

Generational Differences in Ethnicity Maintenance of Korean-Chinese Ethnic Minority[†]

Bokhee Cho, Joo-Yeon Lee^{1*}

Professor, Dept. of Child & Family Studies, School of Human Ecology, Kyung Hee University, Korea

¹Full-time Instructor, Dept. of Family Environment and Welfare, Chonnam National University, Korea

Abstract : The present study examined generational differences in ethnicity maintenance among Korean-Chinese to understand the impact of recent social change on a Korean-Chinese ethnic community in China. A total of 1355 Korean-Chinese (557 parents and 798 children), who live in Shenyang, China, participated in this study. The subjects were asked about their language use during daily conversations and cultural activities. They were also asked about their ethnic identity and perceptions of social distance from Chinese people. The results reveal that the Korean-Chinese parent generation is more likely to maintain its ethnic language, while the child generation is more likely to maintain its ethnic culture. Second, more parents than children considered themselves as 'Korean-Chinese' rather than 'Chinese'. Third, members of the child generation show less social distance from Chinese people than do the parent generation. These results show a strong tendency towards ethnicity maintenance among Korean Chinese as well as recent changes in the community. This study argues for the importance of school education and school environment in maintaining the ethnic language and culture of Korean-Chinese children.

Key Words : Korean-Chinese, ethnic identity, ethnic language & culture, social distance, generational difference, ethnicity maintenance

I. Introduction

There are approximately 2.03 million ethnic minority Korean-Chinese in China, and 98.7% of these live in the northeast area of China (e.g., Jilin, Liaoning, and Heilongjiang), which includes the 'Yanbian Korean-Chinese self-governing district' (Lim, 2003). The Korean-Chinese ethnic minority has lived in a bicultural-bilingual environment due to the Chinese government's ethnic minority policy, which allows each ethnic minority group the authority to govern itself as an autonomous district. Within this self-governing environment, the Korean-Chinese use the Korean language as their first language and maintain Korean ethnic culture,

attitudes, and values (Lim, 2003). Given this unique socio-cultural context, it seems likely that the ethnicity maintenance of Korean-Chinese might be different from that of ethnic minorities residing in Western societies.

Previous studies of Korean immigrants in Western societies have generally reported huge generational differences in the maintenance of ethnic identity and ethnic language (Gurung & Mehta, 1998; Phinney, 2003). From them, in which the relationship between age and ethnicity maintenance was examined, one can find a positive correlation between age and ethnicity maintenance. In other words, the older the immigrants are, the more ethnic language and culture they retain, and the younger the immigrants are, the more flexibly

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*Corresponding Author: Joo-Yeon Lee, Dept. of Family Environment and Welfare, Chonnam National University, 300 Yongbong-dong Buk-gu, Gwangju, Korea. Tel: 82-62-530-1327 Fax: 82-62-530-1329 E-mail: idscot@chonnam.ac.kr

they accept the dominant language and culture (Phinney, 1990, 2003). According to Tuominen (1999), generational differences are particularly obvious between the first and second generation of one's own immigration. The second generation is sometimes regarded as the 'transitional generation' since while the first generation of immigrants tends to keep its ethnic characteristics, the second generation begins to adopt the dominant culture of the mainstream society, and the third generation is almost completely assimilated (Castro, 2003; Tuominen, 1999). However, it seems that the changes by generations in ethnicity maintenance and assimilation to mainstream culture might not be as true with Korean-Chinese immigrants. Korean-Chinese have a long immigrant history of over 100 years, and Korean-Chinese who currently live in China are mostly third, fourth, or even fifth generation immigrants. Nevertheless, they still use their ethnic language as their main language and retain their ethnic culture (Cho *et al.*, 2005).

Although the Korean-Chinese have preserved their Korean ethnic culture and language due to their ecological uniqueness and political situation, they have also needed to adjust to Chinese society as the mainstream culture. In particular, as Chinese society has been changed because of its economic open-door policy and social reforms since 1990, the Korean-Chinese ethnic minority has also been forced to change. It seems that these social changes have led to greater adaptation to the dominant Chinese culture by providing frequent opportunities for interaction. As a result, it seems that ethnic identity of the Korean-Chinese has been weakened, and that Korean ethnic culture may have been partly replaced by Chinese culture (Lee *et al.*, 2003).

