

A Study on Korean-Chinese Children's Acculturation and Adjustment to the Mainstream Society*

Bokhee Cho**, Sae-Young Han***, Joo-Yeon Lee****

Professor, College of Human Ecology, Kyunghee University**

Full-time instructor, Dept. of Child Welfare, Chungbuk National University***

Researcher, College of Human Ecology, Kyunghee University****

Abstract : The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between acculturation and the daily adjustment of Korean-Chinese children to Chinese society. Specifically, this study examined the differences between language factors and cultural factors in the levels of acculturation of Korean-Chinese children. In addition, the differences of Korean-Chinese children's adjustment according to their levels of language-related and culture-related acculturation were analyzed. Subjects consisted of 679 Korean-Chinese 4th graders in Yangil, Shenyang, and Harbin. First, the result from this study showed that Korean-Chinese children in Yangil, Shenyang, and Harbin were more acculturated to the Chinese language than to Chinese cultural activities. Second, language factors and cultural factors in acculturation were distinctively associated with Korean children's daily adjustment variables such as their well-being, internal locus of control, achievement motivation, school adjustment, teacher and peer support. Lastly, this study revealed that using Korean ethnic language and maintaining Korean ethnic culture are more likely to be associated with better daily adjustment for Korean-Chinese children. These results discussed within the unique sociocultural context of the Korean-Chinese immigrant society. This study suggests that ethnic minority children's adjustment and development should be understood within the sociocultural context of their immigrant society.

Key Words : Acculturation, Cultural adaptation, Daily adjustment, Korean-Chinese children

I. Introduction

Over the last few decades, there has been extensive research on acculturation and adjustment to mainstream society by ethnic minorities. However, these studies have usually been conducted in Western societies such as the U.S. and Canada, and there are few studies on the

acculturation and adjustment of ethnic minorities in other countries. Although these previous studies in Western societies have generally reported a positive relationship between the levels of acculturation and adjustment to mainstream society by ethnic minorities (Berry, 1989, 1997; Castro, 2003; Phinney, 1990), the results might have some limitations when they are applied to

Corresponding Author: Joo-Yeon Lee, #409 College of Human Ecology, Kyunghee University, 1 Hoegi-Dong Dongdaemun-Gu, Seoul 130-701, Korea Tel: 82-2-959-0640 Email: idscot@hanmail.net

* This work was supported by the Korea Research Foundation Grant (KRF-2003-072-HM2001).

ethnic minority groups in Asian countries (e.g., Korean-Chinese in China). It is critically important to study an ethnic minority within the particular sociocultural context of their host society. Since every ethnic minority has a unique immigrant history and the power relations between the ethnic culture and the host culture are diverse, the sociocultural context should be considered to understand cultural adaptation and development of ethnic minorities (Taylor, 1987). Based on this context-specific view, this study examined acculturation and adjustment to Chinese society by Korean-Chinese children. Results from this study will provide an opportunity to compare acculturation and social adjustment of a Korean-Chinese minority group with the experiences of ethnic minorities in Western societies.

There are 1.3 billion people in China, and 92% of them are of Chinese (*Han* ethnicity) ethnic origin and the rest, 8%, consists of 55 ethnic minority groups which have different ethnic backgrounds. The Korean-Chinese group is the 13th largest ethnic minority group in China, with approximately 2.03 million Korean-Chinese living in China. Of this Korean-Chinese group, 98.73% of the people live in one of three districts which are located in the north-east area of China (Lim, 2003). The Korean-Chinese have a history of extended immigration to China, from 1860 to 1945. Originally, Korean people from the *Chosun* Dynasty began to immigrate to China around 1860 at the request of the Chinese government (*Chung* Dynasty) to develop waste land in the north-east area of China. As a result of the compulsive or voluntary immigration during the *Chosun* Dynasty and Japanese colonization, the numbers of Korean-

Chinese immigrants moving to China continued to increase, and finally the 'Yanbian Korean-Chinese self-governing area' was authorized by the Chinese government in 1952 (Lim, 2003). After Korea became allies with China in 1992, many Korean people have become interested in knowing more about these Korean-Chinese people. However, there are relatively few studies documenting their experiences of adjusting to Chinese culture (Cho, Lee, Park, Lee, & Han, 2004).

The Korean-Chinese ethnic group has been living in ideal bicultural-bilingual circumstances 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 ethnic group uses Korean language as their first language and maintains Korean ethnic culture, attitudes, and values. From this unique social and historical context, it seems that the Korean-Chinese levels of acculturation and daily adjustment of the Korean-Chinese might be different from those of other ethnic minorities in Western societies. In addition, although Sam (1989) pointed out that there is more pressure to assimilate to a host culture when an ethnic culture is similar to the host culture, this notion might not be true for the Korean-Chinese in their self-governing community.

