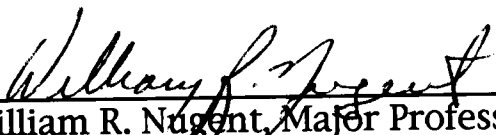
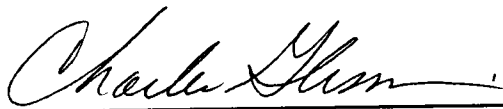


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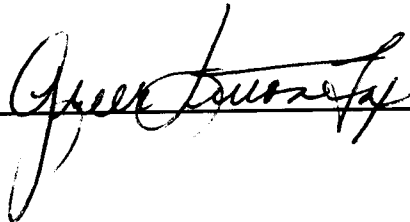
I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Hee-Nyon Kim entitled "Assimilation and Life Satisfaction of Elderly Korean Immigrants in the Atlanta Area." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Social Work.


William R. Nugent, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:







Accepted for the Council:


Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of The Graduate School

ASSIMILATION AND LIFE SATISFACTION OF
ELDERLY KOREAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE ATLANTA AREA

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Hee-Nyon Kim
August 1997

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my grandparents.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated whether socio-demographic characteristics, informal and formal services utilization, and ethnic attachment of elderly Korean immigrants were related to degree of assimilation and life satisfaction they have achieved in the United States.

Face to face interviews based on a structured questionnaire were conducted to collect the data from a non-random sample of 120 elderly Korean immigrants who were aged 60 years and over in the Atlanta area in 1996.

Using simple correlation and multiple regression analysis techniques, this study found the results for its proposed hypotheses on the relationships between two dependent variables and independent variables.

For the dependent variable degree of assimilation, education, monthly income, length of residence, formal service utilization, and ethnic attachment of the elderly Korean immigrants were significantly related. Among these, ethnic attachment was the strongest predictor, length of residence was the second strongest predictor, formal service utilization the third, education the fourth, and monthly income the fifth. On the other hand, marital status, living arrangement, religious affiliation, and informal service utilization were not significantly related to degree of assimilation.

For the dependent variable degree of life satisfaction, religious affiliation, informal service utilization, assimilation, and the interaction between ethnic attachment and assimilation of the study subjects were significantly related. Among these, informal service utilization was the strongest predictor, assimilation was the second strongest predictor, religious affiliation the third, and the interaction between ethnic attachment and

assimilation the fourth. On the other hand, education, marital status, monthly income, living arrangement, length of residence, formal service utilization, and ethnic attachment were not significantly related to degree of life satisfaction.

The major finding of this study was the interaction effect of ethnic attachment and assimilation on life satisfaction of elderly Korean immigrants. The findings of this study supported assimilation theory in that a lower degree of ethnic attachment was related to a higher degree of assimilation; and, a higher degree of life satisfaction was related to a higher degree of assimilation. However, this study failed to support cultural pluralism models, which maintain that immigrants should become bicultural in order to achieve a high level of life satisfaction in the new country.

To conclude, the results of this study suggest that, for an effective adaptation in the United States, elderly Korean immigrants need to modify their traditional belief system, and accept the changing demands of new environment. This will in turn facilitate a more positive experience in their immigrant life. Moreover, considering the unique situation of elderly Korean immigrants, specific programs and policies for enhancing the quality of life of this minority group should be enacted.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of The Problem

The growing number of the elderly population in the United States has generated numerous studies on their life experience. These studies are, however, mostly concerned with the native-born elderly population and tend to neglect the foreign-born immigrant elderly population. As a study of the neglected population, this study will examine assimilation and life satisfaction of Korean elderly in Atlanta, Georgia who migrated to the United States.

By comparing socio-demographic characteristics, informal and formal services utilization, and ethnic attachment with degree of assimilation and life satisfaction of elderly Korean immigrants, it may be possible to find the factors associated with the successful adjustment in American life. Therefore, this study will contribute to the accumulation of research-based knowledge on elderly Korean immigrants, and ultimately to the improvement of life conditions of elderly Korean immigrants in the United States.

As often pointed out in social gerontology literature, old people do not constitute a homogeneous group. Differences in historical and cultural background and unique life experiences have been considered as important factors in explaining ethnic variations in aging processes. The interest in elderly Korean immigrants in the United States can be understood basically in this context. The elderly Korean immigrants have distinctive features in contrast even with other ethnic minority elderly in the United States (Choy, 1979; Hurh, 1977; Hurh & Kim, 1984). Although the assumption of heterogeneity among diverse ethnic groups has been widely agreed upon,

little research has been conducted to study elderly Korean immigrants in the United States.

There is a widespread belief that Asian Americans take better care of their elders than Caucasians do. The literature on Asian Americans in the 1970s engages in a debate over the assertion that Asians are a "model minority (Fujji, 1976; Kim, 1977; Kim, 1973)." The model minority image emphasizes the idea that community members generally do well and take care of the weak, disadvantaged, and disabled within the ethnic community, so that they do not become dependent on mainstream society's helping agencies and institutions (Bell, Kasschau, & Zellman, 1976, p. 13). Asians are also often described as individuals with a reverence for hard work, achievement, self-control, dependability, thrift, and diligence.

The lack of reliable demographic data and the paucity of research on various aspects of assimilation patterns among Asian Americans has contributed to the assumption that the Asian elderly have families with sufficient resources to meet their needs. According to Connor (1974), Asian families maintain the value of extended family even after several generations. By maintaining an extended family system, the adult children can easily provide elderly parents with emotional support and a variety of instrumental services such as housing, food, transportation, nursing, and linkages with the bureaucracy.

There is no question that the status of Asians in America has dramatically improved. However, the model minority image has led to a failure to provide adequate, ethnically sensitive services for the Asian elderly. The lack of genuine concern for the Asian elderly may be a reason to create stereotypes. It also might be assumed that research of this nature is

contaminated from its onset because the researcher conducts his/her research selectively.

In the 1970s, however, with the increased interest in the elderly and other less advantaged segments of Asian American populations, this model minority thesis has been criticized in the Asian literature. Kitano (1969) notes that Asian Americans have been stereotyped as having no problems. He argues that family structure and relations change as a result of direct contact with the dominant culture. Therefore, it is assumed that various forms of assimilation may occur depending on the characteristics of the immigrant group.

Perhaps Asians have been overlooked because their numbers are small relative to other racial minorities and to the majority population. However, an assimilation process seems inevitable in the immigrants' family system especially when the traditional value is not a norm in the dominant society. The present status of Asian Americans is a subject that requires serious study and precise analysis because Asian Americans, more so than Black or Hispanic Americans, live in a state of ambivalence. They are lauded as a successful or model minority on the one hand, but subject to continuing unfair treatment on the other.

Elderly Korean immigrants have also been neglected. Because of the short immigration history, there are few studies on assimilation of Korean American immigrants. In recent decades, as the size of the Korean immigrant population in general, and elderly Korean immigrants in the United States specifically, has increased and the influence of cultural norms and traditional structures has diminished, elderly Korean immigrants have encountered many difficulties in adjusting satisfactorily to American culture.

As a minority within a minority, elderly Korean immigrants have received virtually no attention in the literature and in the provision of services for the elderly. Only sparse information on Korean elderly can be found in Korean ethnic newspapers in the United States. Perhaps planners and service providers have tended to overlook the service needs of elderly Korean immigrants because of their comparatively small numbers when contrasted to other aging Americans, or by reason of the commonly held assumption that Asian Americans seem to take care of their own or rarely become social problems. Because of this lack of attention, elderly Korean immigrants who come from a cultural background significantly different from those of the majority are at great risk for poor quality of life.

Due to the lack of socio-psychological research on elderly Korean immigrants to date, there is very little data which would be helpful in acquiring a contemporary view of elderly Korean immigrants. Demographic studies of the elderly Korean immigrants have been severely limited in the United States by the unavailability of baseline data and by the limited nature of the available data. Although the first Korean immigrants came to the United States at the end of 19th century, the first count of Koreans as a distinct ethnic group was in the 1970 Census.

Emigrating to a new country is a difficult process at any age, because of the changes and demands inherent in the migration process. Immigration in later life is especially difficult. The absence of materials that accurately portray their problems does not mean that elderly Koreans are free of difficulties, but it rather suggests that these have not been adequately studied and documented. The nature and extent of their problems have largely been ignored or superficially reviewed. Hence, systematically collected information

is needed to fill the gaps and extend the knowledge base so that services and social policies will be responsive to the problems of elderly Korean Americans.

B. Objectives

The purpose of this paper is to examine assimilation and life satisfaction of elderly Korean immigrants in the United States. This paper will identify the major characteristics of elderly Korean immigrants and the various problems to which they are adjusting in their American environment. By fully understanding the process and relationships among various factors on assimilation and life satisfaction, it may be possible to clarify what knowledge and services might be helpful to those who are suffering difficulties.

The specific objectives of this study are (1) to examine the relationship between the degree of assimilation and nine predictor variables: education, marital status, monthly income, living arrangement, length of residence, religion, informal service utilization, formal service utilization, and ethnic attachment of elderly Korean immigrants; and (2) to examine how socio-demographic characteristics, informal and formal services utilization, assimilation, ethnic attachment, and biculturation of elderly Korean immigrants effect their life satisfaction.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This review of the available literature is undertaken with the specific goal of learning what is known and what needs to be known about the unique life circumstances of elderly Korean immigrants and other ethnic minority elderly in the United States. An understanding of the needs and problems of a particular group in the population can clearly be useful in designing services delivery techniques for improving the life circumstances of that group.

Given that perspective, this literature review seeks to answer the following questions: (1) What are the concepts of ethnicity, minority, and aging, and their interrelationship? (2) What are the meanings of assimilation, ethnic attachment, and biculturation of immigrant groups, and their influences on majority and minority groups in the society? (3) What are the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Korean and other ethnic minority elderly populations in the United States? (4) What are the historical and cultural background of elderly Korean immigrants? (5) What are the adjustment problems in American life for elderly Korean immigrants? (6) What are the informal and formal sources of help that the elderly Korean immigrants turn to for assistance when they need? (7) What are the knowledge, utilization patterns, and barriers to their using social services? (8) What are the theoretical perspectives in minority aging which can be applicable to elderly Korean immigrants? And, (9) what types of research methods and measurement approaches have been used in previous studies, and, what are the critical issues for conducting research for Korean and other ethnic minority elderly in the United States?

Conducting a literature review on these questions was complicated by several factors. To begin with, there is not a great deal of literature about ethnic minorities in general. Some of the materials, based on scientific methodologies, are unpublished empirical papers, theses, and dissertations and are difficult to obtain. In addition, only a small part of the literature focuses on the elderly population. Furthermore, the issue of services delivery is seldom directly addressed. Although it has become a great concern in recent years, it still remains under-examined.

There is also the lack of comparable data across a number of ethnic groups and, especially, subgroups. For example, the Chinese and Japanese groups have received the most attention among all of the Asian ethnic groups. Unless lumped under the broad category of Asian Americans, the remaining Asian American groups have been largely ignored in the available literature. Since each ethnic group has its own unique way of living, Asian Americans cannot be considered as a homogeneous ethnic group. Lack of information about each ethnic group makes it difficult to assess their problems and needs accurately.

Finally, good empirical investigations of Asian Americans are scarce. Many studies involve historical or narrative methods. As a consequence, although the literature is replete with implicit hypotheses that could be the bases of empirical research, very little of that research has been undertaken.

A. Ethnic Minority and Aging

America is a nation composed of hundreds of ethnic groups. A crucial aspect of these groups is that they exist in many societies and are subunits of the majority society in which they are living (Gelfand, 1982, p. 13). According

to Gordon (1964), the ethnic group is a type of group contained within the national boundaries of America but defined by race, religion, or national origin. Ethnic groups tend to be biologically self-perpetuating, so that ethnicity is a social characteristic that passes from generation to generation (Farley, 1988, p. 5). However, unlike racial groups, physical traits are not necessarily a part of the definition of an ethnic group. The ethnic diversity of its population is a key characteristic of American society. Although this diversity has had positive influences on the development of American culture, it has also contributed to conflict and social inequality.

Ethnicity is increasingly recognized as an important dimension of social differentiation in patterns of aging (Cox & Gelfand, 1987), and it involves a claim to be a particular kind of person belonging to a particular social group (Park, 1991, p. 180). Ethnicity is a source of cohesion, identity, and strength as well as a source of strain, discordance, and strife (Devore & Schlesinger, 1981).

Minority groups are subunits of the society with distinct physical and cultural characteristics, and strong ties exist between the members because of these characteristics. Members of these groups transmit their heritage, marry endogamously within the group, and maintain a life-style distinct from that of the majority society (Gelfand, 1982, p. 14). According to Jackson (1980), minority group is one whose members have been singled out for differential and inferior treatment on the basis of such characteristics as their race, sex, nationality, or language. It has been estimated that at least 80 percent of the population in the United States can be considered minority, when including such diverse groups as women, homosexuals, students, as well as the traditional

ethnic minorities (African, Asian, Hispanic, and native Americans) (Manuel, 1982, p. 14). Ethnic groups may or may not be considered minority groups.