Until Korea became an ally of China in 1992, the Korean-Chinese ethnic minority had been isolated for 40 years from its Korean homeland. Since the alliance between Korea and China, many native Koreans have become interested in knowing more about these Korean-Chinese people (Cho *et al.*, 2005; Lee *et al.*, 2003; Cho,

Han, & Lee, 2005; Cho *et al.*, 2004; Park & Doh, 2001). However, there are relatively few studies documenting the Korean-Chinese experiences of adjusting to Chinese culture and maintaining traditional Korean culture. According to recent empirical studies, Korean-Chinese have experienced rapid social change in many aspects of their lives. For instance, many Korean-Chinese ethnic schools have closed due to a decrease in students, and their ethnic language is no longer used as the main language of public life for residents of large cities (Harbin, Shenyang, etc.). Also, many Korean-Chinese rural communities have collapsed because of the exodus into cities (Cho *et al.*, 2005; Lee *et al.*, 2003).

Although earlier studies of Korean-Chinese ethnic identity and cultural maintenance consistently report strong ethnic identity (Lim & Kim, 2002), recent social changes suggest some impact on ethnicity maintenance, especially those living in cities. Thus, to understand the impact of recent social change on Korean-Chinese ethnicity maintenance, this study examined levels of ethnicity maintenance among Korean-Chinese in large cities by comparing parent and child generations. The study focused not only on ethnic language and cultural maintenance, but also on ethnic identity and social distance toward ethnic Chinese.

II. Theoretical Background

1. Ethnicity maintenance

Every immigrant faces the pressure of adjusting to the mainstream society as a social member. Early studies on ethnic minorities focused on adjustment by assessing the levels of assimilation to the dominant culture. In this early research, adjustment was regarded as a linear process, with individuals ranging on a continuum from 'not assimilated' to 'assimilated' (Gordon, 1964). Also, more assimilation was referred to as 'better adjustment'. Thus ethnic maintenance, which is the opposite of accepting the dominant culture and implies rejection,

was related to negative adjustment. However, this recognition has changed as recent studies have understood ethnic minorities' adjustment as 'acculturation,' which is not linear but is a far more complex process.

These changes in research concepts seem to be related to greater recognition of the importance of ethnicity maintenance. Concerning 'acculturation,' recent studies have included aspects of ethnic maintenance including strong identification with the ethnic reference group, orientation toward one's ethnic group, and/or ethnic language maintenance. For instance, two-dimensional approaches assume that strong identification with the reference ethnic group, and positive orientations toward mainstream society, represent orthogonal dimensions that might lead to different types of adaptation (Lieber *et al.*, 2001).

Using a multiple conceptualization of acculturation, Berry (1995, 2002) theorized four acculturation types: integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalization. Empirically, these four strategies lead to differences in individuals' daily adjustments including their mental and socio-psychological health (Castro, 2003). Specifically, a review of the literature suggests that integration is related to the best psychological outcomes and marginalization is the worst (Phinney, 1990; 1993). Integration seems to be the most adaptive strategy because it provides individuals with two social support systems and represents the absence of inter-group conflict (Berry & Sam, 1997). These results therefore emphasize the importance of ethnicity maintenance in adjustment to mainstream society.

2. Ethnic language and cultural maintenance

This study focused on three concepts to assess ethnicity maintenance: ethnic language and cultural maintenance, ethnic identity, and social distance from Chinese people. First, ethnic language maintenance is relevant not only to the survival of minority languages

but also to the psychological reality of immigrants and their families (Tannenbaum, 2003). The mother tongue is often viewed as a positive symbol of cultural pride, as a means of maintaining practical and emotional contact with the homeland and with oneself, and as a tool that strengthens family cohesion (Guardado, 2002; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002). For these reasons, language is usually the most intensively assessed cultural practice, and language preference and language use variables predominate in the conceptions of ethnic maintenance that have guided many existing studies on acculturation (Phinney, 1990). Measurement scales that assess language use within ethnic minorities have typically included items or variables such as the frequency of exposure through the mass media (TV, VCRs, and DVDs), or use of the ethnic/host language with family and peers.