Although the Korean-Chinese have preserved their Korean ethnic culture and language, they have also needed to adjust to Chinese society as the dominant culture. In particular, as Chinese society has changed because of its economic open-door policy and social reform since 1990, the Korean-Chinese ethnic minority has also been

forced to change. For instance, the Korean-Chinese have experienced more frequent contact with Chinese people than in the past. In addition, since the Chinese society has changed its economic policy from communism to capitalism, some Korean-Chinese have preferred attending Chinese schools (rather than Korean-Chinese schools) to get a better job. These changes could cause the Korean-Chinese to actively accept Chinese culture. As a result, the ethnic identity of Korea-Chinese has been weakened, and Korean ethnic culture has been replaced by Chinese culture in some part.

From the unique social and historical background of the Korean-Chinese ethnic minority, a question arises: How might the uniqueness of the Korean-Chinese with their immigrant history and current social context be reflected in their acculturation and adjustment to the mainstream society? To understand the cultural adaptation of the Korean-Chinese in China, this study examined Korean-Chinese children's adjustment to Chinese society and the levels of their acculturation.

1. Acculturation

Acculturation is usually defined as the manner in which individuals negotiate two or more cultures (Berry, 1995). The acculturation process is determined by how individuals manage to maintain or let go of their ethnic culture in light of conflicting cultural values with the host culture. Thus, acculturation can be seen as a dynamic process including the selective adaptations of value systems and the processes of integration and differentiation (Berry, 2002). Sometimes,

assimilating to a host culture can be a stressful process for uprooted ethnic minorities who are adjusting to a mainstream society (Kim, 1997). Moreover, it seems that different cultural values, beliefs, and social conditions may pose problems for ethnic minority people. Acculturation is a particular challenge to ethnic minority children, who are trying to learn and achieve in two languages and two cultures simultaneously (Lynch, 1992). Thus, acculturation of ethnic minority children might be significantly related to their development and adjustment to the bicultural setting where they live (Yeh, 2003). For these reasons, the relationship between acculturation and adjustment to mainstream society of ethnic minorities has been the predominant focus of research on ethnic minorities over the past few decades (Berry, 1997; Phinney, 1990).

The indicators of acculturation that are most commonly assessed include language, friendship, social organizations, religion, cultural traditions, and politics. Language is usually the most intensively assessed cultural practice, and language preference and language use variable predominate in the conceptions of acculturation that have guided many of the existing studies on acculturation (Phinney, 1990). The scales that assess language use of ethnic minorities have typically included such items or variables as the frequency of exposure through the mass media (TV, VCRs, and DVDs) or use of the ethnic/host language with family and peers. Some empirical studies indicate a positive relationship between language assimilation (acculturation) and social adjustment of ethnic minorities (Mouw & Xie, 1999; Nwadiora, & McAdoo, 1996). For example,

one study which examined acculturative stress among 200 Amerasians revealed that the ability to speak English was associated with fewer acculturative stressors, thereby emphasizing the significance of spoken communication on the level of cultural adjustment (Niassio, LaBarvera, Coburn, & Finley, 1986).

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

This study used both indicators of acculturation, including language and culture, to explore acculturation of Korean-Chinese children. Although both language factors and culture factors are part of acculturation, ethnic minority children's specific levels of acculturation in each factor might be different due to the impact of particular socio-contextual characteristics. In other words, since the Korean-Chinese ethnic minority lives in self-governing districts in which there is relatively little contact with the host culture, it may be easy for them to keep the Korean ethnic culture. However, it might not be as easy to use only the Korean language since they learn the Chinese language in school as part of their regular coursework. Thus, this study distinguished between the two factors of acculturation and compared their levels among Korean-Chinese children.

