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Hwang F-13

CHAPTER

11

INDIVIDUALISM, COLLECTIVISM, AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT: A KOREAN PERSPECTIVE

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John Locke (1690) proposed that infants are born with a *tabula rasa* (a blank tablet) in which life experiences etch their messages. Similarly, William James (1890) suggested that an infant's initial experience is "one great blooming, buzzing confusion" (cited in Zimbardo, 1988, p. 66). These statements represent the empiricist's position, which assumes that infants are born into this world totally unprepared. They learn by experience how to translate a vast array of physical stimuli into psychological perception, cognition, and emotion.

Empirical studies of child development refute this traditional viewpoint. Researchers are discovering that infants are born with more than empty slates. They are born with a well-equipped capacity to selectively attend to salient cues, to organize information into a coherent whole, and to synthesize incoming information in a systematic manner (Masters, 1981). Infants learn that the world does not operate in a chaotic fashion, but in a systematic, coherent, and meaningful manner. Infants are "pre-wired" genetically to attend, perceive, and process a selected set of incoming information, and also to impose structure on it (Masters, 1981). They learn to develop and utilize internal schemas that provide coherence and meaning to a wide variety of sensations and experiences.

Cultures similarly provide collective strategies to organize, interpret, and represent their physical and social world (Berry, 1976). For example, infants have the capacity to learn any existing language. The cultural context in which they are raised shapes the acquisition of a particular language (Segall, Dasen,

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humidity, water supply, soil conditions, and terrain affect the existence of various types of vegetation and life forms, including human beings (Segall et al., 1990). Early in human history, collective units such as families, clans, and tribes developed strategies to cope with, and adapt to, their ecology.

A crucial element of survival rested on the availability of food supply (Segall et al., 1990). Food supply was largely determined by ecological conditions. Various collective responses appeared in response to ecological pressures (i.e., subsistence economies). For people living in mountainous areas, jungles, or deserts, food supply was limited. When it was depleted, they had to move to another region in search of a new food source. Hunting and gathering tribes subsisted by moving with or toward the food supply.

Some of these migratory tribes found land where soil was rich, water was abundant, and terrain was flat. These favorable conditions were utilized to develop agriculture and animal husbandry. With increased agricultural efficiency, they could depend on the food produced from the land for subsistence. They no longer needed to migrate to a new food source. Enough food could be produced from the land to ensure a steady supply of food for themselves. The development of agriculture and animal husbandry reflects another form of collective human effort to adapt to and manage their environment.

Migratory tribes who lived in jungles, mountains, and deserts needed a specific set of skills to survive in their hostile environments. Barry, Child, and Bacon (1959) found that in migratory tribes socialization practices emphasized assertiveness, autonomy, achievement, and self-reliance. As a consequence, adults in the migratory communities tended to be individualistic, assertive, and venturesome. The authors viewed these characteristics as being adaptive and functional to their ecology. On the other hand, they found that in the agricultural communities socialization practices emphasized compliance, obedience, and responsibility. As a result, adults in the agricultural communities tended to be conscientious, compliant, and conservative. These characteristics were socialized into their children because they were qualities needed to survive in their respective ecologies.

Berry (1976) similarly found that the ecological context had profound effects on subsistence culture and individual functioning (i.e., cognitive style). Cognitive style refers to a consistent mode of functioning in which individuals organize, interpret, and interact with their perceptual world (Witkin & Berry, 1975). One dimension of cognitive style is field independence/dependence; considered a bipolar dimension. The field-independent cognitive style refers to an approach that is analytical and based on standards of judgment internal to the individual. The field-dependent cognitive style refers to an approach that is more global and based on an external frame of reference. Paralleling the cognitive domain, it has been found that field-independent individuals tend to be socially independent, autonomous, and distant, whereas field-dependent individuals tend to be socially dependent, which means being

communities, trust, cooperation, and conservatism were important aspects of daily life. In these communities, *social intelligence* was highly valued (to use Mundy-Castle's, 1991, term). However, in the urban setting, *technological intelligence* began to play a prominent role. In subsistence economies, the goal of socialization was survival (Tapia-Urbe, LeVine, & LeVine, chapter 2, this volume). In the newly formed urban communities, socialization emphasized cognitive and linguistic skills that were necessary to compete in market economies.