In addition to language, Phinney (1990) emphasized specific cultural activities and attitude as other indicators of acculturation. These assessment items include cultural aspects such as ethnic music, songs, and dances, dress, foods or cooking, traditional celebrations, the practices of endogamy or opposition to mixed marriages, knowledge about ethnic/mainstream culture or history, and the amount of contact with persons of mainstream or ethnic origin.

The present study used both language and cultural indicators of acculturation to explore ethnicity maintenance among Korean-Chinese. While both factors are part of acculturation, investigating their distinction provides specific understanding of generational differences in ethnicity maintenance.

3. Ethnic identity

Ethnic identity is one of the best criteria of ethnicity maintenance, since the term 'identity' implies psychological attitudes that guide one's behaviors consciously or unconsciously. According to Erikson (1968), the formation of identity is an important developmental stage during adolescence. Most empirical evidence

suggests that development of identity has great impact on overall physical, social, and emotional development of adolescents. Specifically, a positive and stable identity is related to active and desirable attitudes towards others as well as one's own high self-esteem (Bosma *et al.*, 1994; Grotevant, 1998; Marcia, Waterman, Matteson, Archer, & Orlofsky, 1993). Similarly, ethnic identity, which is one's feeling of and attitude toward belonging to an ethnic group, is an important factor that influences interaction with other ethnic groups as well as the development and maintenance of one's own ethnic group (Phinney, 1991, 2003).

Ethnic identity is formed from existential recognition of other ethnic groups (Erikson, 1968). Thus, interaction leads to comparison with and then distinction from other ethnic groups, and is a basic mechanism of ethnic identity formation (Cho, 2001). For this reason, research on ethnic identity has usually been conducted in countries that are composed of diverse ethnicities, such as the U.S., Canada, and China. In multi-ethnic countries, interaction among ethnic groups makes it possible to recognize ethnic uniqueness, which can influence the development of ethnic identity. Ethnic identity, in turn, has some impact not only on individual development but also on the development of ethnic groups (Mitzman, 1994; Phinney, 1993).

Korean-Chinese seem to have a dual identity. They are one of 56 ethnicities which have Chinese nationality, but they hold to cultural aspects of their Korean ethnicity at the same time (Kim, 2003). Previous studies on the ethnic identity of Korean-Chinese found a consistent result, which is that Korean-Chinese generally report a rigid ethnic identity. Moreover, Korean-Chinese living in the 'Yanbian Korean-Chinese self-governing district' have maintained their ethnic language and culture throughout their long immigrant history, and have transmitted their ethnic pride (Choi, 2000; Lim & Kim, 2002). However, since the beginning of China's economic open-door policy and social reforms, it seems that the ethnic identity of Korean-Chinese has begun to change (Kang, 2000; Kim, 2003; Ko, 2003).

4. Social distance

'Social distance' is defined as one's personal perception of members of a specific social group (Kim, 1998), and social-psychologists have used the concept to measure levels of prejudice toward other social groups. Many studies on prejudice and discrimination among ethnic groups (Muir & Muir, 1988; Netting, 1991; Westie, 1952) have used the social distance scale developed by Borgardus (1933). It is composed of seven items which assess levels of acceptance toward other ethnic/national groups, e.g. I can get married to OO; I can be a best friend of OO; I can work with OO as a co-worker; I can be a neighbor of OO; I can be only an acquaintance with OO; I don't want to be a neighbor of OO, and I want to expel OO from my country (Bogardus, 1933).

Unlike earlier research, recent studies on social distance have tried to explore not only the social distance of members of the majority culture toward minorities but also minorities' social distance toward majorities (Netting, 1991). For example, Netting (1991) investigated the social distance of Chinese-Canadians and white majority in relation to each other, and found that white Canadians considered Chinese-Canadians to be members of the Canadian group, but Chinese-Canadians emphasized social segregation from the white majority. Westie (1952) categorized social distance as four sub-domains: 1) the distance in closeness of residence; 2) the distance in social status and power; 3) the distance in physical contact, and 4) the distance in familiarity of interaction. These categories indicate that social distance includes not only social and structural factors but also cultural and personal ones. Thus, to explore social distance between the Korean-Chinese ethnic group and Chinese people makes it possible to acknowledge relationships between Korean-Chinese and Chinese, and the levels of segregation/cohesion within the Korean-Chinese ethnic group, which provide information concerning ethnicity maintenance of Korean-Chinese.