An ethnic minority group is a group that suffers prejudice, discrimination and subordination within society (Markides, 1987). Prejudice is the emotionally charged tendency to act toward another on the basis of limited information, in a typically unfavorable manner. Discrimination refers to the actual act of expressing unfavorable treatment toward another. Prejudice is thus an attitude, and discrimination refers to actual behavior. While both ethnic minorities or nonminorities may hold prejudices, it is the nonminority, by virtue of its control of societal, economic, or political positions, that is able to discriminate systematically (Manuel, 1982, p. 18). Thus, it is not necessary for a group to be a numerical minority to qualify as a minority group, although, in the United States, all ethnic minority groups are also numerical minorities. What makes the difference, then, is power and dominance rather than numbers.

Each ethnic minority in the United States has a special history that has led its members to their present position in the American social system. That special history differs from one minority to another, but in all cases it entails subordination, conquest, prolonged conflict, and expropriation. In every case, this special history has been accompanied by discrimination and negative stereotypes about the ethnic minority.

Thus, according to Kopan (1974), there is ambivalence in the American character: the proclamation of the equality of all people as exemplified in the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution, on the one hand; and the practice of discrimination and the denial of equality, on the other hand. It contributed in part to the development of ethnic communities.

Aging is a complex and emergent process involving biological, psychological, and sociological changes. Although aging can represent a period of increasing freedom from restricting role demands, and thus a time for creativity, it more often means increased susceptibility to economic loss, chronic health problems, mental depression, social isolation, and, eventually, death and dying.

In the United States and worldwide, the graying of the population is a prominent trend. The elderly population of the United States has increased constantly throughout this century. Since 1900, the percentage of Americans 65 years or older has more than tripled (4.1 % in 1900 to 12.8% in 1995), and the total number of elderly persons has increased over 10 times (from 3.1 million to 33.5 million) (AARP, 1996).

In 1900, only 4% of the population of the United States was 65 years or older. By 1940, this number had changed to 7%. In 1980, people 65 or over constituted more than 11% of the population. Persons 65 years or older numbered 33.5 million in 1995. They represented 12.8% of the population in the United States, about one in every eight Americans. The number of older Americans has increased by 2.3 million, or 7%, since 1990. In contrast, there was an increase of 5% for the under 65 population (AARP, 1996).

The older population itself is getting older. In 1995 the 65-74 age group (18.8 million) was eight times larger than in 1900, but the 75-84 group (11.8 million) was 14 times larger and the 85+ group (3.6 million) was 29 times larger. The older population is expected to continue to grow in the future. By the year 2000, persons 65 years or older are expected to represent 13% (34.7 million) of the population, and this percentage may climb to 21.8% (69.4 million) by 2030 (AARP, 1996).

Even though the growth of the ethnic minority elderly population has not been as dramatic as the overall growth of older people in the general population, the numbers of minority elderly have increased modestly over the years. Minority elderly populations are projected to represent 25% of the elderly population in 2030, up from 13% in 1990. In 1995, about 85% of persons 65 years or older were White, 8% were Black, 2% were Asian or Pacific Islander, and less than 1% were American Indian. Persons of Hispanic origin represented 4% of the older population. Between 1990 and 2030, the White nonhispanic population 65 years or older is projected to increase by 91% compared with 328% for the older minority population, including Hispanics (570%) and nonhispanic Blacks (159%), American Indians (294%), and Asians and Pacific Islanders (643%) (AARP, 1996).

It is believed that the rapid increase in the elderly population in the United States will cause serious problems in various respects. Problems related to jobs, money, security, social relationships and leisure time will likely become worse as the elderly population increases. The demand for public and private dollars will overburden current welfare systems and efforts to sustain the increasing proportion of functionally dependent people will fall short. It is also believed that human service agencies will be unable to meet the various needs of the elderly population as they did in the past (Song, 1992, p. 229).

B. Assimilation, Ethnic Attachment, and Cultural Pluralism

Every nation has had its immigration and emigration problems. But the mass immigration that took place to the United States is unmatched elsewhere. In other words, Americans have come from almost everywhere in the world. The immigration history of the United States explains why the American

people are unique in the diversity of their ancestry. This diversity has affected almost every aspect of United States history. Reflecting the magnitude of ethnic and racial heterogeneity in this country, there have always been diverse opinions about race and ethnic relations. Assimilationism and ethnic pluralism constitute the principal schools of thought on race and ethnic relations. As perspectives, they are organized around the issue of the impact of societal modernization on America's ethnic and racial groups.

According to common usage in the social sciences, assimilation is the process by which diverse ethnic and racial groups share a common culture and have equal access to the opportunity structure of a society. Robert E. Park (1924) and other scholars have argued that there is a long-term trend toward assimilation of racial and ethnic minorities in modern societies. They assert that assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life (Park & Burgess, 1924, p. 735). Park asserts that race relations in the modern city evolve past competition, however, and toward accommodation and eventual assimilation (Hraba, 1979, p. 35).

On the other hand, according to Farley (1988), assimilation can be defined as a process whereby a minority group is gradually integrated into the culture and social system of the dominant group. Although the dominant group may adapt itself to the minority or absorb certain cultural characteristics of the minority group, it is more often the minority group that must adapt to fit into the culture and social system of the majority. Yu (1977) also defined assimilation as integration of the members of an ethnic minority into a majority group.

Sociologists distinguish between two major kinds of assimilation: cultural assimilation and structural assimilation (Gordon, 1964). Cultural assimilation is a type of assimilation in which two or more groups gradually come to share a common culture, that is, similar attitudes, values, language, beliefs, life-styles, and rules about behavior. Frequently, the shared culture is much more similar to that of the majority group than it is to that of the minority group, though this is not always the case (Farley, 1988, p. 360). In large part, the idea that cultural assimilation is desirable arises from the view that a society needs to share common values and beliefs, a common culture, to develop the sense of solidarity, unity, and cooperation that it needs to grow and prosper (Farley, 1988, p. 332).

On the other hand, structural assimilation can be defined as a type of assimilation in which two or more groups gradually come to share a common social structure, i.e. they share common institutions, organizations, and friendship networks, and have relatively equal positions within these structures. If structural assimilation is complete, widespread intermarriage will also occur (Farley, 1988, p. 363). Gordon (1964) states that social (structural) assimilation is the keystone of the arch of assimilation. He contends that social assimilation will eventually lead to many other types of assimilation.

Some advocates of assimilation assert that assimilation is the only realistic way to obtain racial and ethnic equality. They view it as a process of culture sharing, with the majority group adapting some aspects of minority group culture and the minority group adapting some aspects of the majority group culture. Thus, a new culture and social structure emerges which is neither that of the majority group nor that of the minority group. This view

argues that people's tendency toward ethnocentrism is so strong that, wherever racial and cultural differences exist, prejudice and discrimination will occur.

Assimilation theory argues that, for an effective adaptation in the United States, immigrants should give up their ethnic way of life and accept the American way of life. Milton Gordon gives substantial attention to European immigrants to America, viewing them primarily in terms of assimilation to the dominant Anglo Saxon Protestant culture and society. The Anglo conformity is a demand that all immigrant and minority groups conform to the expectations of the dominant WASP (white Anglo Saxon Protestant) group. He notes that Anglo conformity has been substantially achieved, at least in regard to cultural assimilation. He also argues that the theory of assimilation is applicable to a wide range of ethnic and racial groups.

However, critics argue that, in reality, assimilation amounts to forced conformity. According to Castaneda (1974), the Anglo-Conformist view had produced a variety of notions concerning racial superiority and exclusionist immigration policies, but its central assumption rests on the desirability of maintaining English institutions and English-oriented cultural patterns. This view of the melting pot is exclusive in that assimilation is considered desirable only if the Anglo-Saxon cultural pattern is adapted as the ideal. In many cases, therefore, the common culture and social structure are for the most part those of the dominant or majority group, though it may incorporate some features of the minority group.

In this study, ethnic attachment refers to immigrants' subjective identification with their heritage, preservation of their own culture, and

active maintenance of intimate social ties with their own ethnic group. Several studies about Korean immigrants (Hurh, 1977; Hurh & Kim, 1984; Lee, 1987) report that the sense of ethnic identity among Korean Americans is weakening, but it is not likely to disappear as long as there is significant stereotyping and discrimination against Korean Americans in the larger society. Korean Americans remain underrepresented at the higher economic and political levels of the United States.

It is generally assumed that the minorities' progressive assimilation would mean at the same time their regressive ethnic attachment. In other words, Korean immigrants' learning of the American way of life would require unlearning of their native culture, and increased social acceptance of Koreans by Americans would also entail a decrease in Koreans' association with their own ethnic group, or vice versa . However, Hurh and Kim's study (1984) showed that the degree of the Korean immigrants' assimilation is not related to the degree of their ethnic attachment. According to their study, the Korean immigrants' strong attachment to their native culture and society is largely unaffected by their length of residence, socio-economic status, and assimilation. Hurh and Kim (1984), therefore, report that the Korean immigrants do not resist assimilation but rather seek to adapt to the new culture and society whenever possible without discarding the old. In other words, Korean immigrants can not afford to discard the old, not because it is necessarily better than the new but rather because it provides them mutual aid and support in times of personal crises and external group threat. In spite of progressive assimilation together with improved socioeconomic conditions, ethnic attachment thus provides the immigrants with a sense of security,

primary group satisfaction, and group identity as long as they are excluded in principle from the mainstream of the American social structure.

The mosaic of subcultures that characterizes the United States has given rise to the concept of "Cultural (ethnic) pluralism," a concept supported by John Dewey in early twentieth century. It refers to a pattern in which different racial, ethnic, or other groups retain cultural features that are distinct in each group, but hold some others that are common to all groups in society (Farley, 1988). Cultural pluralism theory suggests that a significant part of the ethnic way of life should be retained and Americanization be limited to functionally necessary dimensions of American life. In other words, ethnic pluralism is neither exclusively ethnic separatism nor 'melting-pot' Americanism, but the combination of the two becoming transformed into a higher form of intergroup relations. Horace Kallen (1924) also opposed the melting pot theory and advocated that immigrants should be encouraged to develop their institutions and ways of life, thus contributing to the richness of American life.

According to Longres (1990), cultural pluralism is espoused to the minority groups for the reason that the United States should be culturally diverse and everyone should not be forced into a single mold. It rejects the idea that minority members must fully assimilate into the mainstream culture if they are to achieve well-being. Cultural pluralism can be tied to the idea that new arrivals should become bicultural, that is, able to function competently within the norms, traditions, and values of their own culture, as well as in the culture of the United States. The bicultural socialization theory proposed by Diane De Anda (1984) maintains that social and personal well-being requires

being adequately socialized within both one's own culture and the dominant culture. Her perspective on biculturation implies a culturally plural society.

Kitano and Daniels applied the assimilation model to Asian Americans. They developed a model of assimilation and ethnic identity that distinguished between four types of adaptation: (1) high assimilation, low ethnic identity; (2) high assimilation, high ethnic identity; (3) low assimilation, low ethnic identity; and (4) low assimilation, high ethnic identity (Feagin, 1989, p. 355). Kitano and Daniels' approach indicated the complexity in patterns of adaptation depending on length of stay in the United States, particular ethnic group, and strength of in-group ethnic commitment. However, their model does not pay sufficient attention to such external factors as continuing prejudice and discrimination, which also handicap Asian Americans and affect assimilation probabilities.

C. Characteristics of Ethnic Minority Aged in the United States

The rapid change in the American demographic structure has stimulated a growing awareness of the need for a better understanding of the conditions and circumstances of ethnic minority elderly in the United States. Since basic descriptive information is of great importance in understanding certain changes and phenomena, some descriptive data useful in understanding the nature and position of the ethnic elderly population in the United States are presented. Because of data limitations, however, it will be impossible to present information on all American ethnic groups. Therefore, this section discusses (1) the size and age distribution, (2) the geographic distribution, and (3) the income and educational levels of four major ethnic

populations. By presenting these data, to some extent, the life situations of ethnic elderly in the United States can be understood.

1. The size and age distribution

Table 1 shows information on the number of people belonging to, and the number of elderly among, four major ethnic groups.

Table 1. Selected ethnic populations in the United States

Ethnic Group	All Ages		65 and Over		%	
	1990	1995	1990	1995	1990	1995
White	208,704,000	218,085,000	26,479,000	30,056,000	12.7	13.8
African-American	30,483,000	33,141,000	2,487,000	2,719,000	8.2	8.2
Asian American	7,458,000	9,287,000	465,000	617,000	5.8	6.6
Korean	798,849 ¹	NA	36,747 ²	NA	4.6	NA
Hispanic	22,354,000	26,994,000	1,145,000	1,500,000	5.1	5.6

Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States 1996

¹: According to the Korean Journal, Atlanta (1995), 1,624,000 Korean-Americans live in the United States in January, 1990

²: Korean immigrants who are 60 years of age and older.