Industrial urban settings were full of unrelated strangers. The relationship a person had with an employer was contractual, rather than based on any long-standing relationship of trust and obligation. Workers simply provided their services and they received a wage for their labor. This relationship was fueled by the law of supply and demand. When demand for labor was low and supply was high, workers were underpaid, underemployed, or unemployed. Many employers exploited their employees in search of a greater profit. In these settings, there was no one to protect the rights of these unrelated individuals.

Collective action began to appear to protest the working conditions and the working relationships. A new form of collective emerged in Europe defined by class (e.g., ruling class, merchant class, working class). Members of the working class began to organize and lobby their interests through demonstrations, confrontations, and revolutions. These collective actions resulted in the institutionalization of democratic changes that are part of modern Europe and North America.

This type of collective emerged with the separation from ascribed relationships such as family, community, and clans. It meant developing a new collective based on common interests, experiences, and goals. Cultures based on this type of re-alignment have been labeled as *individualistic*. Western European countries and the United States have been found to be highly individualistic (Hofstede, 1980). Cultures that maintain familial and communal relatedness have been labeled as *collectivistic*. Countries in East Asia have been found to be collectivistic (Hofstede, 1980).

INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM

In an international survey of 117,000 IBM employees in 50 different countries, Hofstede (1980) found four dimensions of cultural variations. One dimension was labeled as *individualism* and *collectivism*. Countries that were highest in *individualism* were the United States, followed by Australia, Great Britain, Canada, the Netherlands, and New Zealand. On the other end of the pole, countries low on the *individualism* scale (i.e., *collectivistic*) were Venezuela, Colombia, Pakistan, Peru, Taiwan, Thailand, Hong Kong, and Korea.

to confront members of their in-groups, (d) feel personally responsible for their successes and failures, and (e) experience some degree of separation and distance from their in-groups.

This bipolar categorization has been further refined and elaborated. Both individualism and collectivism exist within each culture. U. Kim (1993) provided schematic representations of three types of individualism and three types of collectivism.

Individualism emphasizes distinct, autonomous, and independent individuals. The first type of individualism is depicted in Fig. 11.1a. It is labeled as an *aggregate mode*. In this model, the individual is the basic unit of analysis and other individuals serve as cues or stimuli for the focal person. Each individual is believed to be "an entity separate from every other and from the group" (Spence, 1985, p. 1288). This belief can "lead to a sense of self with a sharp boundary that stops at one's skin and clearly demarks self from non-self" (Spence, p. 1288). Sampson (1977) used the term *self-contained individualism*, which is defined as "the combination of firmly drawn self-other

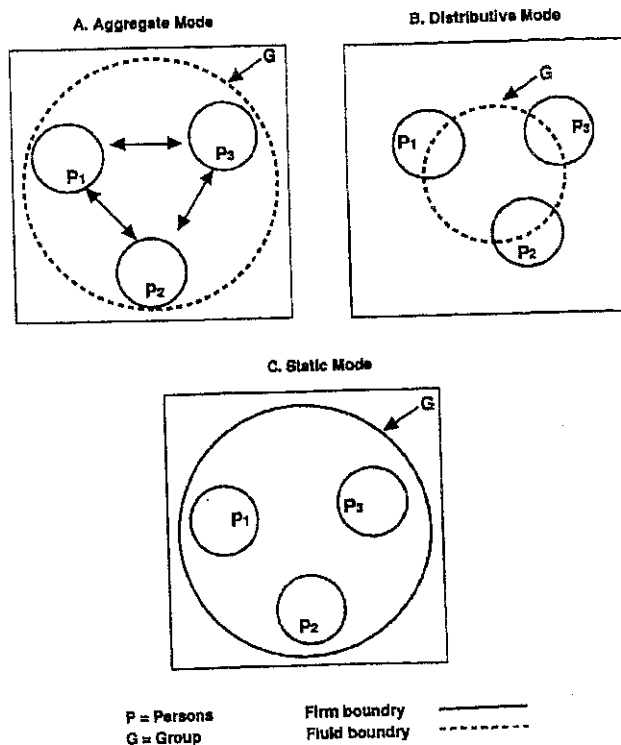


FIG. 11.1. Facets of individualism.