Building on previous studies, the present study investigated ethnic language and cultural maintenance, ethnic identity, and social distance from Chinese of Korean-Chinese parents and children, to understand generational differences in ethnicity maintenance. The findings offer useful information on Korean-Chinese parents and children's overall ethnic consciousness, values, and attitudes, as well as the impact of recent social changes in China on the Korean-Chinese ethnic minority. The research questions for this study are as follows:

Research question 1: Is there any generational difference in the levels of ethnic language and cultural maintenance of Korean-Chinese?

Research question 2: Is there any generational difference in the ethnic identity of Korean-Chinese?

Research question 3: Is there any generational difference in the social distance from Chinese?

III. Method

1. Participation

A total of 1355 Korean-Chinese (557 Korean-Chinese parents and 798 Korean-Chinese children) participated. Parent subjects were recruited through Korean-Chinese preschools and elementary schools, and child subjects were fourth or sixth graders from the same elementary schools and seventh graders from a middle school. Thus the data include not all but some pairs of a parent and child.

The average age of the parent generation was 35.5 years, and the child generation was 12.8. The parent generation was composed of more mothers (63%) than fathers (37%), while the child generation showed a similar distribution in sex (girls-51%, boys-49%). In their final educational levels, 39% of parents reported they had graduated from high school, 26% from middle

school, 19% from university (*daehak*, 4-years), 15% from college (*chungwa*, 2-years), and 1.9% from elementary school.

2. Measurement

(1) Ethnic language and cultural maintenance

Two factors of acculturation were used as ethnic language and cultural maintenance variables: language (e.g. language spoken with family members), and cultural (e.g. familiarity and comfort level with ethnic food and culture). A total of ten items (four for the language factor and six for the cultural factor) were selected from 27 used by Lee (2000), who examined acculturation of Korean-Americans based on The Cultural Life Style Inventory developed by Mendoza and Martinex (1989). Although their original scale is composed of five sub-factors (language use within family, language use outside, cultural familiarity, cultural identity, and social relationship and activity), this study included only ten items that seem to be appropriate for both Korean-Chinese parents and children (for specific contents, see Table 1). The specific items were selected based on the advice of a Korean-Chinese educator and several Korean-Chinese elementary school teachers in Shenyang, as well as Korean-Chinese students in Korea. Using factor analysis, two primary factors were found with Cronbach's alpha of .77 for the language factor and .69 for the cultural factor.

Each item in the language and the cultural factors could be scored as 1 (always Chinese), 2 (usually Chinese), 3 (half and half), 4 (usually Korean), or 5 (always Korean). The higher the score, then, the higher the levels of ethnicity maintenance. The rationale for scoring the bilingual/bicultural option as 3 and the ethnic language and culture option as 5 was that those who reported usually using their ethnic language and culture indicated a higher rate of ethnicity maintenance, compared to those who reported similar usages of both Korean and Chinese.

(2) Ethnic identity

Ethnic identity was measured by one question. "How do you refer to yourself when you introduce yourself to other people?" Participants could respond with two categories, Korean-Chinese, or Chinese.

(3) Social distance

Based on the scale developed by Borgadus (1925, 1993), three items were developed to measure the degree of social distance of Korean-Chinese parents and their children's from Chinese (for specific contents, see Table 3). The items were then reviewed by a Korean-Chinese educator and several Korean-Chinese ethnic school teachers in Shenyang, and were considered as appropriate not only for the parents but also their children. Participants were asked to respond using a 5 point Likert scale, from never agree (1) to absolutely agree (5). Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the combined three items was .70. Specific items focused on their attitude toward Chinese people, so a higher score refers to less social distance from Chinese.

(4) Demographic information

Several questions were asked regarding demographic information, such as a subjects' age, sex, and parents' educational level. In addition, subjects were asked to identify their mother tongue, in order to distinguish their ethnic background.

3. Procedure and analysis

The data used were a small part of a larger set from a longitudinal study on bilingual/bicultural development of Korean-Chinese children. They were collected from three preschools, two elementary schools, and one middle school for Korean-Chinese children in Shenyang, China, during the fall semester of 2003. The children's questionnaire was distributed and completed in their class time.