2. Adjustment Variables

Adjustment refers to the processes of adaptation to the prevailing conditions in the environment (Castro, 2003). Sociocultural adjustment is particularly characterized by the development of individuals' difficulty in performing daily tasks such as making friends, participating in social activities, understanding the local language, or managing work- or school-related issues (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

According to the results of previous studies which investigated the relationship between acculturation and adjustment of ethnic minorities, it seems that acculturation assumes positive and linear relations with psychological and sociocultural adjustment (Grossman, Wirt, & Davids, 1985). The hypothesis predicts that ethnic minority persons who are relatively unacculturated (to mainstream society or to the dominant group) would tend to experience higher stress levels than their more highly acculturated counterparts because of language barriers, insufficient knowledge of how to interact successfully in the mainstream or dominant culture, and the resulting isolation or discrimination (Berry, 1997). Thus, the ethnic minorities who assimilated to the host culture report higher scores in adjustment variables such as well-being, self-esteem, and locus of control than those who separated from the host culture (Castro, 2003). The results of empirical studies, however, revealed inconsistent and even contradictory results (see Castro, 2003; Suzuki-Crumly, & Hyers, 2004). For example, a recent review of the literature on intercultural transitions reported 12 studies that supported a positive relationship, 13 a negative relationship, and 3 a

curvilinear relationship between acculturation and psychological well-being (Laosa, 1999).

In addition, levels of adjustment among ethnic minority children are frequently measured by educational attainment and school-related variables including relations with peers and teachers, school adjustment, academic aspiration, and performance (Zhou, 1997). Primarily, how children have been taught to interact with peers and teachers may be an important source of adjustment for ethnic minority children because social support from peers and teachers is one means of protecting children from stressful conditions (Ku, 2000). Some U.S. research reports that children have shown that positive interactions with teachers can enhance their motivation, achievement, and feelings of well-being (Eccles et al, 1993; Roeser, Midgley, & Urda, 1996). Similarly, there is evidence that difficulties in peer relationships can have an impact on school performance and put students at risk for the development of both externalizing (aggression, attentional difficulty, delinquent offenses) and internalizing problems (e.g., social withdrawal, loneliness, depression; see Rubin, Coplan, Nelson, Cheah, & Lagace-Seguin, 1999). Thus, it seems that social supports from peers and teachers are important indicators for understanding the sociocultural adjustment of ethnic minority children.

Acculturation is modestly correlated with achievement orientation (Lew, 1998). However, the degree of correlation between acculturation and achievement orientation and/or achievement motivation might be influenced by the culture of the ethnic minority. In other words, most previous studies of Asian minority children report high

academic orientation, high achievement motivation, and successful school performance (Feliciano, 2001; Chen, Li, & Liu, 2000; Ogbu, 1989). From these results, it seems plausible that rather than assimilating to mainstream society, maintaining ethnic characteristics, in which education and academic success are considered very important, is more likely to be associated with high achievement motivation and school performance of Asian minority children.

Few studies have investigated Korean-Chinese children, and the few that exist have focused primarily on the types and/or degree of acculturation and studied acculturation and adjustment separately rather than exploring the relationship between acculturation and adjustment of the Korean-Chinese. In one study, Park and Doh (2001) examined the relationship between acculturation types and adjustment of Korean-Chinese adolescents and found that the adolescents from the bicultural acculturation type had the highest self-esteem and social ability than other acculturation types. In addition, the adolescents who were categorized into the ethnocentric acculturation type had the second highest score in their self-esteem and social ability. Other studies reported that maintaining ethnic culture supports Korean-Chinese children's adjustment such as in better school adjustment (Cho, et al., 2004) and higher internal locus of control (Cho, Park, & Han, 2004).

Building on previous studies, this study investigated the relationship between Korean-Chinese children's acculturation and their adjustment. Specific variables of adjustment included psychological well-being, internal locus of control, achievement motivation, school

adjustment, social support of teachers and peers. The research questions for this study are as follows:

Question 1. Is there any significant difference between language factors and cultural factors in the levels of acculturation of Korean-Chinese children?

Question 2. Is there a relationship between levels of acculturation and daily adjustment of Korean-Chinese children?

2-1. Does Korean-Chinese children's adjustment differ according to their levels of language-related acculturation?

2-2. Does Korean-Chinese children's adjustment differ according to their levels of culture-related acculturation?

II. Methods

1. Participants

A total of 679 Korean-Chinese elementary school students in Yangil, Shenyang, and Habin, China participated in this study. The subjects were all fourth graders and consisted of 308 boys (46.5%) and 355 girls (53.5%) with a median age of 11.64 years.

2. Procedure

The data was collected from an elementary

school for Korean-Chinese children located in Yangil, China, in March, 2003, and in Shenyang and Harbin, China, in December, 2003. Most students in these schools use Korean as their first language, and their ethnic background is Korean-Chinese. The participants were asked to respond to a questionnaire, written in Korean, asking about their acculturation in language and culture and their daily adjustment. A total of 645 questionnaires were gathered. Of them, the data from 599 were used in the final analysis by excluding inappropriate responses including missing data.