every other" (Harré, 1984, p. 930). The boundary is defined by commonality and fluidity. Voluntary organizations, interest groups, and recreational clubs are examples of this type of collective. Because the form and degree of participation is voluntary, permanent loyalty is not demanded from each member. The collective persists if it satisfies the needs and interests of its members. It dissolves when it fails to do so.

Another form of a distributive mode is defined by a contract. For example, a contract defines a relationship between professionals (who provide services) and clients (who pay a fee for the services). Doctors, lawyers, accountants, teachers, counselors, and professors provide specialized services to anyone in need of those services. Similarly, labor and management represent collective entities in which the relationship is defined by a contract. In this type of a collective, an individual or a group (as in the case of the union) is seen as a basic unit that is capable of interacting with, and benefiting from, the group.

Figure 11.1, Diagram C, depicts the third version of individualism: the static mode. In the United States, the government exists to protect freedom and uphold justice for all self-contained individuals. Because individuals are unrelated to one another, they may not always act in a responsible, moral, sane, and altruistic manner. In fact, they may exploit or commit crimes against one another and against society. Laws and regulations are established to protect the rights of all citizens and the viability of public institutions. No one person can step beyond the boundaries of the static mode. If they do so, these individuals are identified, punished, and often incarcerated. The legal system, correctional system, military, and the internal revenue service are examples of the static mode. Everyone in a culture is bound by these laws, and theoretically no one enjoys special privileges.

Figure 11.2 provides a schematic representation of the three types of collectivism. In these diagrams, collectivities are presented as a unit—an entity. A collective unit is considered more than a mere sum of individuals. An undifferentiated mode is depicted in Fig. 11.2a. The current research on collectivism is representative of this perspective (e.g., Hofstede, 1980; Hui & Triandis, 1986; Triandis, 1988; Triandis et al., 1985). Triandis (1988) described collectivism as putting greater emphasis on:

1. the needs and goals of the in-group rather than on the individual,
2. social norms and duties rather than on individual pleasures,
3. beliefs and values that are shared by the in-group members rather than those that distinguish individual members, and
4. readiness to cooperate with the in-group members rather than competing with them.

The undifferentiated mode emphasizes a firm and distinct collective unit and relatively loosely defined individuals.

in the Indian culture. It appears in all facets of Indian culture: in childrearing practices, in interpersonal relationships, in intergroup relations, and in public institutions. The co-existence mode was empirically verified in series of studies in India (Mishra, in press; Sinha, in press; Sinha & Verma, 1987).

Doi (1985) noted that in the Japanese culture there are two sides to virtually all social phenomena. He used the distinction between *omote* ("face") and *ura* ("mind, heart, and soul"), *soto* ("outside") and *uchi* ("inside") (Azuma, chapter 13, this volume), and *tatemae* ("principles, rules, and conventions") and *honne* ("true intentions, or the inner self"). Within the psychological space, these contrasting elements co-exist as two contiguous principles (Doi, 1985). Lebra (chapter 12) describes such differentiations as "social zoning."

At the cultural level, *tatemae* represents the official ideology and *honne* reflects the indigenous perspective, often hidden to outside observers (Azuma, 1986). *Tatemae* is reflected in the official ideology of Confucianism, which emphasizes patriarchal lineage (see Ho, chapter 14, this volume). The father-son relationship is considered to be the most important dyad (Azuma, 1986; Hsu, 1971), and it serves as a prototype for other formal relationships (e.g., master-servant, teacher-student, husband-wife, elder-younger, superordinate-subordinate). These relationships required benevolence, authority, responsibility, and wisdom from superordinates and loyalty, obedience, and dedication from subordinates. Roles and obligations are socially prescribed and each individual is expected to fulfill them. Hsu suggested that in China and Japan the father-son relationship occupies a dominant position and the mother-son dyad occupies a subdominant position. However, Azuma suggested that this view represents *tatemae* and not *honne*.