The questionnaire for their parents was distributed at school to their teacher, and was requested to be returned

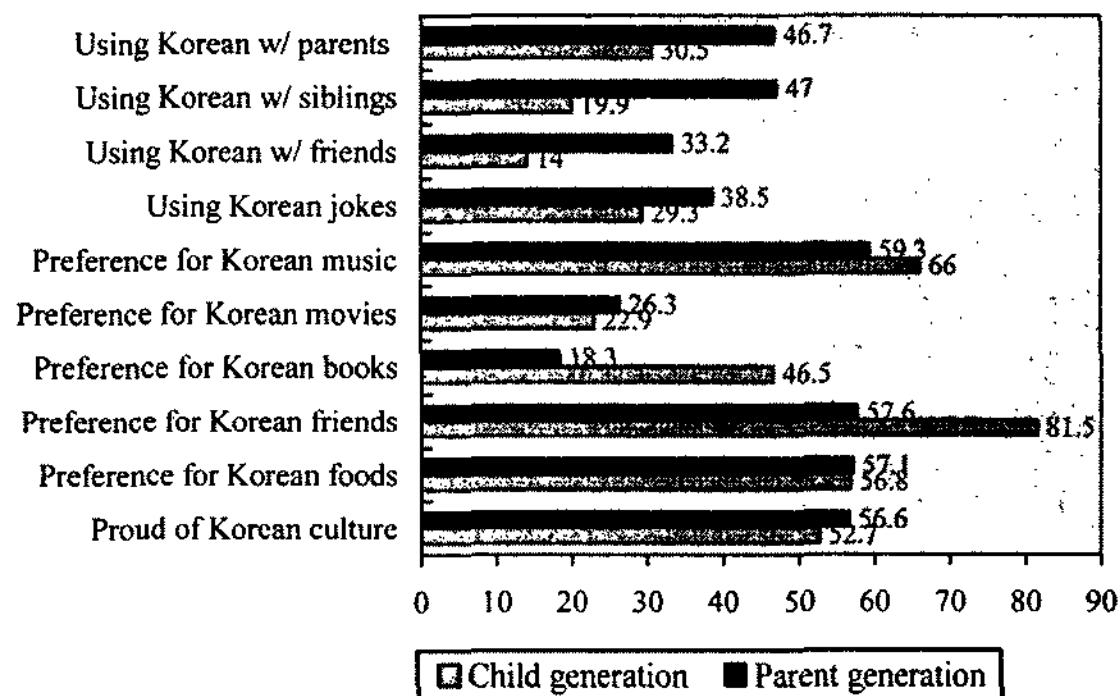
within one week. Although Korean = Chinese ethnic minorities were recruited, 13.6% of the completed questionnaires came from Chinese families. These responses were excluded, however, which resulted in data from 1355 Korean-Chinese that were used in the final analysis.

IV. Results

1. Generational differences in the language and cultural maintenance of Korean-Chinese

To explore generational differences in language and cultural maintenance, a descriptive analysis was first conducted. <Figure 1> shows how much Korean-Chinese parents and children reported they might use their ethnic language and do Korean cultural activities. The specific percentage for each item was calculated by computing the rates of respondents who answered that they "always" or "usually" speak Korean and/or do Korean-based activities.

As shown in <Figure 1>, there were some interesting differences between the parent generation and the child generation in their use of language and their cultural maintenance. For instance, the parent generation was more likely to maintain the ethnic language than the child generation, while the child generation was more



<Figure 1> Percentage of ethnic language use and cultural activities.