Korean Americans have immigrated to the United States relatively recently. Because arriving immigrant groups do not usually include large numbers of elderly people, the proportion of elderly Korean Americans (60 years of age and older) is expected to be less than 5 percent of the total Korean immigrant population. However, other Asian groups such as the Chinese and Japanese have been in the United States for a long time yet still have small proportions of elderly. Other factors accounting for the low proportions of elderly people in certain ethnic minority populations are their lower social

status, poor health, and consequent higher mortality rates that allow relatively few members of these groups to reach old age.

Considering a continuous inflow of immigrants from Korea and a natural increase among Korean-Americans, it is estimated that by the end of the century the Korean population in the United States will be over a million persons, of whom an estimated 50,000 persons will be 60 years and older.

2. Geographic distribution

Ethnic minority populations are distributed broadly across geographic regions of the United States. However, Asians and Hispanics live primarily in the western United States, while a majority of Blacks still live in the South. Also, most ethnic minority groups in the United States are highly urbanized (Manuel, 1982). The immigrants from Korea are geographically more dispersed than other recent Asian immigrants, but a substantial majority of them are concentrated in metropolitan areas, such as Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C., etc. (Hurh & Kim, 1984, p. 21). Table 2 provides information on the residence of each ethnic group. Among these groups, Blacks are more likely to reside in central cities, although Asians are actually the most urbanized overall of the four groups.

Table 2. Ethnic groups residing in urban and rural areas (1980)

Ethnic Group	Urban (%)	Rural (%)
White	73.3	26.7
African-American	81.1	18.9
Asian-American	91.7	8.3
Hispanic	87.6	12.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

3. Income and educational level

About 3.7 million elderly persons were living below the poverty line in 1995. The poverty rate for persons 65 and older was 10.5%, slightly less than the rate for persons 18-64 (11.4%). Another 2.3 million (7%) of the elderly were classified as "near-poor" (income between the poverty level and 125% of this level). In total, almost one-fifth (18%) of the older population was poor or near-poor in 1995 (AARP, 1996).

Furthermore, minority aged have always had a much lower standard of living than White aged. In spite of the fact that the percentage of elderly falling below the poverty line has been declining for a number of years, the number of minority elderly in poverty is still substantially greater than the number in the majority White elderly group. One of every eleven (9%) elderly Whites was poor in 1995, compared to one-fourth (25%) of elderly Blacks and almost one-fourth (24%) of elderly Hispanics (AARP, 1996). As Table 3 shows, in 1994 only 10% of White elderly were in poverty compared to nearly three times as many Black, and more than twice as many Hispanic, elderly.

Table 3. Persons 65 years old and over below poverty level

Ethnic Group	1985	1991	1994
White	2,698,000 (11%)	2,802,000 (10.3%)	2,846,000 (10.2%)
African-American	717,000 (31.5%)	880,000 (33.8%)	700,000 (27.4%)
Asian-American	NA	NA	NA
Hispanic	219,000 (23.9%)	237,000 (20.8%)	323,000 (22.6%)

NA: Not available

Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States 1996

The relatively high levels of poverty among some of the ethnic minority groups can be in part attributed to low levels of education. As Table 4 shows, the level of education of Whites is considerably higher than that of Blacks or Hispanics.

Table 4. Educational level of ethnic population

Ethnic Group	High school or more (%)				College or more (%)			
	1980	1985	1990	1995	1980	1985	1990	1995
White	68.8	75.5	79.1	83.0	17.1	20.0	22.0	24.0
African-American	51.2	59.8	66.2	73.8	8.4	11.1	11.3	13.2
Asian-American	NA	NA	80.4	NA	NA	NA	39.9	NA
Hispanic	44.0	47.9	50.8	53.4	7.6	8.5	9.2	9.3

Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States 1996

However, Koreans are vitally interested in education. They prize learning highly, and are willing to contend with serious obstacles in order to obtain advanced training. Many of the young people regard education as a means by which they hope to improve their social position. They anticipate that it will relieve them of some of the difficulties which have confronted their parents, and that it will better their economic status. Parents have expressed the feeling that education is the best gift they can give to their children. Therefore, the immigrants from Korea are highly educated. Approximately two-thirds of the Korean adult immigrants have received four years of college education or more, and most of them held white-collar occupations in Korea prior to their emigration (Park, 1991).

This section has presented the basic descriptive information on major ethnic and minority elderly populations in the United States. These

characteristics showed some of the consequences of belonging to ethnic minority groups. For example, elderly ethnic minority groups have higher poverty rates than do elderly Whites. The demographics also suggest that American ethnic groups are not monolithic and that members of the various groups are quite diverse in their characteristics and problems. There are, however, some commonalities in the various ethnic groups. For example, most ethnic elderly live in urban areas; the proportion of the old within the ethnic groups is increasing over time; and income levels tend to be lower for ethnic minority elderly.

D. Characteristics of Elderly Korean Immigrants

1. History of immigration and population in the United States.

As in the case of other ancient nations, the beginnings of Korean history are shrouded in mythology and legends. Korea is known to be one of the oldest civilizations in the world, since its traditions date from the time of early Chinese, Egyptian, and Chaldean history. In 2333 B. C., according to both Chinese and Korean records, several groups of Mongolians gathered and elected a King, called "Tangun", to rule over Korea. He called the country "Chosen", or the Land of the Morning Calm.

Korea had always been a hermit nation. The suffering and humiliation which accompanied the invasions from neighboring countries such as China, Mongolia, and Japan, intensified the desire for seclusion. Korean life was primitive in some respects, but the houses, food, clothing, customs and industries which had served in the past seemed adequate. Therefore, Korea asked nothing of the world except to be let alone. As late as 1880, signposts along the highway bore Korean inscriptions which read, "If you meet a

foreigner, kill him; he who has any friendly relations with the foreigner is a traitor to his country." However, Korea's modern industry may be said to have begun with her opening her borders to outside influence in the nineteenth century (Givens, 1939).

Korea was the last nation in Northeast Asia to open her doors to the United States by signing the Korean-American Treaty in 1882 (Hurh & Kim, 1984, p.39). Therefore, the emigration of Korean people to the United States is a recent development in the long history of Korea. The total number of Koreans in the United States was estimated at fewer than fifty before the first large wave of Korean immigrants reached the Hawaiian shores during the period 1903-1905 (Hurh & Kim, 1984, p. 39). Actually, the Korean diaspora in the modern era began with the loss of Korean sovereignty to Japan at the turn of the twentieth century.

The history of Koreans in America can be divided into four periods: (1) the pre-emigration period from 1883 to 1900, during which a Korean diplomatic mission, political exiles, students, and a small number of merchants came to the United States; (2) the official emigration period from 1902 to 1905, when seven thousand Koreans went to the Hawaiian Islands as plantation laborers; (3) the period between 1905 and 1940, when a few hundred political refugees from Japanese rule and approximately three hundred students came to America; and (4) the period after the 1950s, when the Korean population in America increased rapidly (Choy, 1979, p. 69). Actually, most of the Korean population now in the United States arrived in the last 30 years.

Koreans have never come to the United States in sufficient numbers to create an immigration problem. The Koreans in the United States were fewer than ten thousand before the end of the Second World War. They were a

minority among the minority ethnic groups. Because of the language barrier, cultural conflicts, and racial discrimination, the early Korean immigrants struggled for survival, earning their living by physical labor regardless of their intellectual backgrounds. They had to depend on individual strength because no official protection was possible after the loss of national independence.

After World War II, Koreans in the United States became visible because there was a substantial influx of Korean immigrants into the United States between 1965 and 1976. The United States Immigration Act of 1965 has generally governed the economic, demographic, educational, and familial characteristics of recent Korean immigrants. In general, a majority of prospective Korean immigrants must be, psychologically and economically, fit for survival in contemporary American society. Korean immigrants experienced a rapid urbanization and industrialization in their homeland before entering the United States, and a high proportion brought with them the means for economic self-establishment in the form of either skills or dollars. This fact distinguishes recent Korean immigrants from the older immigrant groups at the turn of the century, most of which were made up of displaced peasants, the impoverished, and the low-skilled urban proletariat. It was clear that the new wave of Korean immigrants had a socio-economic and political impact on American society in general and on the Korean-American community in particular (Kim, 1981, p. 47).

Most Korean immigrants who came to the United States after the 1970s, entered by utilizing family network ties. Family reunification provisions in the U.S. policy have enabled elderly parents to migrate to the United States.

The majority of elderly Koreans were invited by their adult children who were already naturalized citizens or permanent residents.

Koreans are one of the most rapidly increasing Asian immigrant groups in the United States (Kiefer et al., 1985). The 1970 U.S. Census reported a total of 70,598 Koreans residing in the United States, of whom 3,270 persons or 4.6% were 60 years of age and older. Since then the number has risen rapidly, with approximately 20,000 to 30,000 Koreans being admitted annually. By 1980 the total number of Koreans had increased more than five times to a total of 354,593, of all ages, of whom 14,616 or 4.1% were aged 60 years and older (Koh & Bell, 1987, p. 66). Considering a continuous inflow of immigrants from Korea and a natural increase among Korean-Americans, the number will reach over a million within the next decade (Hurh & Kim, 1990, p. 457).

Table 5 provides information on the numbers of total Korean immigrants and elderly Korean immigrants admitted to the United States from 1986 to 1994. As the Table shows, however, the numbers of Korean immigrants have decreased through the recent years. The total numbers of Korean immigrants in 1994 were less than half the numbers of immigrants in 1986.

Table 5. Korean immigrants admitted to the United States.

Year	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Total	35,776	35,849	34,703	34,222	32,301	26,518	19,359	18,026	16,011
Male	1,153	1,148	1,045	1,090	966	747	552	477	450
Female	1,851	1,756	1,673	1,640	1,515	1,202	949	870	744

Source: Statistical yearbook of the immigration and naturalization service

Total: Total Korean immigrants

Male: Korean male (60 and over) immigrants

Female: Korean female (60 and over) immigrants

2. Traditional culture in Korea

A) The influence of Confucianism

Korea is an ancient Oriental country with over 4300 years of history and a highly developed culture. To understand older Koreans, we must consider the traditions of the Korean culture, especially the impact of Confucianism, which is deeply ingrained in their way of life. As Max Weber noted in his essays on China, Confucianism was an ideological bulwark of traditionalism. Korean culture has been strongly influenced by Confucian philosophy, which includes several components of ethical human relationships.

Politically and socially, Confucianism functioned to pacify the masses by defining and maintaining "the five relationships." These relationships are composed of father and son, husband and wife, ruler and subject, elder and younger, and friend and friend. Each of these relationships was governed by sanctified norms and ethics; rebelliousness against the established patterns constituted a cardinal sin. The relationship between the father and the son and the relationship between the older and the younger are the basic tenets of the attitude toward older people in Korea. The father-son relationship is the most important aspect of traditional family consciousness. The relationship between the father and the son emphasizes the affection of the father for the son and filial obedience of the son to the father. Also, the relationship between the older and the younger is basic to maintaining the social order.

Although this Confucian heritage is mixed with Western philosophical ideas, it is reflected in the many different components of Korean society. Such components include social hierarchy in respect given to the older adult, the desire for education, ceremonies to commemorate the deceased, and the

continuing influence of the extended family even though the nuclear family is increasingly the most common living unit (Chae, 1987, p. 11).

The family is a unit of clan as well as a component of society, and social life is based on human relations within the family. The family clan is much more important than the individual. Three or four generations are found often under one roof, although it may be a small house. As a result, family ties are strong, and it is expected that the individual will work hard to contribute toward the success of the family.

Economically, however, Confucianism hampered the development of rational, bourgeois capitalism because of its peculiar rationalization of the world. Confucianism offered no metaphysical foundation for manipulating or transforming society. It precluded radical change in economic, political, and social systems because it related them to a cosmic and harmonious order to which man should adjust (Kim, 1981, p. 299).

All in all, Korean immigrants, with their commitment to educational achievement and strict adherence to the work ethic, appear to be one of the most successful ethnic groups that have recently immigrated to the United States. As far as the socio-economic adjustment of Korean immigrants is concerned, there is a value congruence between Confucianism and the Protestant ethic in the sense that both of them are directed toward self-control and self-abnegation, even though they are derived from different sources and point to different rationalizations of the world.

According to Mangiafico (1988), Koreans maintain a distinct ethnic identity that does not appear to be affected by length of residence, socioeconomic status, and cultural and social assimilation rates. However, whether this pattern is likely to continue or whether it is due to the fact that

most Korean immigrants have not been in the United States very long, remains to be seen. This judgment will have to wait until a large number of Koreans are born here, and their traditions and customs become less important in their lives than they appear to be now.

B) Filial piety

Filial piety has been a cardinal cultural norm institutionalized over a long period of time in China, Korea, Japan, and other Asian societies influenced by Confucian culture. It regulates the intergenerational relationship between parents and children throughout their life cycle and many other critical human relations.

Confucianism teaches that filial piety is the basis of all conduct, and followers are educated along this principle. Duty to parents demands strict obedience, and it is a son's moral obligation to serve them with all sincerity (Chae, 1987, p. 12). Based on this tenet, the rule of seniority is applied: a child obeys the parents, a wife obeys her husband, and a younger brother obeys an older brother. Age indicates dominance within families, and older adults expect to be respected and supported by their children (Ko, 1982; Koo, 1984).