3. Measures

1) Acculturation

Two factors of acculturation were used as independent variables in this study. The levels of acculturation (i.e., low score means less acculturated to Chinese culture; high score means highly acculturated to Chinese culture) for the two factors were assessed, and the two were 1. language factors (e.g., language spoken with family members) and 2. cultural factors (e.g., familiarity and comfort level with Chinese food and culture).

Acculturation was measured by 10 items (5 items for the language factor and 5 items for the cultural factor), which were selected from 27 items translated and used by Lee (2000), who examined the acculturation of Korean-Americans based on The Cultural Life Style Inventory developed by Mendoza and Martinex (1989). Although the original scale consists of five sub-factors (intra-family language factor, extra-family language

factor, cultural familiarity and activities factor, cultural identification and pride factor, and social affiliation and activities factor), a social affiliation and activities factor was eliminated in this study because all the items seemed to be related to only Western culture (Which language do you use when you pray? etc.). In addition, among the rest of the items, this study selected only those items that were appropriate for children and deleted such items designed for adults (Which ethnic person do you prefer as your spouse? etc.). A confirmatory factor analysis with two factors was conducted, and a final analysis included 10 total items of acculturation. Each of the Cronbach's alpha was .80 and .56 for the language and the cultural factor, respectively.¹⁾

2) Well-Being

Well-being in this study refers to how satisfied Korean-Chinese children appear to be with their daily life. Well-being was measured by a total of 12 items from the Index of Well-being (Campbell et al, 1976), and Cronbach's alpha for the scale was .79.

3) Achievement Motivation

The definition of achievement motivation included aspiration level and upward mobility. Five items from Herman's A Questionnaire Measure of Achievement Motivation (Herman, 1970) were used in a 4-point scale. Higher scores indicate greater achievement motivation. Cronbach's alpha for the scale was .51.

4) School Adjustment

School adjustment was defined in this study as

emotional attitude toward school, that is, how children feel about school. Participants responded to five items used by Yoon (1994). Higher scores indicate better adjustment at school. Cronbach's alpha for the scale was .66.

5) Internal Locus of Control

Ten items for internal locus of control were used, which were developed for children by Min (1999) who drew on A Locus of Control Scale for Children (Nowicki & Strickland, 1973). Participants responded to a 4-point scale where higher scores indicate a higher internal locus of control. Cronbach's alpha for the internal locus of control scale was .78.

6) Teacher Support and Peer Support

Three items of each were used to measure peer support and teacher support based on the social support scale used by Ku (2000). Participants responded to a 4-point scale. Higher scores indicate greater social support from teachers or peers. Cronbach's alpha was .67 for the teacher support scale and .72 for the peer support scale.

4. Analysis

The collected data were analyzed by using the SPSS program. To examine the differences between language and culture-related acculturation,

1) Since the result of an exploratory factor analysis with acculturation items was different from the original scale in its construct, a confirmatory factor analysis was conducted with two factors (language and culture), which are based on face validity and the operational concept of acculturation (by Phinney, 1990).

a paired t-test was conducted. In addition, the differences among acculturation groups in children's adjustment were analyzed by ANOVA and Scheffé's test.

III. Results

1. Differences between the Language Factor and the Cultural Factor in Acculturation Scores of Korean-Chinese Children

To explore in which domain Korean-Chinese children might be more assimilated to Chinese culture, the mean scores of language-related acculturation factors and culture-related acculturation factors were compared by using a paired t-test. <Table 1> shows the results of the differences between language-related factors and culture-related factors in the acculturation scores of Korean-Chinese elementary school children. As shown in <Table 1>, Korean-Chinese children reported higher scores in the language factor (M=2.45) than the cultural factor (M=2.26, paired t=5.17, p<.001).

<Table 1> Differences between the language factor and the cultural factor in acculturation score of Korean-Chinese children

	N	M	SD	paired t
Language	599	2.45	.94	5.17***
Culture	599	2.26	.78	
Total Acculturation	599	2.35	.73	

***p<.001

2. Relationship between Acculturation and Adjustment of Korean-Chinese Children

To examine the differences in their daily adjustment as Korean-Chinese elementary school children's acculturation, the subjects were categorized into three groups based on their language-related acculturation score; the Korean language group, the Korean and Chinese language group, and the Chinese language group. The 'Korean language group' included subjects who answered that they usually (or always) use Korean language in their daily lives. Children who indicated that they usually used both Korean and Chinese languages were categorized into the 'Korean and Chinese language group,' and the Chinese language group answered that they mainly use the Chinese language rather than the Korean language.

