Just when she is mad, she is really mad.

7: Mrs. Noori: How about you? When you are mad how do you behave?

8: Terry: Me? But I never start to get mad.

9: Mrs. Noori: Why not? Why don't you say to Ashley "Don't do that. Get away from me." like that?

10: Terry: Well (laughs), I don't know. Because I still want to be her friend? When I am only half-mad, I can hold it.

11: Mrs. Noori: You think you have to be nice to Ashley even when she is rude to you, right? It's true that I told you to be nice to everybody. You are disguising your mind and telling a lie if you are nice to somebody who is rude to you. Do you think it is a right thing to be nice to everybody holding what you feel? Or to tell her to stop and go away?

12: Terry: Second one.

13: Mrs. Noori: Then you are being rude.

14: Terry: But still she's bothering me.

15: Mrs. Noori: Being frank could be being rude. Which is better, being frank even if rude or being polite even if it is a lie?

16: Terry: Second.

17: Mrs. Noori: Being nice even if you are not frank?

18: Terry: Yeah.

19: Mrs. Noori: (sighs) Have you ever said to anybody, "Stop and go away."

20: Terry: (hesitates) Nobody ever bothered me that much.

About this conversation, Mrs. Noori later said that she herself did not know which one she

should teach her daughter, “being frank” or “being nice.” After she convinced Terry to choose “being nice to everybody,” she expressed an additional question (Line 19), having in mind that she still wanted Terry to be confident enough to say “stop” to a rude friend, which meant self-confidence in her understanding. However, she still believed that “being nice to everybody” was something that a human being should do.

In summary, the mothers socialized their children into being persons who were sensitive to human relationships. They emphasized a person’s role in a relationship rather than their individual uniqueness and independence. They also made their children think about others’ feelings for their own benefit. However, the mothers were concerned that this socialization process made their children reserved and shy among their American peers who were taught to be competent as independent individuals. They still believed that being a valuable person with a keen consideration of others was important, but at the same time, they desired to adapt to American culture.

## Chapter 7

### Discussions and Conclusions

#### Morality as Cultural Value System, Identity, and Emotions

This study revealed that Korean American mothers' understanding of moral values was imbued with Korean cultural values (Research Question 1). Their morality was closely related with their relationships with others. Thus, right or wrong could be fluid depending on who is involved. Their judgment relied on emotions, which were also loaded with cultural values. Likewise, previous studies discovered that moral virtues were connected with the belief systems of certain people (Kim & Greene, 2003; Bear, Manning, & Shiomi, 2006; Lo, 2009). This view questions the assumption of Kohlberg's 'cognitive developmental theory,' which sums up the universality of moral development as individuals' reaction to the social environment. The importance of social and cultural contexts has never been denied in 'cognitive developmental' theory. What this view has failed to distinguish is the difference between moral judgment and moral decisions in real life. What people think and state about their opinion is not always consistent with their actual reactions to real situations.

This study showed the importance of this difference. For example, the participant mothers in this study clearly differentiated what they believed was right or wrong and what they wished for their children as a moral being. The discrepancy was resolved when it was explained through a cultural system: real life decisions regarding morality were upheld on the standard of relationship with others and for the purpose of establishing self in benefiting others. Thus, the simple question of a right or wrong action could not always be consistent with the complex meanings associated with various people and their contextual situations. The specific cultural and historical investigation regarding morality supported by Cortese (1990) is critical to determine how and why people do moral or immoral actions in real life. The cultural value system explains people's purpose and interpretation on their real life

situations.

This study confirms the socio-cultural development theory that views culture as a process in real life (Rogoff, 1990) and as experienced (Briggs, 1992). The participant mothers actively and constantly interpreted and modified the meanings of cultural values when they were faced with real life challenges. The cultural values were not pre-determined causes to induce a certain set of behaviors, but a process that was activated by the participants' own experience and interpretation in real life situations. For example, observation as a means of obtaining others' approval also made the mothers aware of American culture. Another example was that the mothers were re-evaluating the negative aspect of *jeong*, an unconditional and emotional obligation, referring to the American culture of individualism. The Korean culture helped them understand the American culture.

Previous studies (Grusec & Redler, 1980; Bryan, Adams, & Monin, 2013) have found that actual moral education is more effective when it involves the self as a moral being rather than focusing only on desirable behaviors. This study has also found that gaining the meaning of self through right and acceptable actions played the most important part in motivating individuals. The concept of self was closely related with the cultural views of relationship and others, which is an important part of cultural value systems (Park & Jegatheesan, 2012c). Findings regarding the direct relations between individuals' understanding of self and moral decisions explained why the emphasis on a moral being is more effective in teaching morality. The understanding of self was simply a more constant and meaningful basis to view the surrounding world. For example, the mothers did not let go of the traditional Korean cultural view of self as a worthy person in spite of a willingness to adapt rapidly to the American culture. They upheld the meaning of self in relationship with others. They still wanted their children to be people who are susceptible to others' feelings.

The participant mothers' effort to raise moral children uncovered the cultural values

more clearly, which explained who they were and what their worth was in the world. In particular, when the mothers explained why their children should or should not do certain things, their explanations were based on their cultural values as well as the cultural tools to socialize their children. When it comes to teaching and the socialization of morality, this study showed variety of means in a culturally congruous way. Emotions have been pointed out as a powerful means to socialize children (Fung, 1999; Lutz, 1983; Quinn, 2005). The participant mothers also used emotions such as guilt and sympathy to convey moral obligations. For them, emotions were not individuals' private status of mind but rather communal obligations to others, which is compatible with their views about self and human relationships. Culture cannot be separated from the cultural viewpoint of relationship and morality.