Under such a system, filial piety obliges a married son and his wife to serve the husband's parents unselfishly in a wide range of his parents' needs or wishes: 1) physical care, 2) social-psychological comfort, 3) respect for and consultation with parents concerning important family and personal matters, 4) honoring and glorifying parents through the son's outstanding achievement, and 5) faithful observance of important ceremonial occasions (e.g., ancestor worship, parents' wedding anniversary or birthdays).

In some respects, the Asian American family has assumed collective responsibility for its elderly in multigenerational situations. It is suggested that filial piety persists and is evidenced by the many petitions of newly-settled immigrants to bring their aging parents to the United States. Kim's (1978) study also showed that Koreans have stronger family ties than other Asian groups and that family unification is the leading reason for the immigration of elderly Korean immigrants. Korean immigrants currently, however, encounter a great deal of difficulty in practicing the traditional expectation of filial piety under their changing life conditions and family-kinship system in the United States.

It is extremely difficult for Korean immigrants to practice this aspect of the traditional filial expectation. Social and institutional conditions of modern industrial societies tend to devalue the status of old people. The status of Korean elderly in the family is no exception to this general trend. Although filial piety and ancestor worship based upon Confucian ethics constituted the most important values in traditional Korean society, the tradition has been increasingly questioned by younger generations. Accordingly, it seems hard to deny that the Korean elderly might also be experiencing a gradual decline in their status and power in the family. It appears that the status of elderly Korean immigrants in the family with their adult children is more seriously jeopardized in the United States where different norms and values are emphasized. The adult children of Korean elderly are constantly exposed to competing American values, which stress independence and individual freedom. Furthermore, there is little community pressure to follow the old value of filial piety in America and no consistent guides for the adult children to do so (Kalish & Moriwaki, 1973).

A high proportion of Korean immigrant wives currently make a substantial contribution to the family income; such a contribution enhances the status and power of the wives in their families. Under this condition, the wives are more assertive and want to keep their family life independent of parental interference. They are definitely less inclined to sacrifice their marital life for the care of elderly parents. Elderly parents are also not likely to possess any powerful resources with which to enforce this aspect of the traditional filial obligation.

The increasing status and power of the wives in Korean immigrant families makes it impractical to expect wives to take care of only their husband's parents. In addition, some aspects of the traditional filial expectation are simply irrelevant or improper to practice under the current conditions of immigrant life. It is suggested that Korean immigrants cannot currently practice the wide range of filial obligation as traditionally expected in the context of the extended family of Korean immigrants in the United States.

C) Definition of old age

All societies have some system of age grading that classifies individuals by age and ascribes differential statuses and roles in terms of this classification. In Korean society, like some other Oriental societies, such as China and Japan, old age begins at 60. Thus, Koreans usually do not use the word "elderly" to refer to persons under 60 years old.

Koreans are much given to ceremony and rites of passage related to aging. Birthdays of older people over 60 years old are celebrated with emphasis. The 60th birthday, called "hwangap," is the biggest party for the

aged individual and the family. The ritual indicates the auspicious return to the year of birth which is five times around the 12 year lunar cycle. In pre-industrial Korea the completion of the fifth cycle was also regarded as a sign of longevity due to the shorter life expectancy (Chin, 1991, p. 146).

When people reach old age, they are supposed to retire and let their sons support them as well as they can afford for the rest of their lives, and the elderly become top authorities in family affairs. Though the age of 60 is still taken as the beginning of old age, the timing of retirement is left up to the individuals or their employers. Actual retirement ages vary according to their occupations.

3. Adjustment in American life

It is well known that successful adjustment to old age is based on a continuity of life patterns, but the traditions and customs unsuitable to the new environment have to be modified so that the immigrants can adjust to life in their new situation. From this perspective, immigrant adaptation can be conceptualized as the process through which immigrants modify their attitudinal and behavioral patterns in order to maintain and improve their life conditions to make them more compatible with the new environment (Hurh & Kim, 1984, p. 73). In this sense, adaptation is conceived as a broad concept that includes its various modes and resultant conditions such as adjustment, assimilation, acculturation, Americanization, integration, amalgamation, nondifferentiation, pluralism, and adhesion. (Hurh & Kim, 1984; Jiobu, 1988).

According to Hurh and Kim (1984), the following factors generally affect the assimilation rate of immigrants: (1) racial and cultural similarity between the dominant and immigrant groups, (2) demographic and socio-

economic characteristics, (3) nature and area of immigrants' settlement, (4) proximity to homeland, (5) mutual attitudes of the dominant and immigrant groups, and (6) the length of immigrants' residence in the United States.

Adapting to a new environment is an extremely difficult task for elderly Korean immigrants who do not have many material possessions and lack of English proficiency. Further, immigration displaces the ability of the Korean elderly to rely on previously accumulated resources. They have to leave so much behind, and they worry about losing the supports around them (Gelfand & Kutzik, 1979). The literature assumes that immigration causes immediate personal and social disorganization, which slowly abates over time (Lipson and Meleis, 1985, p. 49). Immigrants often experience a degree of loss ranging from mild to profound—loss of familiar ways, familiar meanings, and particularly, the social network on which they previously depended. For new immigrants who have resettled on a permanent basis, therefore, their survival and livelihood are largely dependent on their ability to acquire new learning and to perform according to the standards and practices of the host society (Kim, 1989, p. 275).

As stated earlier, Korean-born elderly suffer several years of severe psycho-social stress after emigrating to America, and the severity of that stress is related to background characteristics, such as education, and to situational factors, such as household composition (Kiefer et al., 1985, p. 481). In other words, elderly Korean immigrants who have little education, who have immigrated recently, and who live alone are at risk for maladaptation in a new environment (Chae, 1987, p. 12). The loss of familiarity, the language barrier, shifting traditions, and changing cultural roles have the potential for

creating social isolation, disorganization, and functional illiteracy, as well as health problems.

Inadequate income, reduced physical capacity, and social isolation often make old age a period of degradation and suffering (Fujii, 1976, p. 202). As they leave their home country, these elderly persons experience a series of significant losses. Their status in society and family changes dramatically, along with cultural and financial changes that deeply affect every aspect of their lives (Chan, 1988, p. 14). They face multiple adjustment problems. Severe adjustment problems often induce in the elderly Koreans a sense of having lost control over their lives and daily events, increasing their dependency and depression.

In most ethnic groups, the least assimilated, those with the strongest sense of ethnic identity, will be the elderly, who are most likely to be the first generation immigrants. As the first generation in the United States they tend to maintain the closest ties with traditional ethnic attitudes and culture. These ties provide older persons with an identity based on cultural norms, which may shelter them from many of the problems encountered by other older persons. Within the ethnic group, age alone may vest them with prestige and respect and the right for assistance from their families. Conversely, as ethnic traditions begin to break down in the younger generations, older persons may find themselves isolated and discontent as children no longer adhere to traditional filial values (Cox & Gelfand, 1987). However, social programs to meet the needs of these persons are not always available. Moreover, existing services may not be used because of the elderly's lack of familiarity with them or cultural reluctance to seek formal help.

The predominant view has been that adaptation occurs cumulatively and progressively, that is, immigrants become increasingly better adapted as they continue to interact and deal with the host environment (Kim, 1989, p. 281-282). According to Hurh and Kim (1984), as immigrants stay longer in the United States, they are generally more Americanized socially and culturally. However, as a new immigrant group, Koreans in the United States generally retain their social and cultural ethnic ties regardless of length of residence (Kim, Kim, & Hurh, 1991). Elderly Korean immigrants also follow this trend of ethnic attachment, and they are barely Americanized regardless of length of residence in the United States. As a result, they generally do not speak English and are not familiar with the American way of life and social system. This also seriously affects the elderly Korean immigrant's aging process and adjustment in the United States.

Problems of cultural adjustment tend to underlie all the other difficulties that elderly Korean immigrants face. They have been raised in a highly sedentary culture in which uprooting means near catastrophe. They are ignorant of their situation on arrival, the language and customs of the new place, the people, the dwelling situation, the work they are going to have. One way or another, countless numbers of people manage to break away from their basic support networks, sever ties with places and people, and transplant their home base, their life projects, their dreams.

Because of cultural differences, elderly Korean immigrants have encountered difficulty in adjusting satisfactorily to the dominant society. They may be deprived of their right to participate socially and to receive services which are necessary for a meaningful and extended life. Those older Korean Americans who experience difficulty adjusting to the American life, either

because of their customs and language or because of institutional racism directed at them, find themselves further isolated because they are identified as minority aging Americans.

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968) clearly claimed that the United States is racist. It documented the fact that this country has created and maintained the urban ghettos where most minority groups are forced to live (Kim, 1973, p. 45). According to Lyman (1970), America was founded on the doctrine of white supremacy, which was brought by the first English settlers. Although economic development and expansion of the frontier necessitated importation of cheap laborers from Asia and slaves from Africa, these people were never meant to be absorbed into the American mainstream. Non-English-speaking Europeans were eligible for full citizenship and privileges on the condition that they renounce their cultures and at least outwardly conform to the Anglo-Saxon Protestant way of life. Colored peoples, on the other hand, did not have this choice; they were excluded from full citizenship. And, of course, nonwhites could easily be discriminated against because their skin color allowed for quick differentiation and thus prevented their assimilation (Keith & Jones, 1990).

The adaptation problems of the elderly Korean immigrants are not only the result of age, but are a product of the cumulative life experiences as minority status persons in a society which has systematically neglected their needs. In their later years, the elderly Korean immigrants face age-related problems with fewer resources and limited access to service systems (Kamikawa, 1981, p. 9). In general, older Koreans face multiple disadvantages and difficulties in accordance with assimilation.

Due to the newness of their arrival, research on Koreans in the United States is still in the exploratory stage. In fact, most of the empirical research on Korean Americans has been accomplished since 1976 (Hurh & Kim 1990, p. 457). A number of these studies have revealed various stressful experiences of young Korean immigrants. However, there are few research studies dealing with the socio-cultural adaptation problems faced by elderly Korean immigrants in the United States.

4. Informal service utilization and problems

When a person is growing older, he or she needs good support services to adjust successfully to the person's changing physical, psychological, and socio-economic conditions. The support system of the elderly can be characterized as an interwoven network of informal services provided by family and friends and formal services provided by public and private agencies. The informal system is more likely to provide emotional support and assistance with personal care and household management. In contrast, the formal system of public and voluntary agencies provides entitlements to housing, education, safety, and transportation, as well as health and social services. Informal and formal services have different roles and differing relative importance to the elderly persons at various phases in their aging process. It is, however, to informal services that older people turn first and most frequently as a source of help (Cantor, 1980).

As stated earlier, elderly Korean Americans have received very little attention in the literature. They have been omitted from any serious consideration because of adherence in the larger society to a false premise which maintains that Koreans and other Asians in the United States take care

of their own. This premise inaccurately assumes that the Asian elderly have families with sufficient resources to meet their needs.

There is extensive evidence about the significance of informal support for the well-being of the aged. However, there is only limited evidence about the ways in which membership in a racial or ethnic group determines mutual help, informal support, and knowledge about and access to services. In the absence of adequate empirical evidence, informational bases about the service needs of elderly persons in racial and ethnic communities could possibly be based on assumptions and not on research evidence.

It has been proposed that ethnic minority elderly have more extensive kin networks than whites, affecting interaction patterns, family structure, and living arrangements (Chatters, Taylor & Jackson, 1986). In a study of urban frail elderly, O'Brien and Wagner (1980) found that a high level of informal interaction with kin, friends, neighbors and others was positively associated with reception of informal services, but negatively associated with that of formal services. Park's study (1986) also found that strong ties with adult children are not always advantageous for elderly parents in every aspect of social support. It was suggested that strong ties with adult children induce the elderly parents to seek needed support within the confines of a family setting. Some people convincingly argue that the reliance of minority elderly upon informal support networks such as kin, friends, and neighbors rather than upon formal agencies can best be understood as survival or self-help strategy for coping with impoverished circumstances in a hostile environment.

The dominant patterns of elderly Korean immigration reflect a desire to maintain strong kinship ties and to promote the well-being of their families.

As stated earlier, Korean elderly parents generally came to the United States on the invitation of their children. In the United States, these elderly parents live with one of their children who are principal players in the lives of elderly Koreans. Aged parents try to understand the life conditions of their adult children and to accommodate themselves to these conditions. As a whole, however, they cling to the traditional expectation of filial piety.

In the United States, some Korean elderly's relationships with married children and their spouses are tense and conflict-ridden, mainly as the result of the troublesome aspects of a basic cultural norm, filial piety. The Korean traditional norms of filial piety are supposed to be significant and influential in guiding behaviors of children, so that the elderly parents are sincerely respected and cared for in their later years by their adult children. However, this traditional ideal may be weakened in the United States where different norms and values are emphasized. Since American values seem to promote a sharing of filial responsibilities among sons and daughters alike, the effect of Americanization on the traditional Confucian family can be seen in the fact that less than half the elderly Korean women were satisfied with their Americanized sons (Kiefer et al., 1985). Traditional values stress the duties of a son toward his parents, and parents expect less of their daughters, who are expected to marry and serve their parents-in-law.