As shown in <Table 2>, there were statistically significant differences among the three groups in Korean-Chinese children's internal locus of control, achievement motivation, school adjustment, and teacher's support. Specifically, the children from the Korean language group (M=3.71) and the Korean and Chinese language group (M=3.74) reported higher scores in their internal locus of control than did the Chinese language group children (M=3.54). In addition, the Korean language group children reported higher achievement motivation (M=3.76) and teacher's support (M=4.41) than did the children from the other two groups, especially the Chinese language group children (M=3.59 in achievement motivation and M=4.07 in teacher's support). On

<Table 2> Korean-Chinese children's acculturation in the language factor and their adjustment

Adjustment Variables	Groups	N	M	SD	F	Scheffé
Well-being	Less acculturated group	115	3.92	.64	1.26	
	Middle group	108	3.81	.66		
	More acculturated group	111	3.79	.66		
Internal locus of control	Less acculturated group	126	3.71	.50	5.77**	A
	Middle group	119	3.74	.52		A
	More acculturated group	125	3.54	.50		B
Achievement motivation	Less acculturated group	118	3.76	.60	2.37 ⁺	A
	Middle group	118	3.68	.59		AB
	More acculturated group	122	3.59	.55		B
School adjustment	Less acculturated group	120	4.00	.82	2.50 ⁺	A
	Middle group	120	4.21	.71		B
	More acculturated group	123	4.04	.75		A
Teacher support	Less acculturated group	123	4.41	.75	5.05**	A
	Middle group	120	4.25	.79		AB
	More acculturated group	132	4.07	.94		B
Peer support	Less acculturated group	129	4.05	.86	.19	
	Middle group	119	4.06	.86		
	More acculturated group	128	3.17	.82		

⁺ p<.10, **p<.01

the other hand, the children who used both Korean and Chinese languages (M=4.21) showed higher school adjustment than the Korean language group children (M=4.00) and the Chinese language group children (M=4.04).

In addition, the differences in Korean-Chinese children's adjustment as the levels of culture-related acculturation were examined (See Table 3). Similar to the grouping method in language-related acculturation, the three different groups were identified based on subjects' culture-related acculturation scores. The 'Korean culture group' refers to the group of children who reported that they have retained Korean culture and that they are

more familiar with Korean culture than Chinese culture. The 'Korean and Chinese culture group' included the children who are familiar with both Korean and Chinese cultures, while the children from the 'Chinese culture group' were more familiar with Chinese culture than Korean culture.

Unlike the differences found among the three groups in language-related acculturation, a statistically significant difference was found in only one adjustment variable, that is in peer support. Specifically, children from the Korean culture group (M=4.24) reported higher peer support than the Korean and Chinese culture group (M=3.87) and the Chinese culture group (M=4.00).

<Table 3> Korean-Chinese children's acculturation in the cultural factor and their adjustment

Adjustment Variables	Groups	N	M	SD	F	Scheffé
Well-being	Less acculturated group	114	3.81	.74	.44	
	Middle group	117	3.89	.62		
	More acculturated group	101	3.82	.60		
Internal locus of control	Less acculturated group	131	3.70	.54	1.68	
	Middle group	132	3.71	.49		
	More acculturated group	104	3.60	.52		
Achievement motivation	Less acculturated group	122	3.68	.61	.05	
	Middle group	128	3.70	.58		
	More acculturated group	107	3.68	.54		
School adjustment	Less acculturated group	123	4.09	.78	.46	
	Middle group	131	4.10	.74		
	More acculturated group	109	4.01	.81		
Teacher support	Less acculturated group	128	4.33	.81	1.98	
	Middle group	137	4.31	.77		
	More acculturated group	109	4.13	.90		
Peer support	Less acculturated group	127	4.24	.80	6.01**	A
	Middle group	135	3.87	.94		B
	More acculturated group	113	4.00	.79		B

** p<.01

IV. Discussion & Conclusion

This study examined Korean-Chinese children's acculturation of two separate factors; language factors and cultural factors. Korean-Chinese children's diverse adjustment variables including well-being, internal locus of control, achievement motivation, school adjustment, teacher support, and peer support according to the level of acculturation was analyzed.