Korean Americans have been depicted as less self reliant and emotionally reserved based on Korean values and collectivism (Jung & Stinnett, 2005). Vinden (2001) maintained that the same attitude and parenting practices produced different outcomes in the context of whole cultural understanding. This implies that there is something more to the process of execution than rigid comparison of certain practices or expression. This study further reveals that emotions could fall into different categories depending on cultural value systems. For Koreans, emotions were closely related with morality and relations with others, not just expression of inner status of an individual.

Morality for Korean American immigrants was closely related with how they understand the self. To be a good person meant to be in a good relationship with others. Relationship with others was an important part of identifying oneself. The traditional cultural understanding of morality and self was not compatible with American culture. In keeping a balance between two different worlds, the mothers criticized their own culture and changed themselves. However, in adapting to the new norms, they resorted to the most basic strategy

of Korean culture, which was to observe Americans and to embrace the inconsistency.

### **Ethnic Identity as Action: Fluidity beyond Description**

This study disclosed immigrants' emotional motivation for immigration by examining personal history of immigration and ethnic reality (Research Question 2 & 3). The mothers interpreted their ethnic identity as reflecting their experiences of a new culture in the U.S. They tried to gain positive aspects from both cultures, which sometimes caused confusion. The participant mothers constantly construed the meaning of two distinctive lives influenced by the dominant culture and immigrant family's life situation. They were voluntary, middle-class immigrants. Since Ogbu (1992) categorized immigrant groups as voluntary and involuntary not limited to ethnicity boundaries, studies that affirmed the diversity within a group (Young, 1998; Lew, 2006; Louie, 2004) showed the dynamic strategies of immigration. This study also depicted how immigrant families with certain economic and educational backgrounds adapted and modified their world view to maintain their ethnic identity. They actively adopted the positive aspects of life when it came to grievances on their traditional culture. Their ethnic identity was not about maintaining food, lifestyle or even language. It is notable that the participant mothers were willing to let go of their Korean culture and seemed to be happy to have an opportunity to escape from the pressure of traditional cultural power when they faced the challenge that they had to adapt to a new worldview and a different perspective. However, what they hold on to was the way of interpretation of world which was ingrained in their traditional culture. This finding indicates that the immigrant studies should consider their actual motivation and expectation for immigration. It provided the insights how individuals processed the challenging situations when they face with two cultures and new world to adapt to.

Disclosure of the immigrant mothers' own aspiration and motivation reveals their agency in their real life situations. Individuals' agency as a critical way of overcoming

'essentialism' and ethnic stereotype has been studied regarding their choices and shared meaning of ethnic identity (Crane, 2013; Kang & Lo, 2004). Agency places ethnic identity in individuals' everyday life contexts with others. Also it reveals power relations within and outside of individuals during interactions. Individuals as agency choose and negotiate meanings of ethnicity in terms of broader social power relationship. In this study, mothers actively use the new culture of independence of the U.S. as criticizing Korean traditional cultural pressures on individualism. Power relations are not one-way dictation but rather individuals' response and interpretations. The mothers themselves legitimize the power of individualism of American culture by reinterpreting and comparing both cultures. However, this response is not static. They modify their interpretation depending on situations such as acknowledging the power of defining self in terms of others' appreciation. In this sense, the agency and ethnic identity is fluid.

The complexity of agency and ethnicity in everyday life are easily detected in micro-interactive level. In this study, the mother child interaction revealed the constant negotiation and conflict both within the mothers and between the mother and the child (Research Question 4). Kang and Lo (2004) shows that analysis of discourses and everyday talk provides heterogeneous identity of Korean American as both Korean and American. Although the sequential discourses were happening, the choice of meanings of values of either background culture or prevailing society was not a random action but the process of negotiation of both parties. A family member borrowed and even embodied broader socio-cultural structures within the interactions. Immigrant parents in the early stage of their children's schooling felt the need to transfer their background culture and at the same time the need to educate for the child's rapid adaptation to prevailing society.

This study found that the mothers' ethnic identity was fluid. They constantly modified themselves while reflecting on their experiences and criticizing the traditional

Korean culture. This finding enriched the previous studies that criticized the simplistic notion of ethnic identity, 'essentialism' (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Orellana & Bowman, 2003; Zhou & Kim, 2006). A majority of those studies focused on negative consequences of the stereotype of ethnic identity (Bonacich, 1973; Lee, 1996; Lee and Kumashiro, 2005; Lew, 2006; Young, 1998). This study addressed the discrepancy of individual diversity and common ethnic identity. All mothers narrated their interpretation of Korean and American culture and the modification and even their understanding of Korean culture drastically changed. Their change was a response to the new culture of America and their experiences. It is true that every mother's experience and explanation varied. However, their response to the new culture was based on Korean culture. The study furthers how the ethnic identity was defined and studied, 'how and why the ethnicity works for real people in real life situations.' The ethnic identity should not be considered as an independent factor, just as previous studies (Park, 2007) pointed out that ethnic identity plays along with other factors in relationship with others during interactions. The ethnic identity study needs to account for the whole picture of an individual's experiences and social environments, including all the different people they interact with.