Although the father is the symbolic head of the family, in reality he is in the periphery (Befu, 1986). The husband becomes dependent on his wife and is considered "more burdensome and harder to control than other children" (Azuma, 1986, p. 8). Azuma noted that "according to *tatemae*, the father is the head of the household, but according to *honne*, he is psychologically dependent" (p. 8). Within a family, the most important relationship is the mother-child *amae* relationship. Outside of home (*soto*), women occupy subjugated positions with very few individual rights and little power. Inside one's home (*uchi*), women, as mothers, hold stable and powerful positions. Azuma noted that: "in many families the position of the father is peripheral. The formal head of the family, he is accorded respect. However, this respect is symbolic; in reality he does not exert much control" (p. 8).

SOCIALIZATION AND KOREAN CULTURE

Traditional Korean cosmology emphasized a triarchic balance among nature, spirits, and humans. With the adoption of Confucianism, the emphasis on human relationships became dominant (Han, 1974). Within the Confucian

for pregnant women.¹ These prescriptions were based on the belief that a mother's experience during her pregnancy would directly affect the baby inside her womb and leave long-lasting imprints on the child.

In the book entitled *T'aekyo Sin Ki*, it was stated that "In life, one's temper is innate, but personality is learned. Thus, it is the parents' responsibility to culture the child's personality in a correct manner. . . . In teaching a child, the first ten months in the mother's womb are more important than the ten years later in school" (Yu, 1984, p. 35).

These prescriptive guidelines help prevent infantile death in traditional Korean society. These recommended prohibitive behaviors, such as resenting, swearing, or getting angry, are found to have positive benefits, such as reducing stressful effects on the body system of expectant mothers and the fetus (T. C. Kim, 1972). Beyond the medical benefits, the psychological intent of *t'aekyo* is to cultivate a keen sense of relatedness with the unborn child.

T'aekyo articulates in great detail the need to adopt the perspective of the child inside the womb. The mother must become a part of the unborn child if she is to successfully adhere to the prescriptive guidelines. For instance, when a mother eats something, she must presume that it is the unborn child who is consuming the food.² When a mother makes a move, it must be imagined that the child in her womb is the agent of the movement.³ Unless a mother psychologically synchronizes herself with the unborn child, she cannot possibly hope to observe all the rules stipulated by *t'aekyo*. Within *t'aekyo*, a mother believes that every aspect of her experience during her pregnancy affects the unborn child. A mother ensures that she experiences pleasant events and sees things that are precious, noble, and beautiful (such

¹Prohibited behaviors included: harming other people, harboring an intention to kill living things, cheating, envying, stealing, resenting, swearing, getting angry, gesturing (with fingers) when speaking, showing gums (when speaking or laughing), teasing, reprimanding (the subjects), reprimanding animals, slandering, whispering, spreading rumor (or stories), being talkative, peeping through a hole, squinting, pouting, scoffing, kicking, or pointing.

²Prohibited foods are: fruits in crooked shapes or rotten, fresh vegetables (for fear of parasites), cold dishes, food with a bad smell, unripened produce, produce out of season, meat, crayfish, horse meat, fish with no scales (might lead to miscarriage), garlic (might digest umbilical cord), buckwheat noodle (might cut umbilical cord), peach, dog meat (might make the baby dumb), lamb liver (might invite mishaps), chicken meat or eggs eaten with glutinous rice (might give parasites to the baby), duck meat, sparrow meat, crab, ginger, food served at funeral or ancestral worship, liquor, burnt food, incompletely cooked rice, chicken feet, and eyes of animal or fish.