As a whole, the handicapped position of elderly Korean immigrants increases their dependence on married children and spouses in the United States. Without the help of their adult children and spouses, the elderly Korean immigrants can suffer severely from a double-jeopardy.

The elderly are the least likely in the ethnic groups to speak English (Cox, 1987, p. 166). Most elderly Korean persons have great difficulty learning

English. If they have managed to remain within ethnic neighborhoods and to have children who are responsible for interacting with the dominant society, their needs for English are often minimal. However, English is a necessity if they are to engage in even simple conversations with neighbors, take buses, read newspapers, understand TV programs, and carry on the ordinary activities of everyday life. The language problem may keep them at home with little to do, making them dependent on their children or others as interpreters and intermediaries (Chan, 1988, p. 15). Many needy elderly Korean immigrants do not seek out social services which they are entitled to, mainly because of the language and cultural barriers, and their unfamiliarity with the institutional arrangement in the community (Chae, 1987, p. 11). Their lack of English skills also prevents them from maintaining intimate interaction with their own grandchildren, a source of pleasure for grandparents in Korean society.

Lack of transportation is another major problem. Park (1975) specified transportation and language barriers as two significant factors that inhibit the use of health and welfare services. Very few Korean elderly own cars or have drivers' licenses, and if they can't read street signs or subway maps, they probably can't use public transportation. Even keeping appointments with doctors or welfare agencies may be very difficult. The expression "no legs" is commonly used by the Korean elderly who complain of severe handicaps due to lack of transportation. Their lack of proficiency in English and their limited access to transportation deprive them of the contacts with the outside world that would help them adjust to a new society.

Research on the informal supports of elderly individuals is particularly critical for socio-economically disadvantaged racial and ethnic minority

elderly populations. Many of these elderly groups have a history of limited access to formally organized supports and resources. Research on minority elderly has not systematically explored the factors that influence choice of an informal helper.

5. Formal service utilization and problems

Meeting the social service needs of groups isolated by class and culture is a continuing challenge to the social work profession. By and large this challenge has not been met in the case of the elderly Korean immigrants. Existing social work research has provided little information on the special service needs of this group. Park (1975) pointed out the dearth of information on elderly Korean immigrants, but what information was available revealed that ethnicity and age were primary factors preventing the elderly Korean immigrants from availing themselves of formal health and welfare services. In this section, the nature of existing public services to the Korean elderly in the United States, the extent of utilization of those services, and the reasons for underutilization will be discussed.

Like all older persons, elderly Korean immigrants experience various changes related to advancing age. They encounter declining physical strength, increased leisure time, and the imminence of death. They must also adjust to changing values, new life-styles, and challenges to established practices.

Among the many problems confronting elderly Korean immigrants, there is a problem of exclusion from public social and health services presumably available to all older persons. As it had discussed earlier, exclusion

from public social and health services has been attributed to barriers such as language, culture, racism, and the structure of delivery systems.

According to Morley (1992), virtually no data exist on the health status and economic problems of minority elderly populations. To ensure that adequate health care is available to the aged, and to identify points for appropriate policy intervention, more information is needed on which factors are most influential in determining service utilization among the minority elderly.

Various approaches have been used to explain health care utilization behavior. Generally these approaches place emphasis on either situational attributes, such as socio-economic status and demographic characteristics, attitudes and beliefs of the user, or on organizational aspects of the service system, such as type of service provider (Keith & Jones, 1990).

Studies of public service utilization that have included minority elderly have usually grouped them into one category designated as "nonwhite" (Haug, 1981) or have been based on samples not representative of the United States, such as elderly from low income areas (Wan, 1982). Multivariate analyses using the more complex models rarely test for interaction between race and other explanatory variables. Consequently, sufficient attention has not been given to whether Korean and other minority elderly use public services for the same reasons as whites or whether variables have the same significance for minorities (Keith & Jones, 1990).

Compared to aged whites, Korean and other minority elderly groups are more likely to experience economic hardship (Manuel & Reid, 1982), to perceive their health as being poor, and to have lower life satisfaction. Older Blacks in particular have also suffered from direct and indirect

institutionalized discrimination (Jackson, 1980). Given these disadvantages, it is reasonable to assume that factors such as economic status, health insurance coverage, perceived health status, and psychological well-being may be relatively more influential in explaining utilization patterns for minority elderly than for whites.

A review of literature suggests that there are three major areas of conditions a potential client must meet in order to use a service: knowledge related to the service, access to the service, and intent to use the service (Yeatts et al., 1992). Knowledge refers to information needed by the potential client before service use will take place. Access refers to external factors such as location, affordability, and availability of services. And, intent refers to the potential client's willingness and interest in obtaining service. Studies indicate that a potential client's deficiency in one or more of these produces a barrier to the client's use of the service. A potential client may have the knowledge of and access to available services but lack an intent or desire to use them, resulting in the services going unused (Yeatts et al., 1992).

Social research and theory designed to investigate and understand the use of services by low-income minority elderly persons has been scarce relative to the complexity and importance of the issue (Yeatts et al., 1992). The widespread belief that ethnic minorities take better care of their elders than whites do has led to the failure to provide adequate, ethnically sensitive health care services. It has been suggested that the traditional extended family is more supportive of minority elderly than of whites. At present, however, it is difficult to find a consensus in the literature as to whether minority elderly people have more supportive informal support systems than their white counterparts (Mindel, Wright, & Starrett, 1986). Therefore, it often creates

pressure on the minority family to provide home care in economically disadvantaged situations. This may be compounded by the lack of adequate home care support within certain areas of the inner cities (Morley, 1992).

Perhaps ethnic minorities and whites differ not only in the quantity but also in the quality of support available to them from different sources. Future research should address this issue, recognizing the multidimensionality of the social support system. In addition, the study of specific minority groups is necessary in order to better understand the differences between groups with regard to their needs and preferences for services, the barriers to service use, and the strategies most successful for overcoming the barriers (Yeatts et al., 1992).

The growing concern for older Koreans and other Asian elderly populations has been expressed in the writings of many researchers, such as Sam Yuen (1971), Richard A. Kalish (1971, 1973), Bok-Lim C. Kim (1973, 1976), Sharon M. Fujii (1976), Robert W. Gardner (1985), and Young In Song (1992), etc. It is exemplified by the appearance of ethnic service projects specifically designed for the aged. Examples include the Golden Age Center in Boston, Union of Pan-Asian Communities' Home Help in San Diego, Self-Help for the Elderly in San Francisco, and the International Drop-In Center in Seattle. These community service programs established specifically to serve Asian-American elderly tend to have high participation rates by Asian-American elderly (Moriwaki, 1982, p. 104). Interest in their plight was also expressed at the Special Concerns Session on Elderly Asian Americans of the 1971 White House Conference on Aging and the Asian American Mental Health Conference in San Francisco.

Interest in older Asians in part reflects the cultural heritage which has stressed veneration and care of the aged. Moreover, the growing interest represents a response to their current conditions--poverty, isolation, racial discrimination, poor health--and the realization that the influence of cultural traditions has diminished. Finally, concern for the Asian aged represents an outgrowth of emerging ethnic awareness among Asians throughout the United States.

6. Korean church and other community organizations

According to U.S. Bureau of the Census and other demographic data, the Korean immigrants have a tendency to settle in large metropolitan cities such as Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago. However, Korean immigrants usually do not maintain geographically segregated ethnic communities. Although Korean immigrants have not formed territorial enclaves, they maintain nonterritorial ethnic communities by intensifying organization-centered community activities. A majority of Korean immigrants are affiliated with one or more ethnic organizations and maintain informal friendship networks with kin members and ethnic friends (Min, 1988, p. 205).

Korean immigrants establish ethnic associations along occupations, religious denominations, leisure activities, Alma Maters, hometowns in Korea, and other differences in the present environment. Kim's study of the Korean community in New York (1981) indicates that ethnic churches and various professional and recreational associations perform a major role in social activities for Korean immigrants.

The prevalence of Protestant denominations among Korean immigrants reflects the selective characteristics of Korean immigration. As has been

pointed out earlier, most Korean immigrants are drawn from the urban middle classes of their homeland, especially from among professionals and white-collar workers. The fact that many of them were Christians, mostly Protestants, plus the influx of Korean ministers as spiritual leaders, largely explains why Korean Protestant churches have flourished in the United States and have become a dominant institution organizing and leading activities of Korean immigrants.

Korean churches are much more than simple sites for religious services. The churches are strong focal points for many social activities. Thus, community church activities constitute the most important facet of day-to-day community life. The churches provide some degree of integration and coordination for divergent activities, an integration that does not exist in nonreligious organizations. In the absence of a territorial base for a natural community, church activities are self-consciously organized. Indeed, the church community has become the substitute for a territorial ethnic community, and thus the interplay between the minister and devoted professionals produces a leadership crucial to the carrying out of both religious and secular activities. For many Korean immigrants, religion is the only experience that they can carry unchanged from their homeland to their new country.

The composition of church membership also has special characteristics. In most Korean churches, elderly women constitute the core, the most loyal membership. Most of them have been brought from the homeland by their sons or daughters. These women attend church at least every Sunday all year round, if they can secure a means of transportation. Because a language barrier confines them to their houses or apartments, they do not even watch

television. Thus, the church has become their sore source of outside activities. In contrast, unmarried youth such as college students are the least committed to church life, because they are able to express themselves and find companions in the recreational facilities of the larger society.

In addition to occupational class and age variables, the religious experience of Koreans in the homeland also determines the degree of participation in the churches of the United States. Studies of Korean immigrants suggest that more than fifty percent of Korean immigrants were affiliated with Protestant churches in Korea (Min, 1988, p. 204). However, the majority of Korean immigrants do not necessarily regard going to church as an attempt to gain religious salvation. They rather consider the church as a gathering place to maintain ethnic solidarity or as a place to escape the isolation they feel from the larger society. One of the main functions of Korean churches is to provide church members with a "family atmosphere," which presupposes a small congregation in which everyone knows everyone else and everyone else's business. Through church-centered activities, Korean immigrants attempt to cope with their overwhelming sense of alienation from the larger society.

However, the church has limitations in organizing and sponsoring activities for Korean immigrants. Since it is a religious institution, according to Kim (1981), it cannot absorb many nonbelievers, who constitute more than a half of the Korean immigrant population in the United States. He also indicates that having no centralized ethnic organization or leadership to integrate, coordinate, and direct the various community activities is one of the major characteristics of the Korean ethnic community in the United States.

In sum, Korean ethnic churches, Korean senior citizen clubs, and Korean community service centers are trying to help elderly Korean immigrants in getting the necessary information about and access to formal services. At the same time, these ethnic organizations allow the elderly Korean immigrants to meet Korean friends, who share their values and beliefs, and to enjoy the rituals, customs and traditions in familiar language. In part, the ethnic helping networks play the important role of broker between elderly Korean immigrants and public services and programs. These ethnic support services, in some extent, fill an existing void in the Korean elderly support network in the United States caused by the absence of extended kin, intimate friends and neighbors, once enjoyed and cherished in their home country.

E. Theoretical Perspectives in Minority Aging

Historically, social gerontology has had a paucity of theories specific to aging (Manuel, 1982, p. 199). Because of the lack of a comprehensive theory dealing particularly with the Korean immigrants' adaptation in the United States, I draw a theoretical framework from the general social gerontological theory. According to Jackson (1985), theoretical developments in social gerontology have been recent and have been characterized by controversy, poor conceptualizations, and inadequate research designs for testing the proposed theories. This is especially true of the area of minority aging in the United States. I will examine the applicability and relevance of concepts and frameworks developed in the areas of social gerontology in explaining the situations of elderly Korean immigrants in the United States.

Social gerontological theory has largely concentrated on predicting adaptation or adjustment in old age operationalized in terms of various

measures of well-being: morale, life satisfaction, mental health, and so on. The 1960s and, to an extent, the 1970s were dominated by discussions of whether the Disengagement Theory (proposed by Cumming & Henry, 1961) or the Activity Theory (identified with various authors such as Havighurst & Albrecht, 1953; Havighurst, Neugarten, & Tobin, 1968; Maddox, 1968, 1970) better explains successful adaptation to old age. The Disengagement Theory has its roots in the structural-functionalist perspective and it is the only complete conceptual system related to aging (Manuel, 1982, p. 199). Other theories or theoretical frameworks have been suggested. These include Labeling Theory (Kuypers & Bengtson, 1973), Subculture Theory (Rose, 1965), Aged as Minority Theory (Barron, 1953), Modernization Theory (Cowgill, 1974; Cowgill & Holmes, 1972), the Sociology of Age Stratification (Riley, 1976; Riley, Johnson, & Foner, 1972), and Exchange Theory (Dowd, 1975, 1980; Sussman, 1976).