### **Limitations**

This study has several limitations. The sample size was small, with only four families. Every family had such a peculiar situation that a larger sample would be needed to make a generalization of these findings. The children's voice is not included in this study. Children's behavior at school with other American teachers and peers would need to be confirmed to verify the mothers' account on their 'Koreanness.' The perspectives of fathers and teachers are also lacking in this study. This study covered only the immigrants in the United States. Also, all mothers were middle-class homemakers who had spare time for children. If mothers had stayed out of the home for work or had a different socioeconomic background, they

would have practiced parental socialization differently. Investigating what could happen when these children grow up to be parents will provide a whole picture of immigrants' socialization at home.

### **Implications and Recommendations for Research**

Morality study needs to focus on real-life situations and not moral judgment to improve the quality of moral education. Real people's true motivations based on cultural values are important. Also, educators consider how to build moral identity based on their real life experiences when they teach the children.

Participant observation and in-depth interview, the research methodology I used, also help reveal that what people say and do is not always consistent. However, the inconsistency was a valuable clue to uncover the embedded value system. Focus group interviews also helped to confirm the meanings of individual variances.

The understanding about immigrant families has been superficial or fragmented. As long as immigrant students do not make serious trouble, the interests of schools and society do not reach far enough to expand their potential or support identity formation. For example, Asian immigrant students have been seen as quiet and shy, but further consideration to encourage their voices has barely been made. This study showed that their comparatively passive attitude was strongly related with family culture and its value system. If they could get more support to understand their own cultural strength and differences with American culture, they would flourish beyond their potential in academics and in identity.

Schools can accommodate workshops and information sessions for immigrant parents. Mothers are also willing to learn the new culture and change themselves for their children's future. However, their contacts and understanding with the American school system and culture are mostly experienced through their children. If they could share their anxiety and passion for their children with teachers and other American parents, they would

have clearer information to help their children. Also, immigrant parents would have opportunities to share parenting experiences with other immigrant parents.

For future studies, a larger number of immigrant families covering various ethnicities and generations should participate. Immigrant family situations are variable in their experiences before and after immigration, language skill, and understanding level of American culture. Also, morality and emotions of immigrant families are culturally defined. Thus, future studies need to consider participants' value system of culture and emotions to obtain realistic results.

## References

- Bear, G., Manning, M. A., & Shiomi, K. (2006) Children's reasoning about aggression: Differences between Japan and the United States and implications for school discipline. *School Psychology Review*, 35 (1), 62-77.
- Bonacich, E. (1973). A theory of middleman minorities. *American Sociological Review*, 38, 583-594.
- Briggs, J. L. (1992). Mazes of meaning: How a child and a culture create each other. *New Directions for Child Development*, 58, 25-49.
- Brown, L. M., & Gilligan, C. (1991). Listening for voice in narratives of relationship. *New Directions for Child Development*, 54, 43-62.
- Bryan, C. J., Adams, G. S., & Monin, B. (2013). When cheating would make you a cheater: Implicating the self prevents unethical behavior. *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 142(4), 1001-1005.
- Bucholtz, M. & Hall, K. (2004). Language and identity. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology* (pp. 369-394). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Chao, R., & Tseng, V. (1995). Parenting of Asians. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting: Social conditions and applied parenting*, 4 (pp. 59-93). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Choi, E. C. (1995). A contrast of mothering behaviors in women from Korean and the United States. *Journal of Gynecology and Neonate Nursing*, 24, 363-369.
- Cortese, A. (1990). *Ethnic ethics: The restructuring of moral theory*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Crane, L. S. (2013). Multiracial daughters of Asian immigrants: Identity and agency. *Women & Therapy*, 36, 268-285.
- Duff, P.A. (2010). Language socialization. In H. Hornberger & S. McKay (Eds.),

- Sociolinguistics and language education* (pp. 427-452). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Fong, T. P. (1998). *The contemporary Asian American experience: Beyond the model minority*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Fontana, A. & Frey, J. H. (2005). The interview: From neutral stance to political involvement. In N. K. Denzin, & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The sage handbook of qualitative research* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). (p.887-908). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Fung, H. (1999). Becoming a moral child: The socialization of shame among young Chinese children. *Ethos*, 27(2),180-209.
- Gee, J. P. (1996). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideologies in discourses* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). London: Taylor and Francis.
- Geertz, C. (1973). Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture. *The interpretation of cultures* (pp.3-30). New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Gilligan, C. (1993). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Goffman, E. (1983). The Interaction order. *American Sociological Review*, 48, 1-17.
- Grusec, J. E. & Redler, E. (1980). Attribution, reinforcement, and altruism: A developmental analysis. *Developmental Psychology*, 16 (5), 525-534
- Guba, E.G. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1998). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The landscape of qualitative research* (pp. 195-220). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Gudykunst, W. B. (2001). *Asian American ethnicity and communication*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Gumperz, J. J. (2003). Contextualization conventions. In C. B. Paulston & R. Tucker (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: The essential readings* (pp. 139-155). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Gumperz, J. J. & Cook-Gumperz, J. (1982). Introduction: Language and the communication

- of social identity. In J. Gumperz (Ed.), *Language and social identity* (pp.1-21). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Harkness, S. & Super, C. M. (1995). Culture and parenting. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting* (Vol. 2, pp. 211-234). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life and work in communities and classrooms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heath, S. B. (1983). What no bedtime story means: Narrative skills at home and school. *Language in Society*, 11, 49-76.
- Heath, S.B. (1991). "It's about winning!" The language of knowledge in baseball. In L.B. Resnick, J.M. Levine, & S.D. Teasley (Eds.), *Perspectives on socially shared cognition* (pp. 101-124). Washington, DC: American Psychology Association.
- Heath, S. B. & Street, B. V. (2008). *On ethnography*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Hull, G. & Schultz, K. (2001). Literacy and learning out of school: A review of theory and research. *Review of Educational Research*, 71(4), 575-611.
- Hymes, D. (2003). Models of the interaction of language and social life. In C. B. Paulston, & R. Tucker (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: The essential readings* (pp. 30-47). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Johnston, B. (2000). *Qualitative methods in sociolinguistic*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Johnson, D. J. (2005). The ecology of children's racial coping: Family, school, and community influences. In T. S. Weisner (Ed.), *Discovering successful pathways in children's development* (pp. 87-109). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Jung, W. & Stinnett, T. A. (2005). Comparing judgments of social, behavioral, emotional and school adjustment functioning for Korean, Korean American and Caucasian American children. *School Psychology International*, 26 (3), 317-329.