<Table 1> Generational difference in language and cultural maintenance

Items	Parents		Children		t	
	N	M (SD)	N	M (SD)		
Language factor	Language use w/parents	547	3.87(1.28)	605	3.10(1.21)	10.53***
	Language use w/siblings	547	3.37(1.29)	782	2.55(1.21)	11.77***
	Language use w/friends	533	2.99(1.27)	793	2.43(1.15)	8.37***
	Familiar linguistic joke	538	2.96(1.40)	785	2.75(1.47)	2.59**
	Total	512	3.30(1.09)	583	2.73(.97)	9.01***
Cultural factor	Favorite music	541	3.71(1.14)	782	3.97(1.33)	-3.72***
	Favorite movies	539	2.67(1.34)	787	2.42(1.51)	3.15
	Favorite books	540	2.46(1.35)	790	3.29(1.43)	-10.62***
	Favorite friends	550	3.71(1.16)	796	4.35(.92)	-10.95***
	Favorite foods	548	3.76(.96)	792	3.83(1.13)	-1.09
	Cultural pride	539	3.57(1.31)	787	3.58(1.37)	- .10
	Total	503	3.32(.77)	756	3.58(.75)	-5.90***

** p < .01, *** p < .001

Note: A higher score means using the Korean language more/preferring Korean culture.

likely to maintain the ethnic culture than the parent generation. Approximately 35-50% of the parent generation reported that they generally use the Korean language with their family and/or friends. Alternatively, the percentage of children who reported frequent use of the Korean language in their everyday conversation was below 30%, and only 14% of the child generation answered that they mainly use Korean in conversation with their peers.

In most items related to cultural activities (Items 'preference for Korean music', 'movies', 'foods, to 'proud of Korean culture'), the parent generation and the child generation showed a similar rate of ethnicity maintenance. However, it was revealed that the child generation maintained Korean ethnic culture more than the parent generation in their choices of favorite books and favorite friend. That is, while approximately 47% and 82% of children reported that they usually use/like Korean books and friends, respectively, only 18% and 58% of parents did.

<Table 1> presents the statistical differences between the parent generation and the child generation in their use of language and cultural maintenance. According to <Table 1>, there were significant differences in both the language factor (t=9.01, p<.001) and the cultural

<Table 2> Generational differences in ethnic identity

	Parents	Children	χ^2
	N (%)	N (%)	
Korean-Chinese	410(77.8)	520(65.9)	21.56***
Chinese	117(22.2)	269(34.1)	
Total	527(100.0)	789(100.0)	

*** p < .001

factor (t=-5.90, p<.001). It revealed that the parent generation (total M=3.30) retained the ethnic language by reporting higher levels in Korean language use than did the child generation (total M = 2.73). However, in all cultural factor items excluding 'favorite movies', the child generation (total M = 3.58) maintained ethnic culture more than the parent generation (total M = 3.32). Among sub-items within the cultural factor, there was no significant generational difference in for 'favorite foods' and 'cultural pride.'

2. Generational differences in ethnic identity of Korean-Chinese

A χ^2 analysis was conducted to examine generational differences in ethnic identity, with results displayed in <Table 2>. <Table 2> shows there is a significant

<Table 3> Generational differences in social distance toward Chinese

Items	Parents		Children		t
	N	M (SD)	N	M (SD)	
It's okay if my siblings marry Chinese people	522	2.13(1.17)	773	2.42(1.23)	-4.32***
Chinese people could be one of my best friends	530	4.18(.98)	784	4.11(1.09)	1.10
It's okay if Chinese people move in my next door	532	3.52(1.15)	794	3.65(1.26)	-1.95+
Total	509	3.28(.76)	767	3.40(.86)	-2.61**

+ p < .10, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

difference among the four cells of ethnic identity ($\chi^2 = 21.56, p < .001$). Specifically, around 78% of parent subjects reported they are Korean-Chinese, while 22% considered themselves as Chinese. Alternatively, 66% of the child generation reported they are Korean-Chinese, but 34% identified themselves as Chinese. Although these results indicate the parent generation was more likely to perceive itself as Korean-Chinese, they also suggest that the Korean-Chinese still have a strong ethnic identity, regardless of their generation.

3. Generational difference in social distance

A t-test was used to analyze generational differences in social distance toward Chinese people. In <Table 3>, Korean-Chinese parents and their children showed different attitudes ($t = -2.61, p < .01$), with the child generation (total $M = 3.40$) reporting less social distance overall from the Chinese than the parent generation (total $M = 3.28$). However, there was no generational difference in the specific item related to friends.

In addition, the specific mean scores of each item in <Table 3> show a similarity between the two generations. That is, when comparing the scores of the three items, one could find that parent and child generations reported the same order of scores. More Korean-Chinese parents and children regarded Chinese people as their friends (mean scores was 4.xx for each) than compared to seeing them as neighbors (mean scores was 3.xx) or relatives (mean scores was 2.xx).