However, among elderly Korean immigrants, as among all other minority people in the United States, there is more going on than any or all known theories can explain. Theoretical developments in social gerontology have taken place with little or no attention paid to aging among America's ethnic groups. None of the theoretical frameworks mentioned above were informed by research on ethnic groups, nor were any intended to apply to the ethnic minority aging experience. Some of these, however, may have relevance to ethnic minority aging.

The double jeopardy hypothesis, which was originally applied to older Blacks, states that, in addition to suffering from the prejudices, stereotypes, and discrimination associated with old age, ethnic minority aged also bear the burden of being a member of a minority group. While the double jeopardy hypothesis did not originate in any of the scholarly traditions, it is

intellectually related to the "aged as a subculture" and "aged as minority" perspectives (Markides & Mindel, 1987, p. 31).

The double jeopardy hypothesis predicts an interaction effect between two stratification systems, one based on race or ethnicity and one based on age. It simply predicts that being old and a member of an ethnic minority group is worse than being old and White. It is by far the most popular theoretical approach to aging among ethnic minority populations as reflected in the scholarly literature.

The double jeopardy hypothesis may be included under a larger multiple-hierarchy stratification model where, in addition to ethnicity and age, sex and social class are important aspects of inequality (Bengtson, 1979). When several of these stratification factors are considered together, there are possibly triple, quadruple, or multiple jeopardies characterizing ethnic minority elderly. Since ethnic minority status, female gender, old age, and low social class are at the lower end of the system, the bottom of the hierarchy is occupied by poor, elderly women of ethnic minority backgrounds, while the top is occupied by middle- or upper-class, middle-aged White Anglo-Saxon males. Other combinations fall somewhere in the middle. In fact, the Korean elderly in the United States may be described as in quadruple jeopardy, being old, minority, poor, and non-English speaking.

Ideally, as these authors acknowledge, this hypothesis should be evaluated with longitudinal data whereby minority and majority persons are studied over time as they age. Longitudinal studies of minority elderly are virtually nonexistent, making it often necessary to base generalizations about the process of aging on comparisons of different age groups studied at the same point in time.

Dowd and Bengtson (1978) used cross-sectional data from a Los Angeles study of middle-aged and older minority Americans. Partial support for the double jeopardy hypothesis was found since the income and health disadvantage of minority Americans relative to Whites in middle age became even more pronounced in old age. No such pattern was observed in the areas of social interaction with family and friends and life satisfaction. Using data from a national sample, Ward (1983) found little evidence supporting the double jeopardy hypothesis.

The double jeopardy hypothesis dealt with how minority status influences the process of aging. Nothing, other than the experience of subordination, discrimination, prejudice, and stereotyping, was considered as influencing the aging process. Yet, ethnic minority aged have subcultures that may represent responses to discrimination (Moore, 1971). Thus, while elderly Korean immigrants in Los Angeles are culturally similar to people in Korea, they have developed a different way of life, values, and coping structures that are a direct response to their minority group experience in the United States. The status of elderly Korean immigrants, for example, declined in the United States. Since their children who were raised in the United States adopted many of the values of the modern-industrial society, the importance, authority, and power of the older generation declined.

However, this emphasis on the effects of modernization upon the place of the minority elderly may sound somewhat one-sided. Elderly Korean immigrants retain much of their cultural background. In other words, modernization does not always lead to unidirectional change toward homogenization whereby family forms and family relationships become similar to those of the Whites. Ethnic minority communities, after all, do

develop coping structures for dealing with discrimination in hostile environments (Moore, 1971).

Rosenthal (1986) has looked at modernization theory from a somewhat different perspective. She suggests the literature on ethnicity and aging has been impeded by a conceptual framework based on modernization theory. She suggests that this perspective views traditional families as more supportive of elderly members and modernized families as less supportive. However, a situation is not always supported by the evidence. Holzberg (1982) has criticized the field of ethnicity and aging for concentrating primarily on minority status while paying little attention to the broader concept of ethnicity and cultural differences between groups.

Gerontologists have not explicitly and systematically utilized perspectives taken from the race and ethnic relations literature to help them understand the role of the elderly in American ethnic groups (Markides & Mindel, 1987, p. 38). Assimilation theory, for example, may help generate hypotheses relevant to ethnic minority aging. In its traditional formulation (Gordon, 1964), assimilation theory views ethnicity and minority status as temporary. Ethnic groups coming to the United States may enter at the bottom of society, but in time, they are able to rise to the middle class while losing their cultural distinctiveness on the way. Assimilation theory argues that, for an effective adaptation in the United States, immigrants should give up their native way of life and accept the American way of life (Kim, Kim, & Hurh, 1991, p. 243). While Blacks and other disadvantaged groups are recognized as presenting an anomaly to this simple model, they too are expected eventually to become totally assimilated, although at a slower pace.

However, assimilation theory has been criticized on many grounds including that it predicts change in one direction only and is thus not sensitive to certain historical events that might affect the process of assimilation. For example, the theory cannot explain the resurgence or revival of ethnicity during the 1960s; nor can it deal with possible increases in racial and ethnic polarization in the 1980s resulting from the country's economic problems and policies.

Theoretically, assimilation involves change in the basic structure of any two or more cultures that come into contact. These differing structures must act reciprocally as supplementing and symbolic elements to create a new cultural milieu in which a cultural fusion occurs. When the immigrants become assimilated, they share the culture of their adopted society with the dominant group, and they express themselves through the behavior system that characterizes the dominant group (Yu, 1982, p. 168).

In the case of the minority aged, the question of which perspective dominates the approach of social gerontology becomes crucial. As have been shown, many of the minority aged have an acute perception of their differences in relation to the rest of society. This perceived uniqueness rests not only upon an existing pattern of age, but also upon the cumulative experience of minority group membership, which has determined the course and direction of much of their lives prior to later life.

For the present study, the works of Milton Gordon (1964) and W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole (1945) seem to be most relevant. Warner and Srole asserted that the greater the racial and cultural differences between the immigrant populations and host societies, the greater will be the subordination of the immigrant group, the greater the strength of ethnic

solidarity of the immigrant group, and the longer the period necessary for the immigrant group's assimilation into the host society. Since the Korean Americans differ greatly from the "White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP)" group in racial and cultural composition, according to this proposition, the degree of subordination of most of the Korean immigrants will be great, their ethnic solidarity will be strong, and their assimilation will be a slow process. According to Warner and Srole, Korean Americans are also likely to be classified as "semi-castes" in the American ethnic ranking system.

F. Korean Elderly and Minority Aging Research

While aging is an experience common to all societies and its consequences are similar in social, economic, and health terms, significant differences across cultures and ethnic groups are evident (Andrews, 1989, p. 483). However, research in the area of ethnic minority aging is hampered by the lack of adequate data at both the national and local levels (Markides & Mindel, 1987). We do not even know with accuracy how many Korean elderly are in the United States since the United States census typically undercounts minority groups, particularly the elderly.

It was during the 1970s that minority aging research appeared to be recognized as a special area in social gerontology. Special conferences and publications on minority aging have emerged since the early 1970s. During that decade, several ethnic advocacy organizations also emerged to address the needs of neglected minority elderly such as Blacks, Hispanics, Pacific/Asian elderly, and Native Americans. Furthermore it should be also recognized that a variety of governmental efforts, although insufficient, were made during that period to improve the life conditions of minority elderly.

Although minority aging research has continuously grown in gerontology, many researchers are not content with the current state of accumulated knowledge on minority aged. They often point out that the state of knowledge on minority aging is very much underdeveloped (Bengtson, 1979). The lack of adequate data on such basic factors as health, mortality, and even the actual number of minority elderly makes research and service delivery problematic. Since service delivery programs often rely on census statistics, inadequacies in the statistics will affect the services.

There have been some attempts to take into account the needs of ethnic minority aged in the formulation of social policy. But the lack of adequate data creates the risk of introducing policies that are based on stereotypes rather than on real needs and problems (Bengtson, 1979).

There are many problems involved in the conducting of research on ethnic minorities. Ethnic minority research seems more difficult to carry out than research on the white majority (Burton & Bengtson, 1982). One research problem is the linguistic and cultural equivalence of the research instruments. The measures are typically developed using white populations. In many cases, the researchers must translate them into another language. They may use back-translation, which involves translating an instrument into a language and having a different person then translate it back into the original language. While this may sound simple enough, it is indeed a very difficult, laborious, and often frustrating process (Deutscher, 1973).

In addition to linguistic equivalence, the researchers must also establish cultural equivalence. The same word or phrase may have different meanings to persons from different cultural backgrounds. Many research measures in the field of aging are not even applicable to old people, let alone

ethnic minority aged. Even instruments specifically designed to be used with older people may have little utility with older members of ethnic minority groups.

Insufficient knowledge about languages and cultures of various ethnic groups make it difficult to work through various stages of research such as research design, questionnaire construction, and interviews. Moreover, even though research is an essential base for the provision of effective services to the ethnic elderly, it cannot begin until access into the communities is achieved. A reluctance on the part of minority communities to become involved in research itself, possibly reflecting their discontent with their victimized status, might also hamper the ability to successfully conduct research (Park, 1986). An inherent distrust of persons asking questions and seeking information can present insurmountable barriers that prevent researchers from obtaining adequate samples and essential data. These barriers against intrusion can be strongest in those persons who are the least assimilated to American culture and who feel they have the most to protect. Concurrently, these are also the persons who may be most in need of formal services (Cox, 1987, p. 165).

More general concerns in research on ethnic minority aging include the generalizability of findings, the separation of ethnic from class differences, and the lack of longitudinal studies. Much of the research on ethnic minorities has been conducted with populations in regions that are atypical of the general population of the given group. The San Diego cross-cultural studies of minority elderly, for example, gathered data by interview and intensive participant observation (Holzberg, 1982). However, in this study, little effort is devoted to the relevance of their customs and life-styles to the

aging process. No information on the role, status, and position of these elderly in their communities is presented. Moreover, there is also no discussion of how the various cultural patterns and unique ethnic characteristics discovered differ from those assumed to be operating in the wider society.

In 1981, intensive, semi-structured interviews were held with 50 elderly Korean immigrants (Kiefer et al., 1985, p. 478). The small sample was relatively culturally homogeneous (of the same stage of life, born and raised in the same traditional society, immigrated within the same decade, residing in the same urban environment) and theoretically relevant to the study of adaptation (elderly and experiencing a major cultural, linguistic, and geographic displacement over which they had little control). Under these circumstances, the use of intensive, descriptive case studies had one advantage (aside from cost) over a survey with a large sample: explanations of emerging relationships between quantified characteristics of the sample could easily be sought in repeated interpretations of the raw case material. If one is interested primarily in interventions within small populations who are culturally and situationally similar to the group under study, the method makes sense. This is especially true when the researchers have observed the public and private lives of their group for many years, thereby developing a sense of the patterns of the group's lives and an ability to identify deviance with some confidence.

While such studies are necessary, especially for identifying regional variations, the researchers must be careful not to generalize the findings to the total population of elderly in a given ethnic group. There is a definite need for large-scale studies using national samples. Studies covering all major ethnic groups are needed, as well as studies of a comparative nature to enable

the researchers better to identify ethnic or cultural differences in the process of aging.

One of the great difficulties facing researchers in the area of ethnicity and aging is that of separating differences due to ethnicity or cultural background from social class differences (Markides & Mindel, 1987). This is a problem, since ethnic minority aged are typically of lower social class than older whites. Thus, in many studies there are not enough cases of upper-middle- or even middle-class minority aged to enable statistical control of social class. What may even be more critical in many studies is the relative scarcity of lower-class older whites to be compared with poor minority elderly. This underscores the need for large and wide-ranging studies of ethnic and minority elderly.

So far, the underdevelopment of minority aging research and its probable reasons, and several tentative conclusions based upon existing knowledge of minority elderly have been discussed. In general, the elderly Korean immigrants appear to share the basic characteristics of other minority aged. However, considering the fact that substantial variations may exist among and within minority elderly populations, further investigation of some of the distinguishing features of the elderly Korean immigrants is needed. There is a need to recognize the lack of reliable demographic data on Korean-Americans and the paucity of research on various aspects of assimilation problems in immigrant life. Concrete proposals to stimulate specific areas of research, such as identification of barriers to the use of community services and means of overcoming them, must be made.

In conclusion, the conduct of social research in ethnic minority elderly is not a simple undertaking. In keeping with the high standards of social

inquiry that call for valid, reliable, and relevant research, the individual conducting research in minority communities must acknowledge and be sensitive to the unique issues involved. The current status of research about minority aging is still highly fragmented and inconclusive. More rigorous and sophisticated research is needed, including appropriate mixtures of cross-sectional and longitudinal studies of representative samples of various age cohorts over time. Minority aging should be merged within mainstream aging.

G. Research Questions

It has been noted that immigrants from Korea share similar demographic and socio-economic characteristics, such as their young age, urban background, relatively high preimmigration socio-economic status, and family immigration often accompanied by elderly parents. However, Korean immigrants are especially noted for having the highest educational background among all immigrant groups in the United States, wide geographic dispersion in settlement, a strong family support network, pervasive involvement in religion, proliferation of ethnic organizations, a low degree of assimilation, heavy concentration in small business, high achievement motives, thrift, and hard work.