- Kamberelis, G. & Dimitriadis, G. (2005). Focus groups: Strategic articulations of pedagogy, politics, and inquiry. In N. K. Denzin, & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The sage handbook of qualitative research* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) (p.887-908). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Kang, M. A. & Lo, A. (2004). Two ways of articulating heterogeneity in Korean American narratives of ethnic identity. *Journal of Asian American Studies*, 7(2), 93-116.
- Kim, E. (1993). Career choice among second-generation Korean-Americans: Reflections of a cultural model of success. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 24, 224-248.
- Kim, E. & Hong, S. (2007). First-generation Korean-American parents' perceptions of discipline. *Journal of Professional Nursing*, 23 (1), 60-68.
- Kim, K.C., Kim, S., & Hurh, W. M. (1991). Filial piety and intergenerational relationship in Korean immigrant families. *International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 33, 233-245.
- Kim, Y. M. & Greene, W. L. (2003). Educational transitions: Korean families with children in American schools. In C. C. Park, A. L. Goodwin, & S. J. Lee (Eds.), *Asian American identities, families & schooling* (pp. 105-131). Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.
- Kim, K. C. & Park, C. G. (2013). Koreans and Korean Americans, 1940-Presents. In E. R. Barkan (Ed.), *Immigrants in American history: Arrival, adaptation, and integration* (pp.1077-1088). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC.
- Kohlberg, L. (1963). The development of children's orientations toward a moral order. *Human Development*, 6, 11-33.
- Kuhn, D. (2006). Does the Asian Success Formula have a downside? *Education Week*, 25, 15-29.
- Lapadat, J.C. & Lindsay, A.C. (1999). Transcription in research and practice: From standardization of technique to interpretive positionings. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 5(1),

64-86.

- Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, B. (2004). Confucian ideals and American values. In I. J. Kim (Ed.), *Korean-Americans: Past, present, and future* (pp. 273-277). Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym International Corp.
- Lee, C. D. (2002). Interrogating race and ethnicity as constructs in the examination of cultural processes in developmental research. *Human Development*, 45, 282-290.
- Lee, S. (1996). *Unraveling the "model minority" stereotype: Listening to Asian American youth*. New York, NY: Teacher College Press.
- Lee, S. J. & Kumashiro, S.K. (2005). *A report on the status of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Education: Beyond the "model minority" stereotype*. New York: NEA.
- Lew, J. (2004). The "other" story of model minorities: Korean American high school dropouts in an urban context. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 35 (3), 303-323.
- Lew, J. (2006). Burden of acting neither white nor black: Asian American identities and achievement in urban schools. *The Urban Review*, 38 (5), 335-352.
- Lo, A. (2009). Evidentiality and morality in a Korean heritage language school. In A. Reyes & A. Lo (Eds.), *Beyond yellow English: Toward a linguistic anthropology of Asian Pacific American* (pp.63- 83). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Louie, V. S. (2001). Parents' aspirations and investment: The role of social class in the educational experiences of 1.5- and second-generation Chinese Americans. *Harvard Educational Review*, 71(3), 438-474.
- Louie, V. S. (2004). *Compelled to excel: Immigration, education, and opportunity among Chinese Americans*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Lutz, C. (1983). Parental goals, ethnopsychology, and the development of emotional meaning. *Ethos*, 11 (4), 246-262.

- Miller, L., Sung, S. H., & Seligman, M. E. P. (1999). Beliefs about responsibility and improvement associated with success among Korean American immigrants. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 139 (2), 221-228.
- Min, P. G. (2013). The immigration of Koreans to the United States: A review of forty-five year (1965-2009) trends. In P.G. Min (Ed.), *Koreas in North America: Their twenty-first century experiences* (pp. 9-34). Lanham, MA: Lexington Books.
- Mistry, J., Chaudhury, J. H., & Diez, V. (2005). Ethnotheories of parenting: At the interface between culture and child development. In R. M. Lerner, F. Jacobs, & D. Wertlieb (Eds.), *Applied developmental science: An advanced textbook* (pp.201-225). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication.
- Norton, B. (1997). Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31(3), 409-429.
- Ochs, E. & Schieffelin, B. B. (1986). *Language socialization across cultures*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ogbu, J. (1992). Understanding cultural diversity and learning. *Educational Researcher*, 21, 5-14.
- Orellana, M. F. & Bowman, P. (2003). Cultural diversity research on learning and development: Conceptual, methodological, and strategic considerations. *Educational Researcher*, 32(5), 26-32.
- Park, I. J. (2007). Enculturation of Korean American adolescents within familiar and cultural contexts: The mediating role of ethnic identity. *Family Relations*, 56 (4), 403-412.
- Park, H. & Jegatheesan, B. (2012a). Helping our children with homework: Homework as an activity of anxiety for first generation Korean American mothers. *Child Studies in Diverse Contexts*, 2(2), 91-107.
- Park, H. & Jegatheesan, B. (2012b). *The formation of identity among second generation*