First, Korean-Chinese children in Yangil, Shenyang, and Harbin were found to be more acculturated to the Chinese language than to Chinese cultural activities. This result implies that

language acquisition is more necessary to live a more well balanced life in Chinese mainstream culture. Acculturation in language appears to be very important in education, communication, and jobs, while participating in cultural activities is not very critical to children's adjustment as much as using the Chinese language. These results indicate that Korean-Chinese children preserve their Korean ethnic culture on one hand and assimilate to the Chinese language on the other in order to adjust to Chinese society. This finding may imply that Chinese society as the mainstream culture requires Korean-Chinese children to be acculturated more in language factors than cultural

factors. Overall, this result shows that acculturation to mainstream culture might occur differently across sub-factors. Korean-Chinese children might have selectively acculturated themselves to Chinese culture in some specific factors.

Second, when the differences in Korean-Chinese children's adjustment according to their levels of acculturation were analyzed, it was found that Korean-Chinese children who preferred using and keeping their Korean language and culture showed higher scores overall in their adjustment than did those children who focused solely on the Chinese language and culture. This result confirms the importance of preserving Korean language and culture in Korean-Chinese children's adjustment.

However, language factors and cultural factors have distinctive influences across Korean children's daily adjustment such as well-being, internal locus of control, achievement motivation, school adjustment, teacher support, and peer support. Children's adjustments appear to be different at the diverse level of language-related acculturation, while they are not significantly different according to the level of culture-related acculturation. Moreover, there were four adjustment variables which were found to be significant across the three language-related acculturation groups (internal locus of control, school adjustment, achievement motivation, and teacher support), while only one cultural variable (peer support) was significantly different across the three culture-related acculturation groups. This suggests the relative importance of language factors over cultural factors in Korean-Chinese children's daily adjustment. That is, having the ability to communicate in Chinese does appear to

have some impact on Korean-Chinese children's daily adjustment. However, participating in Chinese cultural activities does not effect their daily adjustment as much as their ability to effectively communicate using the spoken language.

Even though Korean-Chinese children showed less difference in their daily adjustment across the levels of culture-related acculturation than language-related acculturation, their adjustment pattern was consistent with that of language factors. That is, Korean-Chinese children have adjusted better when they are less acculturated to Chinese culture. The only significant difference according to cultural factors was peer support, suggesting that Korean-Chinese children who participated in Korean cultural activities perceived greater peer support. This result may have been caused by the fact that the participants of the current study were recruited from Korean-Chinese schools where all peers in these schools are Korean-Chinese. Thus, more involvement in peer relationships may be related to Korean cultural activities. From the uniqueness of these school environments, it seems that Korean-Chinese children may not find it necessary to acculturate to Chinese culture to maintain peer relationship since most of their peers in school are Korean-Chinese who are more familiar with Korean culture than Chinese culture. No differences were found in all other daily adjustment variables according to the acculturation levels of cultural factors. This result conveys a presumption that Korean-Chinese children's acculturation to Chinese culture and their maintenance of Korean culture may not be distinctively divided in their daily lives.

In sum, very interestingly, the results of this study indicate that maintenance of their ethnic language and culture is more important than assimilation to Chinese language and culture in Korean-Chinese children's daily adjustment. This result is very different from that found among immigrants in North America. According to most studies which have examined ethnic minorities' acculturation by four types (integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization), integration seems to afford the most positive psychological outcome and marginalization the least, while assimilation and separation are related to intermediate levels of psychological adjustment (Castro, 2003). Unlike the results from previous studies, this study shows that rather than integration, separation is more related to children's positive adjustment in internal locus of control, achievement motivation, teacher's support, and peer support. Only in school adjustment was the integration group found to be related to more positive adjustment than the separation group. This might indicate that ability to use the language of the majority group is very important for school adjustment since the school system might reflect the beliefs and values of the majority group in its system, policy, and curriculum. Thus, it might be assumed that the schools in Yangil, Shenyang, and Harbin require Korean-Chinese children to use both Korean and Chinese to become adjusted. On the other hand, it could be interpreted that Korean-Chinese children who adjusted well in their schools are more competent in using both Korean and Chinese languages, and that their improved adjustment in school might provide them with more opportunities to learn both languages by

communicating with peers and teachers in Korean and by studying Chinese in class.

Acculturation should be understood in the context of the relationships between immigrants and 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, is a very important factor in understanding acculturation. For instance, minorities in the United States may have more distinct racial uniqueness from the majority group compared to those in China. As Takaki (1989) and Tuan (1998) explained, frequent ethnic separation was caused by discrimination, economic conditions, government-mandated racial segregation between African-Americans, European-Americans, and other minorities. In the context of such separation, opportunities for integration with mainstream culture might have been rare for minorities. However, the Korean-Chinese in China have not experienced such separation. They have more supportive government policies for ethnic integration, and less distinct physical appearance from the majority culture. Such differences in relationships between the mainstream and minority cultures might result in different patterns of acculturation among Korean-Chinese in China compared to minorities in the States.