³Prohibited behaviors are: sharing a bed with one's husband, dressing too warmly, eating too much, sleeping too much, sitting on a cold or dirty seat, smelling bad odors, climbing high places, going out at night or when it rains or snows, going to mountains, going near a well, entering an old shrine, passing by dangerous places, lifting heavy things, pushing anything too hard, receiving acupuncture indiscreetly, rearing silkworms, pricking fingers with a needle, cutting living things, sitting crookedly, taking things from a high place, picking up things from the ground when standing, looking back over one's shoulders, washing hair in the last month, running in haste, lying on one's stomach, leaving the door open, and many others.

sacrifice, and devotion are still the major tenets of the Korean family system. The internal features such as emotional and relational intimacy between parents and children still remain strong. They are considered binding forces in a family. The traditional and the modern mother-child relationship share two common features: leniency and devotion. A number of studies have reported that Korean mothers are very lenient and indulgent toward their children (J. E. Kim, 1981; Lee & Lee, 1987; S. K. Yu, 1985).

Indulgence

The weaning program often does not come up until the age of 3 or 4 (Lee & Lee, 1987). Children are not forced to eat by themselves until the age of 3. Even at this age, if children do not show any intention to do so they are not pressured. Lee and Lee found that a majority of mothers wait until a child spontaneously comes to acquire that skill.

Bedtime is another area wherein Korean mothers appear to be highly flexible. Regardless of their educational backgrounds, Korean mothers do not specify exact sleeping hours (Lee & Lee, 1987). A similar observation is made in regards to toilet training. When and how to introduce this basic task is of little importance to Korean mothers. It is when a mother perceives a child's need, through nonverbal channels such as facial expressions or body movement, that she takes the child to the toilet. These practices closely parallel the belief of naturalism in Japan (Lebra, chapter 12, this volume).

J. E. Kim (1981) similarly found that Korean mothers are not discipline oriented. They are often inconsistent in their socialization methods: Sometimes they appear to be authoritarian, and other times they appear to be democratic. A behavior often prohibited at one point is unchecked at another point. Situational whims, rather than any particular principle of the mothers, have been described as the norm (J. E. Kim, 1981).

There are several possible explanations for this observed inconsistency. A lack of a particular socialization orientation of the mothers could be the cause. Second, it is possible that mothers possess a specific socialization orientation but they are not able to practice it. The most likely possibility is that mothers are psychologically enmeshed with their children. They do not see their children as objects of discipline; they have a clear empathic understanding of them. Ho (1986) offered a similar interpretation in Chinese socialization:

The reason for leniency toward the younger child is that he or she is considered to be not yet capable of "understanding things," and therefore should not be held responsible for his or her wrongdoings. . . . It is thought that training cannot be expected to accomplish much for infants or young children; they are viewed as passive dependent creatures who are to be cared for, and whose needs are to be met with little delay or interference. (p. 4)

college education, Korean parents exceed all the other nations. Korean parents are also at the top in their willingness to pay off their children's debts and in paying for their children's wedding expenses (Gallup, 1983).

Support and caring are not unilateral processes. As children mature, they need to reciprocate the unconditional support provided for them. Table 11.1 lists the obligations that children must fulfill to their parents.