- Korean American children: Influence of English language acquisition during interactions with parents in cultural contexts*. Unpublished manuscript, College of Education, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.
- Park, H. & Jegatheesan, B. (2012c). *Socialization of Respect through the Use of Korean and English in Mother-Child Interactions in Changing Linguistic and Cultural Contexts*. Unpublished manuscript, College of Education, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.
- Patterson, W. (2013). Koreans and Korean Americans, 1870-1940. In E. R. Barkan (Ed.), *Immigrants in American history: Arrival, adaptation, and integration* (pp. 471-480). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC.
- Pavlenko, A. & Blackledge, A. (2004). Introduction: New theoretical approaches to the study of negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (pp. 1-33). Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Piaget, J. (1932/1965). *The moral judgment of the child*. New York: The Free Press.
- Quinn, N. (2005). Universals of child rearing. *Anthropological Theory*, 5 (4), 477-516.
- Rogoff, B. (1990) *Apprenticeship in thinking*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rumbaut, R. (1994). The crucible within: Ethnic identity, self-esteem, and segmented assimilation among children of immigrants. *International Migration Review*, 28 (4), 748-794.
- Schechter, S. R. & Baley, R. (2004). Language socialization in theory and practice. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 17, 605-625.
- Schneider, B. & Lee, Y. (1990). A model for academic success: The school and home environment of East Asian students. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 21(4), 358-377.

- Skilton-Sylvester, E. (2002). Literature at home but not at school: A Cambodian girl's journey from playwright to struggling writer. In G. Hull, & K. Schultz (Eds.), *School's out!: Bridging out-of-school literacies with classroom practice* (pp. 61-90). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Song, J. (2009). Bilingual creativity and self-negotiation. In A. Reyes, & A. Lo (Eds.), *Beyond yellow English toward a linguistic anthropology of Asian Pacific American* (pp. 213-232). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Stake, R. & Jegatheesan, B. (2008). Access, a zone of comprehension, and intrusion. In B. Jegatheesan (Ed.), *Advances in program evaluation* (Vol 12). UK: Emerald Group Publishing.
- Vinden, P. G. (2001). Parenting attitudes and children's understanding of mind: A comparison of Korean American and Anglo-American families. *Cognitive Development*, 16, 793-809.
- Vygotsky, L. (1978). *Mind in society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Vygotsky, L. (1986). *Thought and language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Watson-Gegeo, K. A. (2004). Mind, language, and epistemology: Toward a language socialization paradigm for SLA. *The Modern Language Journal*, 88(3), 331-350.
- Weisner, T. S. (1997) The ecocultural project of human development: Why ethnography and its findings matter. *Ethos*, 25, 2, 117-190.
- Yang, S. Y. & Rettig, K. D. (2003). The value tensions in Korean-American mother child relationships while facilitating academic success. *Personal Relationships*, 10, 349-369.
- Young, R. L. (1998). Becoming American: Coping strategies of Asian Pacific American children. In V. O. Pang, & L. L. Cheng (Eds.), *Struggling to be heard: The unmet needs of Asian Pacific American children* (pp. 61-73). New York: State University of

New York Press.

Young, S. (2009). Half and half: An (auto)ethnography of hybrid identities in a Korean American mother-daughter relationship. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*, 2 (2), 139-167.

Zhou, M. & Kim, S. S. (2006). Community forces, social capital, and educational achievement: The case of supplementary education in the Chinese and Korean immigrant communities. *Harvard Educational Review*, 76 (1), 1-28.

## **Appendix A**

### **Sample Interview Questions**

1. Could you recall the situations and circumstances of your immigration?
2. Have you had a conversation with your children regarding right or wrong in your children's everyday life such as their dealing with friends, teachers, siblings?
3. What are your goals for your children's education? Are there any values that you think your children should learn as they grow?
4. When do you feel your children's education is successful or not successful?
5. What do you do to teach your children moral values?
6. Does your children's schooling affect your parenting practices in terms of moral values and language choices?
7. What are your beliefs about morality and teaching morality for your children?
8. What do you think is your role in supporting your children's moral development?
9. What does it mean to raise children as a cultural and linguistic minority in the United States?
10. Do you see yourself and your children belonging to Korean or American culture?
11. What do you think makes the Korean identity sustained?
12. What is your understanding about American moral values? Do you see any differences or similarities between American and Korean moral values?
13. Do your children have an American identity? What is your understanding about having an American identity?

## Appendix B

### Focus Group Guide

This is only a guideline for the researchers conducting a focus group interview. Each group is unique and the researcher will accommodate the participants' convenience and address the possible issue regarding the participants' culture, religion and language.

#### 1. Procedure:

- The researcher explains the procedure to the participants. They will be informed that they can leave any time during interview without giving an excuse. They are not obligated to give answers to any questions that they do not want to. They can use personal examples or others'. If they use the example of others, they would not provide identifiable information.
- The researcher provides a question.
- Each participant answers the question. Participants can respond to other participants' answers and ask questions.

#### 2. Sample interview questions:

- Do you think that there are particular educational goals for Korean American families? What are your goals for your children's education?
- Have you noticed any particular educational strategies and methods to teach morality among Korean American families?
- Does Korean American children's schooling affect their moral development?
- Does bilingual environment affect Korean American families' moral education at home?
- What are your beliefs about Korean language and morality development in your children?
- Do you think your child's emotional expression or behavior has changed as he or she speaks more English? If so, how?
- What do you think Korean American identity is related with?
- What is your understanding about American moral values? Do you see any differences or similarities between American and Korean moral values?