There are several limitations of this study. First, the acculturation scale in this study might consist of two sub-factors (language and culture), and the internal reliability of the culture-factor is somewhat low. Although it is reasonable to use the culture-factor items because the specific contents of culture-factor items seem to have very high face

validity distinguished from language-factor, and this study conceptually operationalized "acculturation" with the two domains; language-related domain and culture-related domain, the low Cronbach's alpha of culture-related acculturation factor might affect the result of the analysis. Thus, in any future studies, a specifically targeted acculturation scale for children should be developed and used. Second, this study combined the data from Yongil, Shenyang, and Harbin, China. However, there might be some differences among the cities. For instance, it is possible that acculturation of the children from Yongil, which is a city of Korean-Chinese self-governing district, is slightly different from those of the children in Shenyang and Harbin, which are both larger cities. Thus, if one analyzes the three areas separately, s/he might find the ecological differences in Korean-Chinese children's acculturation. Lastly, although this study revealed that there is a relationship between Korean-Chinese children's acculturation and their daily adjustment, the result could not determine the causality. In future research, the exact direction of the relationship between Korean-Chinese children's acculturation and daily adjustment could be a topic for examination.

Despite the limitations, the results from this study are important in several aspects. First, it was found that acculturation works for immigrant children's daily adjustment. Second, this study suggests that acculturation patterns and their relationship with daily adjustment may be different across diverse minorities and diverse host cultures. Korean-Chinese children in China revealed different levels of daily adjustment according to

their acculturation level, especially in language factors. Unlike the ethnic minorities in other mainstream cultures where integration of immigrants is the best way for them to adjust to the mainstream society, Korean-Chinese children tend to be better adjusted when they preserve the Korean language and maintain Korean culture, which implies that separation leads to better adjustment in mainstream Chinese society. It is very meaningful to find out that there is diversity in the relationship between acculturation and adjustment across minority and majority cultures.

■ References

- Berry, J. W. (1989). Acculturation and psychological adaptation. In J. P. Forgas & J. M. Innes (Eds.), *Recent advances in social psychology: An international perspective* (pp. 511-520). Amsterdam, Netherlands: Elsevier Science.
- Berry, J. W. (1995). Psychology of acculturation. In J. B. Veroff & N. R. Goldberger (Eds.), *The culture and psychology reader* (pp. 457-488). NY: University Press.
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46, 5-68.
- Berry, J. W. (2002). Conceptual approaches to acculturation. In K. M. Chun, P. B. Organisaata, & G. Marin (Eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research* (pp. 15-38). Washington DC: American Psychological Association.
- Campbell, A., Converse, P. E., & Rodgers, W. L. (1976). *The quality of American life:*

- Perceptions, evaluations, and satisfactions.*
NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Castro, V. S. (2003). *Acculturation and psychological adaptation.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Chen, Y., Li, D., Li, Z. Y., Li, B. S., & Liu, M. (2000). Social and prosocial dimensions of social competence in Chinese children: Common and unique contributions to social, academic, and psychological adjustment. *Developmental Psychology, 36,* 302-314.
- Cho, B., Park, T., & Han, S. (2004). Korean-Chinese adolescents' acculturation and adaptation in Shenyang and Harbin. *Korean Journal of Home Management, 24,* 1-10.
- Cho, B., Lee, K., Park, H., Lee, J., & Han., S. (2004). School adjustment of Korean-Chinese children: Ecological factors in Yanbian. *Korean Journal of Child Studies, 25,* 127-141.
- Eccles, J. S., Midgley, C., Wigfield, A., Buchanan, C. M., Reuman, D., Flanagan, C., & Maclver, D. (1993). Development during adolescence: The impact of stage-environment fit on adolescents' experiences in schools and families. *American Psychologists, 48,* 90-101.
- Feliciano, C. (2001). The benefits of biculturalism: Exposure to immigrant culture and dropping out of school among Asian and Latino youths. *Social Science Quarterly, 82,* 865-879.
- Grossman, B., Wirt, R., & Davids, A. (1985). Self-esteem, ethnic identity, and behavioral adjustment among Anglo and Chicano adolescents in West Texas. *Journal of Adolescence, 8,* 57-68.
- Herman, H. J. (1970). A questionnaire measure of achievement motivation. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 54,* 353-363.
- Kim, S. C. (1997). Korean American families. In E. Lee (Ed.), *Working with Asian-Americans: A guide for clinicians* (pp. 125-135). NY: Guilford Press.
- Ku, J. (2000). The relationships between self-resilience, positive emotion, social support and adolescents adjustment in family life-school life. Unpublished master's thesis. Pusan National University.
- Laosa, L. M. (1999). Intercultural transitions in human development and education. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 40,* 355-406.
- Lee, H. S. (2000). Parental efficacy and practices among Korean immigrant families in the US: Relations with family functioning, familism, and acculturation. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY.
- Lew, A. S., Allen, R., Papouchis, N., & Ritzler, B. (1998). Achievement orientation and fear of success in Asian American college students. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 54,* 97-108.
- Lim, G. S. (2003). *Who is the Chosunjok?*. Seoul, Korea: Hyunam-Sa.
- Lynch, E. W. (1992). From culture shock to cultural learning. In E. W. Lynch & M. J. Hanson (Eds.), *Developing cross-cultural competence: A guide for working with young children and their families* (pp. 19-34). Baltimore: Paul H. Brooke.