TABLE 11.1
Duties of Children Toward Their Parents

Duties	Examples
1. Obeying: Children must respect their parents' opinions and authority. This respect must be expressed through their daily behavior.	Example 1: Children must consult with their parents and seek agreement or permission from them in making decisions. If parents do not approve the decisions, children must stop insisting on their own ideas (<i>Kuk-mong-yo-keul</i>). Example 2: When called, children must immediately answer. If their mouths are full, they must empty their mouths first and then answer (<i>Myong-Shin-Bo-Kam</i>).
2. Attending: Children must take care of their parents' every need.	Example 1: When parents are ill, attending to their illnesses must be given priority by children (<i>Kuk-mong-yo-keul</i>). Example 2: Children must take care of their parents' bedding before and after their sleep (<i>Yi-Ki</i>). Example 3: Parents must be kept warm in winter and cool in summer, and laid down at night (for sleep) and greeted with "good morning" at dawn (<i>So-hak</i>). Example 4: Children must constantly check if their parents are in need of anything (<i>So-hak</i>).
3. Supporting: Related to the attending category, teaching emphasizes more materialistic comforts for parents.	Example 1: Children must make sure that parents are comfortably housed, fed, and dressed (<i>Dong-Mon-Seun-Sup</i>).
4. Comforting: Whereas Categories 2 and 3 are concerned with physical comfort, Category 4 focuses more on creating psychological ease and entertainment, by not worrying them.	Example 1: Children must let their parents know their coming in, going out, and whereabouts (<i>Myong-shin-bo-kam</i>). Example 2: Children must be careful not to expose themselves to danger (<i>Yi-ki</i>).
5. Honoring: Even after their parents pass away, children are encouraged to honor their parents' achievements, fulfill their intentions, complete their undertakings, and sustain their social networks.	Example 1: Children must restrain themselves from dietary and sexual pleasure for 3 years after their parents' death (<i>So-hak</i>). Example 2: In extreme cases, even the concubine of a father must be taken good care of by the children after their father's death (<i>So-hak</i>).

his position in a community). It is his responsibility to maintain, propagate, and elevate the position of the family. When making a decision, he must simultaneously consider implications of such a decision on a particular individual (e.g., a child), on the family, on the lineage, and on the community. Thus, wisdom and foresight are seen as essential ingredients of his decision-making process. Children are considered not capable of understanding such a complex process, and thus they are required to obey, respect, and abide by their fathers' decision. From children's perspective, it often means sacrificing personal interests for the benefit of the family. The difference between the role of a father and a mother is further described by Lebra's (chapter 12, this volume) articulation of *boundary socialization* in Japan.

INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM: A COMPARISON BETWEEN KOREA AND THE UNITED STATES

Maday and Szalay (1976) empirically verified the importance of family relations in Korean culture and the self in the United States. They conducted an empirical study to examine the psychological connotations of "me" with a sample of Korean and American respondents. The results support the claim that Koreans emphasize the relational mode and that Americans stress the aggregate mode. The four most important categories for Korean responses to "me" in descending order are:

1. family, love;
2. ideals, happiness, freedom;
3. hope, ambition, success; and
4. money, materials, and goods (Maday & Szalay, 1976).

The four most frequent themes for U.S. respondents in descending order are:

1. I, person, individual
2. other people;
3. tired, lonely, physical appearance; and
4. good, friendly, sociable (Maday & Szalay, 1976).

Maday and Szalay noted that the American conception of "me" focuses on the individuated self. Americans are detached from their family members and are surrounded by strangers. There is an emphasis on negative emotions such as "tired" and "lonely," rather than on the positive emotions found in the Korean sample such as "happiness, hope, and ambition." They com-

is translated as a mother's (*mo*) love or affection (*chong*) for her children. It is associated with maternal wholeheartedness and broadmindedness. It is more than a mother's deep love and generosity. It goes beyond rationality. For instance, when a child's faults and flaws are found, a mother tries to accept, embrace, forbear, or even overlook them. In a rational mode, a mother tries to teach her children to learn from their mistakes and to prevent the same behavior from being repeated in the future. She critically appraises situations with the children and explains the proper behavior. The rational approach can be considered more constructive and desirable in some ways. However, it does not represent a relationship based on *chong*. In such a relationship, a mother tries to understand from the child's perspective and empathically relate her disappointments. The emotional arousal can be a powerful force that shapes a child's behavior. Similar observations are made in the Japanese mother-child relationship (Doi, 1981; Lebra, chapter 12, this volume).

Rohner and Pettengill (1985) found similar contrasts when they compared parent-child relationships in the United States and in Korea. In the United States, strict parental control (along the dimension of strictness-permissiveness) is perceived by adolescents as a manifestation of parental hostility, aggression, distrust, and overall rejection. This view is consistent with the fact that American parents, by and large, encourage independence and self-reliance. Rohner and Pettengill noted that for the American sample "parental strictness infringes upon the youths' sense of their right to be autonomous and self-directing" (p. 527). Parental strictness is exerted when adolescents behave in an inappropriate or disruptive manner. In the United States, parental strictness is antithetical to a warm and harmonious parent-child relationship.