## Appendix C

### Family Information Survey

Ethnicity of Parents \_\_\_\_\_

Native language \_\_\_\_\_

Number of years parents been in the US \_\_\_\_\_

Language spoken to child \_\_\_\_\_

Language proficiency level (Mother) : English \_\_\_\_\_ The first language \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Father) : English \_\_\_\_\_ The first language \_\_\_\_\_

(Child) : English \_\_\_\_\_ The first language \_\_\_\_\_

Age of Child \_\_\_\_\_ Years of schooling in the U.S. \_\_\_\_\_ Gender \_\_\_\_\_

Number of siblings \_\_\_\_\_

Educational level (mother) \_\_\_\_\_ Educational level (father) \_\_\_\_\_

Employment status (mother) \_\_\_\_\_ (Yes) \_\_\_\_\_ (No)

If yes, then occupation type (mother) \_\_\_\_\_

Employment status (father) \_\_\_\_\_ (Yes) \_\_\_\_\_ (No)

If yes, then occupation type (father) \_\_\_\_\_

Primary caregiver \_\_\_\_\_ (mother) \_\_\_\_\_ (father) \_\_\_\_\_ (grandmother)

Age of mother: (25-35; 35-45; 45-55) \_\_\_\_\_

Age of father: (25-35; 35-45; 45-55) \_\_\_\_\_

Other members living with the family \_\_\_\_\_

Frequency of visit to native language communities (e.g., Korean church, Korean commercial services such as grocery, hospital, etc.) \_\_\_\_\_

Kind of language development services provided for child at home (e.g., the first language or English learning courses, reading either language books, home language use rules, etc.) \_\_\_\_\_

Kind of activities child and parents commonly engage in:

\_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix D

### Parent Consent/ Parental Permission Form

Socialization of Morality in 1<sup>st</sup> Generation Korean American Families

Investigators: Hyeyoon Park. Educational Psychology. [parkhy@uw.edu](mailto:parkhy@uw.edu) (206) 221-5360  
Dr. Brinda Jegatheesan. Educational Psychology. (206) 221-5360

#### RESEARCHERS' STATEMENT

I am asking for you and your child to be in a research study. The purpose of this consent form is to give you the information you will need to help you decide whether to be in the study or not and whether or not you will allow your child to participate. Please read the form carefully. You may ask questions about the purpose of the research, what I would ask you and your child to do, the possible risks and benefits, your rights as a volunteer, and anything else about the research or this form that is not clear. When I have answered all your questions, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not and if you want your child to be in this study. This process is called "informed consent." I will give you a copy of this form for your records.

#### 1. Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study is to understand the communicative and socialization practices with your child. I am also interested in understanding how moral values in the everyday learning situations evolve around the contexts of both a native language and English in the overlapping cultural communities. While parents try to socialize their child, they face challenging situations in which their child learns the values of native-language-used community and English-used dominating society. Among these values I will focus on the moral values as culturally constructed factors regarding the meaning of "self." By analyzing both languages during interaction of parents and their child I will explore how the language interactions of bilingual children and their development of morality are related.

#### 2. Study procedures

Please review the consent form and please sign the original if you would like to participate and to permit your child to be in this study. I will give you another copy with signature and date.

The study will begin in October 2013. First, I will interview you two times. Then I will visit and observe you and your child at home. Follow-up interview after home observation could be conducted by phone or brief meeting if clarification is needed. Details of each step are explained below.

I will be conducting informal interviews with you. The interviews will be recorded if you approve. You may request to turn off the recording at any time during the interview. The interviews will involve understanding your beliefs about your child's communication and moral development at home. For example, we might ask, "how do you feel about using English or your native language with your child?" or "how do you think your child's moral

reasoning or behavior has changed as he or she speaks more English?” You are free not to answer any questions you do not wish to answer. Interviews will be like conversations and will last approximately 1.5 hours. I will interview you about 2 times. If there is a need to clarify some issues I might reschedule 1-2 follow-up interviews. I will schedule according to your conveniences. The follow-up interviews will be requested over the period of 6 month after the last interview.

I will also be observing your interactions with your child during family time after school. Your child’s communication, reaction, or emotional expression to you will be observed as participation in this study. Conversation between you and your child during observation will be audio-recorded unless you or your child wishes to stop recording. Some examples of activity are: eating a meal, playing with your child, reading a book. I will observe about 2 times. Each observation will be approximately 2 hours. You can choose to have the observations conducted on the same day of the interviews. If it is more convenient to have the observations scheduled for another date and time, I will be happy to accommodate that.

As you participate in this study, both the interviews and the observations of you and your child will be conducted. You can withdraw your participation at any stage of this study.

### 3. Risks, stress, or discomfort

Some people feel that providing information for research is an invasion of privacy. I have addressed concerns for your privacy in the section below. Some people feel self-conscious when they are audio taped. Some people may feel stress when talking about the communication and socialization of their child. As you are aware, your child might be distracted when we observe him or her interact with parents. However, we will try to be natural as much as possible as a visitor. You should contact any investigator above with a research related injury. Research related injuries can be psychological damage.

### 4. Benefits of the study

I hope this study will help understand communicative and socialization experiences of bilingual families who have children who are typically developing, living in the United States. You may not directly benefit by taking part in this study.