- Mendoza, H., & Martinex, L. (1989). The Measurement of Acculturation. In A. Baron, Jr. (Ed.), *Explorations in Chicago psychology* (pp. 71-82). NY: Holt.
- Min, H. (1999). Influences of children's perceived control levels and internal and external locus of control on their stress coping behaviors. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Seoul National University.
- Mouw, T., & Xie, Y. (1999). Bilingualism and the academic achievement of first and second generation Asian Americans: Accommodation with or without assimilation?. *American Sociological Review*, 64, 232-252.
- Niassio, P. M., LaBarvera, J. D., Coburn, P., & Finley, R. (1986). The psychosocial adjustment of the Amerasian refugees: Findings from the personality inventory for children. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases*, 174, 541-544.
- Nowicki, S., & Strickland, B. R. (1973). A locus of control scale of children. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 40, 148-154.
- Nwadiora, E., & McAdoo, H. (1996). Acculturative stress among Amerasian refugees. Gender and racial differences. *Adolescence*, 31, 477-486.
- Ogbu, J. U. (1989). *Cultural models and educational strategies of non-dominant peoples*. NY: City Coll. Workshop Cnet.
- Park, S. Y., & Doh, H. S. (2002). The relationships of acculturation attitudes to adjustment in Korean-Chinese adolescents. *Journal of Korean Child Studies*, 22, 123-136.
- Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in Adolescents and adults: A review of research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108, 499-514.
- Roeser, R. W., Midgley, C. M., & Urdan, T. C. (1996). Perceptions of the school psychological environment and early adolescents' psychological and behavioral functioning in school: The mediating role of goals and belonging. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 88, 408-422.
- Rubin, K. H., Coplan, R. J., Nelson, L. J., Cheah, C. S. L., & Lagace-Seguin, D. G. (1999). Peer relationships in childhood. In M. H. Bornstein & M. E. Lamb (Eds.), *Developmental psychology: An advanced textbook* (4th ed., pp. 451-502). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Sam, L. (1995). Acculturation attitudes among young immigrants as a function of perceived parental attitudes toward cultural change. *Journal of early Adolescence*, 15, 238-258.
- Suzuki-Crumly, J., & Hyers, L. L. (2004). The relationship among ethnic identity, psychological well-being, and intergroup competence: An investigation of two biracial groups. *Cultural Diversity and Mental Health*, 10, 137-150.
- Takaki, R. (1989). *Strangers from a different shoe: A history of Asian Americans*. Boston, MA: Little Brown.
- Taylor, D. M. (1987). Social psychological barriers to childhood bilingualism. In Homel & Aarsonson (Eds.), *Childhood bilingualism: Aspects of linguistic cognitive and social development* (pp. 183-196). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

- Tuan, M. (1998). *Forever foreigners or honorary Whites? The Asian ethnic experience today*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Ward, C., & Rana-Deuba, A. (1999). Acculturation and adaptation revisited. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 30, 422-442.
- Yeh, C. J. (2003). Age, acculturation, cultural adjustment, and mental health symptoms of Chinese, Korean, and Japanese immigrant youths. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 9, 34-48.
- Yoon, E. (1994). A study on stress, way of coping, and adjustment to school life of the gifted adolescence. Unpublished master's thesis. Yonsei University.
- Zhou, Mi. (1997). Growing up American: The challenge confronting immigrant children and children of immigrants. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23, 63-95.

Received April 11, 2005

Accepted May 3, 2005