In Korea, however, the results were reversed. Korean adolescents view parental strictness as an indication of parental warmth and low neglect. This result is consistent with the fact that in a relational mode parental involvement is an essential ingredient. Parental involvement is necessary to ensure the success of children. Parental strictness is not viewed as control but as an essential component necessary for academic, economic, and social success.

ACCULTURATION

Acculturation is defined as culture change that results from continuous first-hand contact between two distinct cultural groups (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). It is differentiated from social change, which is more gradual, diffuse, and mediated. For Koreans living in Korea, exposure to Western influences are mediated by their own cultural filters and frame of reference.

mode. As discussed earlier, children raised in North America are socialized in the aggregate mode model. In Korea, however, the relational mode is instilled at an early age. As mature adults emigrating to North America, Koreans report having difficulties shifting their frame of reference from the relational mode to the aggregate mode (U. Kim, 1988). This dilemma is best depicted in parent-child relationships.

For Korean immigrants living in North America, one of the most significant challenges is the maintenance of a harmonious parent-child relationship. This challenge stems from three critical factors: cultural differences between Korea and the United States and Canada (as described earlier), a differential rate of assimilation for parents and children, and change in occupational status. As described earlier, when Koreans emigrate to North America, they report having significant difficulties adapting to cultural and social changes. Children who are born in North America or who came at an early age (i.e., before the age of 10) adapt more easily and quickly than their parents (U. Kim, 1984). In a study conducted by U. Kim, adults who came to Canada after the age of 20 reported significant difficulties learning English and participating in Canadian society. Participating in Korean organizations and maintaining Korean language were not considered to be problems for them. On the other hand, Korean children and adolescents became fluent in English within several years and were able to participate actively in Canadian society. However, they reported difficulties in maintaining Korean language fluency. As a result, children and adolescents are influenced by two cultures: Korean culture in the home environment propagated by their parents, and Canadian culture outside of their home environment.

Korean-Canadian and Korean-American children and adolescents adopt individualistic values relatively quickly. They accept a view of the parent-child relationship that is consistent with Canadian and American culture, which encourages independence, autonomy, and self-reliance. On the other hand, their parents maintain a traditional collectivistic orientation that emphasizes a strong sense of relatedness, devotion, and interdependence. This difference becomes the basis of parent-child conflicts (Pettengill & Rohner, 1985).

The second major change is a shift in occupational status. Although many Korean immigrants come to North America with college degrees and professional backgrounds, these qualifications are often not recognized. Moreover, poor proficiency in English limits their ability to land attractive jobs (U. Kim, 1988). Due to these structural and linguistic barriers, many Korean immigrants turn to labor-intensive small businesses for livelihood, such as grocery stores, dry cleaners, fast-food restaurants, and garment manufacturing (Bonacich, 1973; U. Kim, 1988). According to the 1980 U.S. Census, Korean immigrant males report more than three times the national average in self-employment (24% vs. 7%, respectively; Shin & Han, 1990).