V. Conclusion

This study has examined generational differences in ethnicity maintenance among Korean-Chinese. A total of 1355 Korean-Chinese parents and children in Shenyang, China, participated. To examine the generational differences in ethnicity maintenance, participants' ethnic language and cultural maintenance, their ethnic identity and social distance from Chinese people were measured and analyzed.

First, it has revealed that the generational differences are diverse and dependent upon the domains of language factors and cultural factors. The Korean-Chinese parent generation more frequently uses the ethnic language but is less involved in some ethnic cultural activities than is the child generation. These results, particularly from the cultural factor, are not consistent with those of previous studies, which have focused on acculturation or ethnicity maintenance of ethnic minorities (Castro, 2003; Phinney, 1990; Tannenbaum, 2003). When considering ethnic minorities in Western cultures, previous studies generally found that older people are more likely to retain their ethnic culture than younger people (Castro, 2003; Tuominen, 1999). It seems that a similar generational tendency can also be extended to ethnicity maintenance of Korean-Chinese, but only with the language factor, whereas the opposite result in the cultural factor may reflect the uniqueness of the Korean-Chinese ethnic minority society. Most of all, Korean-Chinese children are usually enrolled in schools for Korean-Chinese, in which children learn by using books written in Korean, and have Korean-Chinese peers.

Although the parent generation also lives within the Korean-Chinese ethnic community, it is plausible that parents have more opportunities in their workplace to have contact with Chinese friends and/or co-workers than their children. Thus the parent generation may be more likely to report that their favorite friends and books not only are Korean but also Chinese. The influence of the Korean-Chinese ethnic minority in schools becomes clear when the results of favorite foods and cultural pride are considered, as there was no generational difference in the two items.

Another reason why the child generation was more involved in Korean culture than the parent generation may be related to “*hanryu* (Korean wave)” effects in contemporary Chinese society. The recent “*hanryu*” in China might have strong impact within Korean-Chinese society and, specifically, to the child generation, since the mainstems of “*hanryu*” are Korean movies, TV dramas, pop songs, and pop stars, all of which are familiar to the younger generation. Thus, generational differences in acculturation reflect contemporary social phenomena, and can be better understood within the socio-cultural context of Korean-Chinese society.

Second, even though the participants in this study were members of the third or fourth generation in their immigrant history, both the parent and child generations reported a very strong ethnic identity. This result is consistent with previous studies which revealed that Korean-Chinese maintain a strong ethnic identity in comparison to Korean-Americans and Korean-Japanese (Lim & Kim, 2002). Sam (1995) points out that there is more pressure to assimilate to a host culture when an ethnic culture is similar to the host culture. However, this notion might not be as accurate for the Korean-Chinese in their self-governing community. Generally, ethnic identity of Korean-Americans is explained by a language barrier that prevents them from entering the mainstream society (Faver & Lee-Shin, 2000). Alternatively, the results of the strong ethnic identity of Korean-Chinese can be understood as related to their socio-cultural uniqueness. As mentioned, the Korean-

Chinese have lived in ideal bilingual/bicultural circumstances due to the ethnic minority policy of the Chinese government. Under this ethnic minority policy, they have retained their ethnic culture and language. Thus, ethnicity maintenance should be analyzed in the context of relationships between immigrants and the mainstream culture. The relationship between minority and majority groups in a society, including the balance of power, history, social policies related to minorities, and attitudes of one group toward the other, are therefore important factors in understanding adjustment of ethnic minorities (Taylor, 1987).

Third, the results show that the child generation of Korean-Chinese regards Chinese people as less socially distant than the parent generation does. This reflects the general tendency of assimilation to mainstream culture over time (Tuominen, 1999). Nevertheless, and interestingly, the order in scores of three social distance items was the same for both the parent and child generations. That is, both reported they are close to Chinese people in accordance with the following order of relationships: friends > neighbors > relatives. Both generations perceive that Chinese people could be among their best friends, while both were unwilling to have Chinese relatives (mean scores were below the median score of 3). The preference for endogamy suggests very strong ethnic cohesion of Korean-Chinese, including even the child generation.