### 5. Other information

You and your child may refuse to participate and you and your child are free to withdraw from this study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you, as the parent or guardian, wish to rescind the permission for your child, you may do so at any time. There will be no costs whatsoever that you will have to bear at any time during the study. Government or university staff sometimes reviews studies such as this one to make sure they are being done safely and legally. If a review of this study takes place, your records or your child’s may be examined. The reviewers will protect your privacy and your child’s. The study records will not be used to put you at legal risk of harm.

The audio tapes will be used for transcription purpose only. They will be stored in a locked cabinet, the keys of which will remain with the principal investigator only. The audio tapes will be kept for a period of 1 year starting October 2013. They will be destroyed in November

2014. They will be listened to by the researchers and student assistants working on the research study. You have the right to review your tapes and delete any portions you may wish to delete. The data of this study will be retained in identifiable form until the audio recordings are erased. After that, there will be no way to link your identity and your child's identity to the information we have obtained from you and your child. Identifiable information such as names of your child and you, and school name will be replaced by a pseudonym for the purpose of confidentiality.

All of the information that you provide will be confidential. However, if we discover incidents of child abuse or neglect, or if we learn that you intend to harm yourself or others, we will report this information to the authorities.

---

Printed name of study staff obtaining consent \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

### **PARENT STATEMENT**

This study has been explained to me. I volunteer to take part in this research. In addition, I grant permission for my child to take part in this research. I agree to have my interviews audio-taped and grant permission for the audio-taping of interactions with my child. In addition, I grant permission for conversations that include this child without any other personal identifiers to be audio recorded. I have had a chance to ask questions. If I have questions later about the research, I can ask one of the researchers listed above. If I have questions about my rights as a research subject, I can call the Human Subjects Division at (206) 543-0098.

---

Printed name of parent \_\_\_\_\_ Signature of parent \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

---

Child's Printed Name \_\_\_\_\_ Child's Age \_\_\_\_\_  
 Copies to: Researcher/ Parent

## Appendix E

### Focus Group Consent Form

#### Socialization of Morality in First Generation Korean American Families

#### Researchers:

Hyeyoon Park  
Department of Educational Psychology  
Human Development and Cognition  
parkhy@uw.edu  
(206) 221-5360

Dr. Brinda Jegatheesan  
Associate Professor  
Department of Educational Psychology  
Human Development and Cognition  
(206) 221-5360

#### RESEARCHERS' STATEMENT

I am asking for you to be in a research study. The purpose of this consent form is to give you the information you will need to help you decide whether to be in the study or not. Please read the form carefully. You may ask questions about the purpose of the research, what I would ask you to do, the possible risks and benefits, your rights as a volunteer, and anything else about the research or this form that is not clear. When I have answered all your questions, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called "informed consent." I will give you a copy of this form for your records.

##### 1. Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study is to understand the communicative and socialization practices with your child. I am also interested in understanding how moral values in the everyday learning situations evolve around the contexts of both a native language and English in the overlapping cultural communities. While parents try to socialize their child, they face challenging situations in which their child learns the values of native-language-used community and English-used dominating society. Among these values I will focus on the moral values as culturally constructed factors regarding the meaning of "self." By analyzing both languages during interaction of parents and their child I will explore how the language interactions of bilingual children and their development of morality are related.

##### 2. Study procedures

The study will begin in October 2013. Please review the consent form and please sign the original if you would like to participate. I will give you another copy with signature and date.

I will arrange a meeting room in a local library according to your convenience to have a one-time group talk. Three Korean American mothers including you will gather together and talk freely guided by questions that we suggest. The interviews will be recorded if you approve. You may request to turn off the recording at any time during the interview. The interviews will involve understanding your beliefs about your child's communication and moral development. For example, we might ask, "What do you think the most important moral values regarding raising your child?" or "do you see any difference in moral values at home and American school?" You are free not to answer any questions you do not wish to answer. Interviews will be like conversations and will last approximately 2 hours. If there is a need to clarify some issues I might email or call you. The follow-up questions will be asked over the period of 6 months after the last interview.

### 3. Risks, stress, or discomfort

Some people feel that providing information for research is an invasion of privacy. I have addressed concerns for your privacy in the section below. Some people feel self-conscious when they are audio taped. Some people may feel stress when talking about the communication and socialization of their child. You should contact any investigator above with a research related injury. Research related injuries can be psychological damage.

### 4. Benefits of the study

I hope this study will help you understand communicative and socialization experiences of bilingual families who have children who are typically developing, living in the United States. You may not directly benefit by taking part in this study.

### 5. Other information

You may refuse to participate and you are free to withdraw from this study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. There will be no costs whatsoever that you will have to bear at any time during the study. Government or university staff sometimes reviews studies such as this one to make sure they are being done safely and legally. If a review of this study takes place, your records may be examined. The reviewers will protect your privacy. The study records will not be used to put you at legal risk of harm.

The audio tapes will be used for transcription purpose only. They will be stored in a locked cabinet, the keys of which will remain with the principal investigator only. The audio tapes will be kept for a period of 1 year starting October 2013. They will be destroyed in November 2014. They will be listened to by the researchers and student assistants working on the research study. You have the right to review your tapes and delete any portions you may wish to delete. The data of this study will be retained in identifiable form until the audio recordings are erased. After that, there will be no way to link your identity to the information we have obtained from you. Your real name will be replaced by a pseudonym for the purpose of confidentiality.

All of the information that you provide will be confidential. However, if we discover incidents of child abuse or neglect, or if we learn that you intend to harm yourself or others, we will report this information to the authorities.