These small businesses require members of a family, especially wives, to

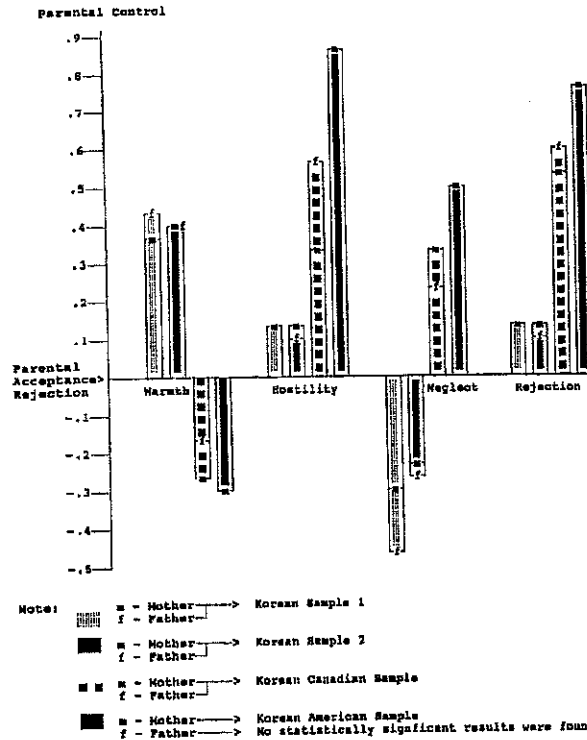


FIG. 11.3. Correlations between parental acceptance-rejection and parental control.

Korean-American samples, parental strictness was correlated with low warmth and high hostility, neglect, and rejection. Because of altered family conditions (less involvement of the mother) and altered societal contexts (the individualistic value of independence), parental control, a positive feature of the parent-child relationship in Korea, turned into a negative for the adolescent children of Korean immigrants to the United States and Canada. In this way, an individualistic societal context can rob a collectivistic childrearing practice of its psychological adaptiveness.

Results from the Korean Values Questionnaire provide support that Korean cultural values are mediating factors that affect perceived parent-child relationships. The three subscales (Internal Striving, Interpersonal Harmony, Social Order) correlated with high parental warmth and with low hostility, neglect, and rejection for both the Korean samples and the Korean-Canadian sample. Those adolescents, both Koreans and Korean Canadians, who identified with Korean values viewed their parents as more accepting, and less hostile, neglecting, and rejecting.

mental health problems (Berry & Kim, 1988; Berry et al., 1987; U. Kim, 1988, 1990a).

The third option is to synthesize, integrate, or adopt both cultures (i.e., integration). Integration refers to a bicultural mode of acculturation in which individuals maintain their heritage culture while participating actively in the larger society. Integration is an additive mode of acculturation, whereas assimilation and separation are subtractive modes. The goal of integration is to acquire, synthesize, or integrate new cultural elements so that individuals can function effectively in both cultures. In a multicultural context, it encourages individuals to function effectively in many different environments. The additive model allows a relatively smooth transition from a monocultural context to a bicultural context, and even to a multicultural one. It allows the propagation of a continuous sense of personhood, family integrity, and cultural identity. It is the option that Korean immigrants and various ethnic groups prefer (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; U. Kim, 1988, 1990a). It is correlated with high life satisfaction and low mental health problems in Canada (Berry, Kim, & Boski, 1987; U. Kim, 1984, 1988) and the United States (Delgado-Gaitan, chapter 3, this volume; Joe, chapter 5, this volume; Suina & Smolkin, chapter 6, this volume; Wong-Rieger & Quintana, 1987).

Compatibility of values is an important factor in child development. U. Kim (1990b) reviewed three empirical studies that revealed that if the goal of socialization in the family is compatible with the goal of socialization in the school setting, then children experience little or no conflict and benefit maximally from their educational experiences. When the goal is not compatible, children do not fully benefit from their educational experiences and they also may display problem behaviors. The Kamehameha Early Education Program created a school environment for Native Hawaiians that was compatible with their family environment (Tharp, chapter 4, this volume; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988). When this was accomplished, the Native Hawaiians, who were the lowest achieving minority group in the United States, soon reached the national average. Similarly, Kagitcibasi, Sunar, and Bekman (1989) created community-based learning centers to educate mothers of young children. They developed a program that is compatible with the Turkish culture. When they worked with mothers to create a more compatible home environment for learning, significant improvements were seen in the academic achievement of the children. Stevenson et al. (1986) showed that the phenomenal success in educational attainment of Japanese students, especially in mathematics, is attributable to the socialization practices of mothers, which are compatible with practices supported by the Japanese schools. Finally, Misumi (1985) attributed the economic success of Japan to the development of small-group processes that are compatible with the relational orientation. These studies emphasized the importance of cultural compatibility

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