Based on the literature review on the elderly Korean immigrants and their adjustment problems discussed above, several research questions for this study have been developed.

First, what are the socio-demographic characteristics and living arrangements of elderly Korean immigrants living in the Atlanta area? The literature does not provide any demographic data available for elderly Korean immigrants. Their living arrangements have not been investigated. Thus,

baseline data are needed to build the knowledge base on elderly Korean immigrants in the Atlanta area.

Six variables were explored to learn about the socio-demographic characteristics and living arrangements of elderly Korean immigrants: education, marital status, monthly income, living arrangement, length of residence, and religious affiliation.

Second, to what extent was degree of assimilation affected by characteristics of elderly Korean immigrants? Subquestions were as follows: (1) Which socio-demographic variables are significantly related to the degree of assimilation?; (2) Is there a relationship between informal services utilization and degree of assimilation?; (3) Is the utilization of formal services associated with degree of assimilation?; (4) Is there a relationship between ethnic attachment and degree of assimilation?; and, (5) What are the factors that most strongly affect the degree of assimilation of elderly Korean immigrants in the Atlanta area?

To identify factors which affect the degree of assimilation, nine variables were measured, including the six variables identified in the first research question. The variables added were informal service utilization, formal service utilization, and ethnic attachment.

Third, to what extent was degree of life satisfaction affected by characteristics of elderly Korean immigrants? Subquestions were as follows: (1) Which demographic variables are significantly related to the degree of life satisfaction?; (2) Is there a relationship between informal services utilization and degree of life satisfaction?; (3) Is the utilization of formal services associated with degree of life satisfaction?; (4) Is there a relationship between ethnic attachment and degree of life satisfaction?; (5) Is there a relationship

between assimilation and degree of life satisfaction?; (6) Is there an interaction between ethnic attachment and assimilation, as predicted by De Anda's model (1984) of bicultural socialization; and, (7) What are the factors that most strongly affect the degree of life satisfaction of elderly Korean immigrants in the Atlanta area?

To identify factors which affect the degree of life satisfaction, eleven variables were measured, including the nine variables identified in the second research question. The variables added were assimilation, and the interaction between assimilation and ethnic attachment.

H. Research Hypotheses

Based on the above research questions, each of independent variable is investigated related to each research question. The hypotheses of the proposed study are as follows:

Assimilation

- (1) Educational background is positively related to degree of assimilation. It is predicted that the more educated elderly have larger social networks and hence maintain more interaction with the host society.
- (2) Marital status is positively related to degree of assimilation. The elderly who live with their spouses have greater degree of assimilation. It is predicted that the marital relationship is a valued resource which could mitigate difficulties in adjusting to a host society as well as to the aging process.
- (3) Income is positively related to degree of assimilation. The higher the level of the immigrant's economic status, the higher the degree of assimilation will be. It is predicted that economic status has significant influence on the elderly's ability to associate with other people and to use formal organizations.

(4) Living arrangement is related to degree of assimilation. The elderly person who lives with his/her adult children will have a low degree of assimilation. It is predicted that, for those elderly who have problems with language, transportation, income, and health, a separate household from adult children is not likely to be established and maintained.

(5) Length of residence in the United States is positively related to degree of assimilation. It is generally expected that more knowledge of, and information on, a new environment will be gained with the passage of time. Therefore, the longer the immigrant's length of residence in the host society, the higher the degree of their assimilation becomes.

(6) Religious affiliation is positively related to degree of assimilation. It is assumed that churches are strong focal points for many social activities. The churches provide some degree of integration and coordination for divergent activities. Therefore, the participation in church services is related to a higher degree of assimilation.

(7) Informal service utilization is negatively related to degree of assimilation. It is assumed that strong family support induces elderly parents to seek needed services only within the confines of a family setting. In other words, it may prevent them from having more opportunities for mobility and more access to diverse information, and, therefore, a lower degree of assimilation.

(8) Formal service utilization is positively related to degree of assimilation. It is assumed that a higher level of formal service utilization will help them to have more opportunities for mobility and more access to diverse information, and, therefore, a higher degree of assimilation.

(9) Ethnic attachment is negatively related to degree of assimilation. It is assumed that the immigrants' progressive assimilation would induce their

regressive ethnic attachment. In other words, Korean immigrants' learning of the American way of life would require unlearning of their native culture, and increased social acceptance of Koreans by Americans would also entail a decrease in Koreans' association with their own ethnic group, or vice versa.

Life satisfaction

(10) Religious affiliation is positively related to degree of life satisfaction. A higher level of church participation will be related to a higher degree of life satisfaction. It is assumed that ethnic churches provide a variety of social and psychological functions as well as religious activities for Korean immigrants.

(11) Informal service utilization is positively related to degree of life satisfaction. It is generally assumed that strong family support would increase psychological satisfaction of aged parents.

(12) Formal service utilization is positively related to degree of life satisfaction. It is predicted that, by utilizing formal services, elderly Korean immigrants can maintain independent life without having assistance from their children, therefore, a higher degree of life satisfaction.

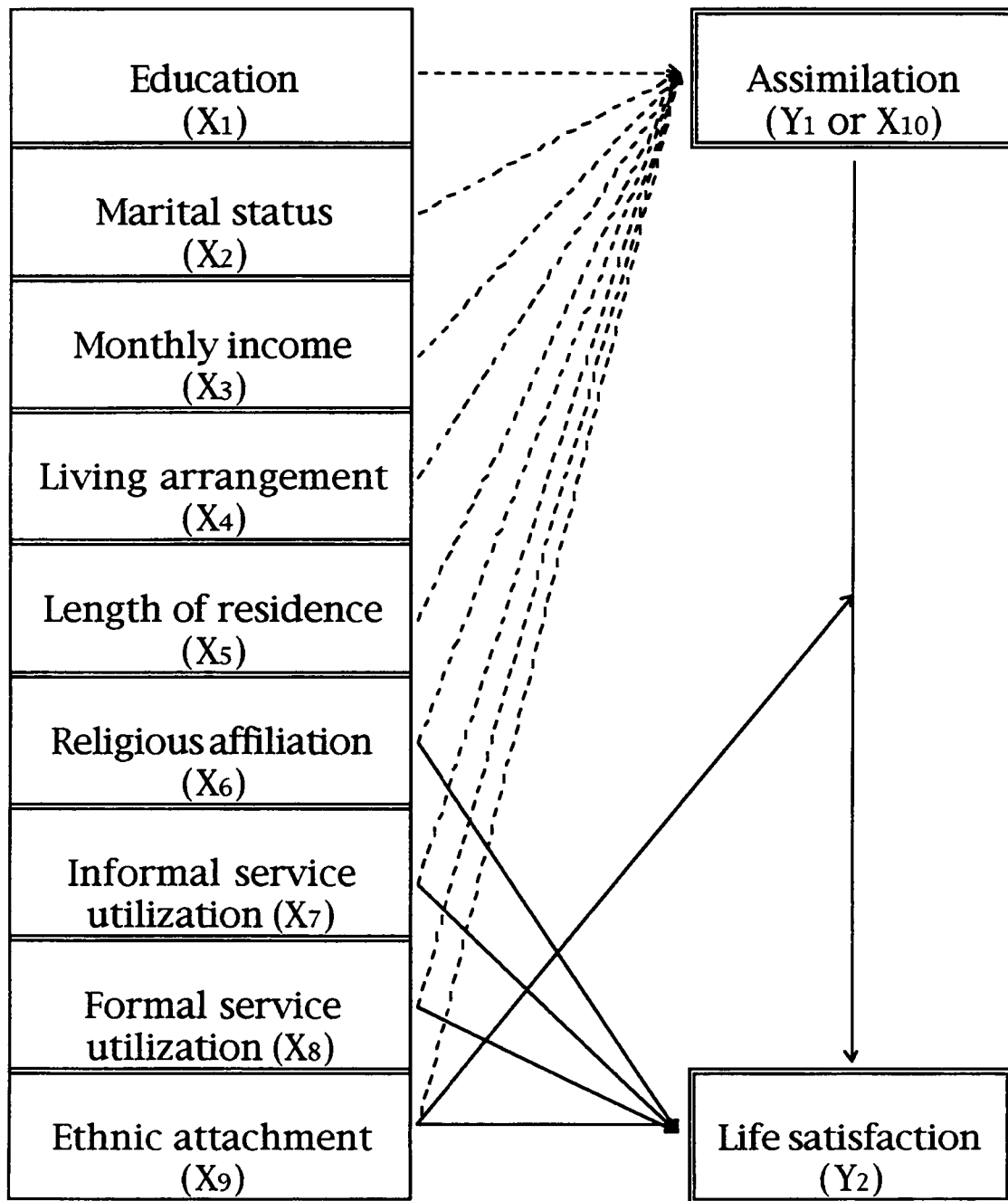
(13) Ethnic attachment is negatively related to degree of life satisfaction. According to assimilation theory, a higher degree of assimilation is related to a higher degree of life satisfaction. Since both perspectives, assimilation and ethnic attachment, are assumed to be mutually exclusive, a higher degree of ethnic attachment is related to a lower degree of life satisfaction.

(14) Assimilation is positively related to degree of life satisfaction. It is predicted that the immigrants' life satisfaction would include psychological adaptation as well as socio-economic achievement in the new country.

(15) There is a significant interaction between assimilation and ethnic attachment, and the interaction term is positive as predicted by cultural pluralism models.

I. Research Model

Figure 1 shows the research model describing the relationship between dependent variables and independent variables for this study.



Dashed lines indicate relationships between assimilation and each independent variable. Solid lines indicate relationships between life satisfaction and each independent variable.

Figure 1. Major variables related to assimilation and life satisfaction

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

A. Study Site, Subjects, and Sampling Procedures

Following the vast influx of Korean immigrants in the 70s and 80s, Korean ethnic communities have emerged in some large cities in the United States such as Los Angeles, New York, Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Chicago, and Atlanta, etc. A community is a group of people with some common identity and fellowship, within which there is communication and social interaction, but a community also consists of people who must be located in such a way that they can communicate (Hurh & Kim, 1984).

The Korean community in the United States is generally dispersed. It is different from communities like the Chinatown or Japanese-town in a large city where the communities have proximity and fixed geographic boundaries. There is also no centralized ethnic organization or leadership in the Korean communities. However, a variety of Korean communities exists in the United States, and the size and structure of each community vary according to environmental factors. Regardless of the size and nature of the community, each has its own history and structural pattern. The community system is complex, and a variety of social relations are maintained in order to meet the socio-psychological needs of Korean residents.

Ideally, a random sample of all Korean elderly population in the United States is desirable because it best reflects the issues and problems of the whole population. But in working with ethnic groups, recruiting a completely random sample can be a formidable if not impossible task (Cox, 1987, p. 176). Those who do agree to participate may differ significantly from

nonparticipants particularly in their degree of assimilation to the dominant culture. Moreover, there is nowhere available a complete list of all Korean elderly residents in the United States as would be necessary for drawing a random sample.

The sample of this study was drawn by the non-random sampling method. The Atlanta area was selected as an area sample. Atlanta was chosen as a research site mainly because of this researcher's familiarity and convenience. In addition, Atlanta has advantages for the purposes of the study over other cities in other parts of the United States. To a greater extent than most other American metropolitan areas, the Korean community in Atlanta has developed recently. The Korean sample in Atlanta may be ideal for examining the relationship between immigration and assimilation because most of its population consist of recent immigrants who are in the process of adjustment.

The largest Korean concentration in Atlanta is in the Buford Highway area of northeast Atlanta. Along main street, there are clusters of various Korean business operations such as restaurants, grocery stores, book stores, drug stores, and bakery, etc. Moreover, various kinds of ethnic social organizations for Korean-American population are concentrated in this area. The Korean Association of Greater Atlanta, the Korean Community Service Center, the Korean Chamber of Commerce of Atlanta, the Korean Senior Citizen's Association, the Atlanta Korean Lions Club, the Korean-American Youth Center and several Korean churches are all within this area. For the elderly Korean immigrants, residential proximity to a variety of ethnic business operations and service centers must be a main advantage of the area. It can be inferred that language and cultural barriers facing the elderly

Korean immigrants might be alleviated by easy access to Korean-owned stores, medical facilities, religious institutions and social service agencies.

The underestimation of the minority population in the United States Census data has often been cited as a serious problem confronting minority aging researchers. As shown earlier in Table 1, considering the problems of underenumeration in the Census data, the Korean population in the United States was reestimated to be 1,624,000 in 1990 (Korean Journal, Atlanta, 1995) compared with the 1990 Census count of 798,849. If the estimation made by the Korean-American Association is correct, the underenumeration rate of the Census data would be quite significant.