In sum, this study reveals that Korean-Chinese have maintained their ethnic language and culture in spite of their long immigrant history. In particular, the generational differences (depending on acculturation domains) reflect socio-cultural uniqueness of contemporary Korean-Chinese society. For instance, the result that a very low rate of Korean-Chinese children reported the use of the Korean language in their everyday conversation reflects ecological societal changes such as the recent economic open-door policy and social reforms in China, in which the younger generation may have pressed to adjust more to Chinese society. At the same time, social phenomena in Korean-

Chinese society, such as children's ethnic school enrollment and the "hanryu" effect, might also have some impact on generational differences in terms of the cultural factor of acculturation. According to Hurh (1998), English-speaking Korean-American youth experience conflict with their Korean-speaking parents due to the language barrier. These conflicts may be related to problems in daily adjustment and ethnic identity formation among Korean-American children. Similarly, if the generation gap in ethnic language and cultural maintenance of Korean-Chinese continues and becomes even larger, it might lead to intergenerational conflict within Korean-Chinese ethnic minorities. These problems can lead not only to the loss of ethnicity but also to individual social-psychological problems such as family collapse (Chun & Akutsu, 2003). Empirically, Cho and her colleagues (2004, 2005) found that Korean-Chinese children who use their ethnic language more, and who are more involved in their ethnic cultural activities, have better school adjustment and social support. Thus, for better social-psychological adjustment of individual Korean-Chinese as well as maintenance of the Korean-Chinese ethnic group itself, some effort must be given to maintaining Korean-Chinese ethnic language and culture. The current study, in which the child generation has preferred and is more involved in the ethnic culture than the parent generation, suggests that ethnicity maintenance might be enhanced through school systems that emphasize Korean-Chinese ethnicity.

Although the present study provides useful information for understanding ethnicity maintenance of Korean-Chinese by comparing parent and child generations, it has several limitations. First, not all participants were parent-child dyads. In general, to compare generational differences in ethnicity maintenance, the best way may be to ensure the subject pairs are all matched. However, to analyze large and diverse samples of Korean-Chinese, this study also included parent and child samples (approximately 59%) that were not matched. Thus the results of the present study should be understood within this limitation. Perhaps the

observed generational differences can be considered not as differences between parents and their children per se, but as differences between the parent and child generations.

Second, it included only subjects from Shenyang, China. The life of ethnic minorities seems to be diverse and varied according to the ecological contexts, such as the city or province, as well as to the larger society, such as the country. For example, Cho *et al.*, (2005) found that the level of acculturation among Korean-Chinese varied depending on the area where they lived. Hence the Korean-Chinese in Yanbian, which is a Korean-Chinese self-governing district, maintained their ethnic language and culture more than those who live in other bigger cities such as Shenyang and Harbin. Thus, future studies could include diverse samples of Korean-Chinese from separate provinces in China, to obtain more exact and comprehensive information on Korean-Chinese ethnic minorities.

Third, this study explored only the ethnicity maintenance of Korean-Chinese, and did not directly examine the benefits and/or drawbacks from the ethnicity maintenance. Although strong ethnic identity and ethnic cohesion might be positive factors in ethnicity maintenance, they might also be regarded as a negative factor, by preventing an ethnic group from assimilating into mainstream culture. Also, it may lead to conflicts in the unification of an immigrant society in which diverse ethnic minorities live together, such as in China. Thus, future studies should examine the impact of ethnicity maintenance. In addition, how ethnic minorities maintain and develop their ethnic language and culture should be studied.

Regarding intergenerational differences in ethnicity maintenance among Korean-Chinese, the findings indicate that Korean-Chinese still maintain their ethnic language and culture and have ethnic pride, which together have important implications. Based on their strong ethnicity, Korean-Chinese can play an important role in the cooperation toward and unification of South Korea and North Korea, by helping connect each other.

Furthermore, they can introduce Korea more closely to China, the potential world leader of the twenty-first century. Thus it is necessary for Korean society to consider the social and political concerns of the Korean-Chinese, and to give opportunities for enhancing their ethnicity. For example, contemporary Korean society could provide a support system, in which Korean-Chinese children can experience today's Korean culture, or in which Korean-Chinese more frequently connect to each other within their community.

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