---

---

Printed name of study staff obtaining consent \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

**PARENT STATEMENT**

This study has been explained to me. I volunteer to take part in this research. I have had a chance to ask questions. If I have questions later about the research, I can ask one of the researchers listed above. If I have questions about my rights as a research subject, I can call the Human Subjects Division at (206) 543-0098.

---

Printed name of parent \_\_\_\_\_ Signature of parent \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Copies to:      Researcher  
                       Parent or guardian

## Appendix F

### Assent Form

“Socialization of Morality in First Generation Korean American Families”

Investigators: Hyeyoon Park. Educational Psychology. [parkhy@uw.edu](mailto:parkhy@uw.edu) (206) 221-5360  
 Dr. Brinda Jegatheesan. Educational Psychology. (206) 221-5360

#### Researcher's statement

#### PURPOSE AND BENEFITS

We want to do a child study. Some children speak in Korean with their mother and father. Some children speak in English, and some children speak in Korean and English with their mother and father. We want to understand how you communicate with your mother. We also want to understand what you think about being a good person.

#### PROCEDURES

If you agree, we will watch you talk with your parents. We could talk to you some time.

#### RISKS, STRESS, AND DISCOMFORT

You might feel shy or uncomfortable while we are at your house. You might be distracted when we observe you interact with parents.

#### OTHER INFORMATION

We will not tell anyone you took part in this study. Your name will not be on any of the paper. You don't have to take part in this study if you don't want to. No one will be mad at you. Also you could change your mind any time. We will give you a copy of this paper to keep.

---

Signature of researcher

Date

---

Printed name of researcher

#### Child's statement:

This research study has been explained to me. I agree to take part in this study. I have had a chance to ask questions. If I have more questions, I can ask the researchers.

---

Signature  
Date

of

subject

---

Printed name of subject

## **Appendix G**

### **Web Advertisement Prompt**

We recruit Korean American family with children for study of Korean and English language practices and moral development at home. We are a research team at the University of Washington.

There are two ways that you can participate in this study.

1. If you have a 5-10 year old child: We will conduct interviews and observe your home activity after school.
2. If you have a school age child: We will gather three parents, so you can talk with other two parents about issues regarding language and moral development.

Your participation of study would help us understand the challenge and benefits as a bilingual family in the United States. If interested contact us at (206) 221-5360 or [parkhy@uw.edu](mailto:parkhy@uw.edu). (Please remember that we cannot guarantee the confidentiality of any information sent by email.)

#### **Korean translation**

한국어와 영어 사용, 가정에서의 도덕성 발달 실태를 연구하기 위해 자녀가 있는 한국인 가족을 모집합니다. 우리는 워싱턴 대학의 연구팀입니다.

이 연구에 참여하는 방법은 2가지가 있습니다.

1. 5-10 세 자녀가 있다면: 우리는 부모님 인터뷰를 하고 방과후 가족활동을 관찰할 것입니다.
2. 학령기 자녀가 있다면: 3 명의 부모님들이 함께 언어 사용과 도덕성 발달에 관해서 다른 2 명의 부모들과 이야기를 나눌 것입니다.

연구에 참여는 미국에서 거주하는 이중언어가족이 겪는 도전과 이득을 이해하는데 큰 도움이 될 것입니다. 관심 있으신 분은 [parkhy@uw.edu](mailto:parkhy@uw.edu)로 이메일 주시거나 (206) 221-5360로 연락주십시오. 이메일 상의 내용은 반드시 비밀이 보장되지 않을 수 있습니다.

## Appendix H

### Email Introduction

#### Purpose

The study will examine and document how bilingual/multilingual families in the U.S. talk and teach their children at home. We specifically focus on how parents teach moral values when they interact with their child. The study will help to show the bilingual/multilingual family's needs and necessary supports in educating their children in two or more languages.

#### 연구의 목적

이 연구는 미국에 사는 이중언어 가족들이 가정에서 어떻게 서로 이야기하고 아이들을 가르치는지 알고자 하는 것입니다. 특히 우리는 자녀들과 대화하고 상호 접촉하면서 도덕 규칙을 어떻게 가르치는지에 집중할 것입니다. 이 연구는 이중언어 가정의 교육적 필요와 지원이 무엇인지 이해하는 데 큰 도움이 될 것입니다.

#### Who Can Participate?

- Korean American bilingual families
- Must have a child in the age group of 5 - 10 years old

#### 참가 대상

한국어와 영어를 쓰는 한국계 미국인 가정  
5-10세 자녀를 둔 가정

#### Child Involvement in the Study

- Doing activity with a parent at home (e.g., homework, reading, having dinner, etc.)
- Informal conversation with the researcher

#### 어린이가 할 일

부모님과 함께 방과후 가정에서 활동 (숙제, 책 읽기, 저녁 먹기 등)  
연구자와 대화

#### Parent Involvement in the Study

- Interviews after observation at home

#### 부모님이 할 일

가정에서의 관찰과 인터뷰

#### When

Beginning December 2013– May 2014

#### 언제

2013년 12월 ~2014년 5월

**You can call or email:**

Hyeyoon Park

Tel: (206) 221-5360 /

[parkhy@uw.edu](mailto:parkhy@uw.edu)

(Please remember that we cannot guarantee the confidentiality of any information sent by email.)

**OR**

**Fill the *Information* form and send to**

Hyeyoon Park

University of Washington

322 J Miller Hall, Box 353600

Seattle, WA 98195-3600

**Information Form**

Name of Parent: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Child: \_\_\_\_\_

Age & Gender of Child: \_\_\_\_\_

Language spoken at home: \_\_\_\_\_

Phone: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_