As stated earlier in Chapter II, Korean Americans represent a quite youthful population as compared with the total population and even with other Asian immigrants. Because of their recency of immigration, the youth constitutes a large proportion of the Korean Americans and the proportion of the Korean elderly is very small in comparison with that of the total elderly population in the United States. It is assumed that the Korean immigrant population in Atlanta is little over 40,000. If 5 percent of the total number of Korean-Americans in Atlanta are elderly Korean population, approximately 2,000 persons would be those over the age of 60. However, the actual size of Korean-Americans in Atlanta is still unknown.

Within the area selected, a combination of the purposive (judgmental) and systematic sampling was conducted as the most efficient type of sampling technique. Purposive sampling is a nonprobability sampling technique where investigators use their judgment and prior knowledge to choose people for the sample who would best serve the purposes of the study. And, systematic sampling is a type of simple random sampling wherein every k th element of

the sampling frame is selected for the sample (Judd, Smith & Kidder, 1991). In this sense, Korean elderly were selected in a random manner from the available membership lists of Korean ethnic associations, churches, and agencies. The basic assumption was made that the persons known to these programs did not differ significantly from other elderly Korean immigrants. With rapport established in the community and among the elderly, approximately 600 names were obtained.

However, for those who were not members of Korean ethnic associations, churches, and agencies, the possibility of being selected as a respondent was initially excluded. Therefore, to avoid bias from selecting only active people as the study subjects, snowball sampling technique was also employed. The respondents from the original sampling frame (members of Korean ethnic associations, churches, and agencies) were asked to introduce those who might be socially and geographically isolated. And, these referred individuals were contacted and met, if they agreed to participate in the study.

In this study, the Korean elderly individual was used as a unit of analysis. The target population was all Korean immigrants 60 or more years old residing in noninstitutional settings in the Atlanta area at the time of screening. Noninstitutional settings included houses, apartments, and mobile homes. Not included were hospitals, prisons, nursing homes, mental health facilities, and so forth.

A statistical power analysis was conducted to determine the sample size necessary to test the hypotheses of this study. It was determined that a sample size of 117 subjects was necessary to detect at least a medium effect size with $\alpha = .05$, and power = .80. A medium effect size indicated variance (R^2) accounted for equal to 13% (Cohen, 1988, p. 413), and for the present study an

effect smaller than this was not considered of practical or theoretical importance.

The sample size of this study was 120 and it represented 16.7 percent of the estimated count of 2,000 Korean elderly population in Atlanta area. The sample was skewed toward female respondents. Of the total of 120 respondents, 74 were female. However, the reason for the underrepresentation of male elderly population ($n=46$) was not clear. It should be recognized that the sampling technique adopted in this study may have systematically omitted those Korean elderly who are not exposed to the activities of the Korean community. As mentioned above, lists of names and addresses of the elderly were primarily obtained from the membership lists of Korean ethnic associations, churches, and agencies. Thus, for those who were not members of those organizations was initially restricted. Also, the elderly who did not have contacts with members of those organizations were likely to be excluded from the sampling frame.

The sampling of this study involves a number of limitations. However, it seems to have been the most effective method of sampling for the purposes of the study with the resources available to this researcher. The limitations may be acceptable in an exploratory study like this. Some of the sampling limitation involved in this study may be common to other studies on immigrant families in the United States.

B. Research Design

Assimilation patterns of immigrants can be studied in various ways, such as questionnaire surveys, document analyses, interviews, and participant observations. In this study on elderly Korean immigrants in the Atlanta area,

the cross-sectional survey approach was used in a correlational design. The purpose of the cross-sectional survey is to provide accurate quantitative descriptions that are generalizable to a designated target population.

The cross-sectional survey depends on accurate, reliable, and valid measures which are developed and pretested before their use. Questionnaire was used in this study. They are widely used and are frequently the central data-gathering strategy in survey research. Through the use of questionnaires, information was collected on phenomena such as people's attitudes, feelings, and past experiences, etc.

C. Data Collection

After the random selection of the elderly Korean subjects from the available membership lists of ethnic associations, churches, and agencies, the selected individuals were contacted on the phone requesting their cooperation. The purpose of the research, the usage of data, and confidentiality of responses were explained. And, if the person agreed to be interviewed, an appointment for a convenient time and place to conduct the interview was arranged. And, finally, these selected individuals were met by the researcher, except those who refuse to be met or who can not be reached due to various circumstances (wrong addresses, wrong telephone numbers, breaking appointments, etc.).

As stated before, the data for this study were obtained through questionnaire. Self-ratings of the scales have the advantage that the subject does not need to disclose sensitive information directly to the interviewer and, likewise, that interviewer personality and behavior do not influence test results. With elderly populations, however, self-administered scales may have

some drawbacks. Visual or motor impairments may prevent self-completion of a test. In some instances, language and format developed with a younger group in mind, may be unfamiliar or distasteful to the older individual. And, the tester cannot explain or clarify any of the items or protect against responses based on misunderstanding (Kane & Kane 1981, p. 77).

In practice, tests developed for self-administration are sometimes administered to elderly subjects in an interview format. Given the nature of the study respondents, therefore, it was reasonable that face-to-face contact based on a written questionnaire would be appropriate in contrast to other survey methods, such as telephone interviews or mail-in questionnaires.

In developing the instruments, attention was given to the relevancy, structure, and complexity of the questions. The items were culturally relevant to the populations so that inaccurate responses and interpretations of questions would not result. The design of the questions is also an important factor in the interview process. The use of closed categories, in conjunction with probing for further descriptions, can provide meaningful data while being more easily answered by the respondents.

In the questionnaire, the variables were divided into several classifications. Socio-demographic variables consist of questions about general and social characteristics such as age, marital status, educational background, income, health, length of residence, occupation, family size, living arrangement, and religion, etc. Socio-psychological variables consist of questions chiefly concerned with the adaptation to American culture, such as English competence, social contact, degree of service utilization, degree of ethnic attachment, and degree of life satisfaction, etc.

The questionnaire was revised after a pretest of ten selected respondents in Knoxville, Tennessee. The subjects were encouraged to comment freely about the questions themselves, as well as about the issues they addressed. The pretest was very helpful in getting a sense of how elderly people respond to the questions. It suggested necessary or desirable changes in wording, format, or layout; identified ineffective questions that should be deleted; and uncovered new issues to which additional questions should be addressed.

Since survey research was almost totally dependent on question wording, terms and phrases were carefully selected that were understandable to the older person and the print was large enough for the respondent to read easily. The scale was highly weighted concerning verbal preference, and construct and content validities were considered. While construct validity is the degree to which a measure relates to other variables as expected within a system of theoretical relationships, content validity is the degree to which a measure covers the range of meanings included within the concept (Judd, Smith & Kidder, 1991). Most of the items were placed on either simple yes-no type of questions or Likert type of scales which were composed of five point continuum.

The questionnaire was developed in English and then translated into Korean. To maintain the conceptual equivalence and the validity of the questionnaire, the back translation procedure was performed. During this procedure, the items which did not fit the subjects' social and cultural norms were eliminated or modified.

D. Measurement

The structured questionnaire was developed to collect data for all the variables analyzed in this study. The questionnaire was composed of five subscales as well as questions about general socio-demographic information.

In order to measure elderly Korean immigrants' assimilation and life satisfaction in American life as related to socio-demographic characteristics, informal and formal services utilization, and ethnic attachment in the United States, I developed and utilized the items from twelve different scales which were the Commission on Aging Survey (COAS), the West Virginia University Gerontology Center Scale (WVUGCS), the Korean Immigrants Survey in Los Angeles (KISLA) (Hurh & Kim, 1984), the Korean Elderly Survey in New York (KESNY) (Koh, 1983), the OARS Social Resource Scale and the OARS Mental Health Screening Questions (OARS) (Duke University Center for the Study of Aging and Human Development, 1978), the Family APGAR (APGAR) (Smilkstein, 1978), the Mutual Support Index (MSI) (Kerckhoff, 1965), the Filial Piety Scale (FPS) (Ho & Lee, 1974), the Contentment Index (CI) (Bloom & Blenkner, 1970), the Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale (PGCMS) (Lawton, 1972), the Life Satisfaction Index (LSI) (Havighurst, Neugarten, & Tobin, 1961), and the Memorial University of Newfoundland Scale of Happiness (MUNSH) (Kozma & Stones, 1980).

The OARS Social Resource Scale which is a part of the OARS Multidimensional Functional Assessment Questionnaire is perhaps the best-known general measure of social functioning for the elderly. The questions elicit information about family structure, patterns of friendship and visiting, availability of a confidant, and availability of a helper. On the basis of the responses to the questions, the interviewer rates the social resources of the

individual according to a six-point scale. The OARS Mental Health Screening has roots in the Minnesota Multiphasic Screening Examination (MMPI). It is composed of fifteen simple yes-no type of questions and also a part of longer OARS schedule administered by personal interview.

The Family APGAR is composed of five questions and the validity of the scale has been tested by comparing the scores of the small group of subjects. The family member is asked to check his or her satisfaction with each item on a 0-2 scale. The Mutual Support Index involves six simple questions on exchange of help across generations. In answering the questions, the respondent refers to all of his or her children as a category and possible scores on each item range from 0 to 2. The Contentment Index is composed of ten questions and it is to measuring well-being for the community-based elderly. This scale is useful for measuring the effect of a community-based program.

The Filial Piety Scale is composed of twenty-two items and some items are utilized to measure the elderly Korean immigrants' beliefs on filial piety. The respondents are required to indicate some form of agreement or disagreement with each item. The Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale contains twenty-two dichotomous items and it is the major multidimensional measure of subjective well-being developed for the elderly. Test-retest reliabilities have been reported with overall coefficients of .75 and .80.

The Life Satisfaction Index is to measure life satisfaction in a way "relatively independent of level of activity or social participation" (Neugarten, Havighurst, & Tobin 1961, p. 135). It is composed of twenty-two questions which is the measure of subjective well-being that have received the most serious attention from researchers. It is administered either in

interview or self-completed questionnaire. The Memorial University of Newfoundland Scale of Happiness has twenty-four items and demonstrated a relatively high degree of internal consistency (Crombach's Alpha = .853) and also a high temporal stability (test-retest stability = 0.70). Some items of the MUNSH scale were adopted as an adequate supplementary tool, especially for measuring the life satisfaction of those elderly Korean immigrants whose length of residence in the United States was relatively extensive.

In addition, a series of socio-demographic questions, which were comprised of two parts, that was, general demographic information, and the information on financial status and living arrangement, were utilized from above scales to describe the study subjects. Some questions which were not directly related to this study topic were also included to be used in further data analysis if necessary.

Reliability coefficients based on the internal consistency of items for all the scales used in this study are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6. Reliability coefficients of the scales (n=120)

Scales	Number of items	Mean	Standard deviation	Alpha
Informal Service Utilization	20	73.40	10.15	.8558
Formal Service Utilization	50	63.18	6.33	.8539
Ethnic Attachment	10	32.92	5.36	.6360
Assimilation	20	48.91	14.07	.9375
Life Satisfaction	20	69.92	15.11	.9388

1. Demographic and living arrangement information

The socio-demographic factors (variables) were divided for the purpose of determining the relationship between each factor and degree of assimilation in the following manner: (1) Age was measured by the actual age of the respondents; (2) Gender was dichotomized such that male is coded 1 and female is coded 2; (3) Health was measured by the self-rated health status in a 5 point Likert scale; (4) Marital status was also dummy coded such that the elderly who lived with their spouses were 2 and those who didn't were 1; (5) The educational level was measured by the number of years of formal education received in Korea and other countries. Twelve school years was counted for those who graduated from high school; 16 for those who had bachelor's degree; 18 for master's degree, and so on; (6) Income was measured by the self-rated family monthly income in dollars and whether income was viewed as adequate by the respondents; (7) Living arrangement was dichotomized such that the elderly who lived with their children were coded 2 and those who lived alone or with spouse were coded 1; (8) Length of residence was measured by the total years of residence in the United States; and (9) Religion was coded 2 for Christians who attended church services regularly and 1 for others.

2. Informal services utilization

The degree of informal service utilization was measured by the frequency of contact and feeling of closeness between the respondents and children, grandchildren, relatives, friends, and neighbors. Family help patterns were measured by the flow of assistance between the generations in the provision of financial aid, health care, and emotional support.

The scale consisted of twenty items and twelve items were selected and modified from different previous scales: seven items were selected and modified from the OARS Social Resources Scale; each of the two items was adapted from both the Family APGAR and the Korean Elderly Survey in New York; and one item was drawn from the Contentment Index. The remaining eight items were developed by the researcher. It was a subjective evaluation about their degrees of informal service utilization and all items were arranged in a 5 point Likert scale.

3. Formal services utilization

The degree of formal service utilization was measured by the respondents' awareness of formal services, their use of formal services, and their participation of various community organizations. The degree of community involvement was measured by the number of organizational membership that the respondents had. In addition, transportation and medical care needs were identified.

The scale consisted of ten items. In order to formulate a single scale of formal services utilization, items from two different previous scales were combined: five items were selected from the OARS Social Resources Scale; and two items were drawn from the Korean Elderly Survey in New York. The remaining three items were developed by the researcher. It was also a subjective evaluation about their degrees of formal service utilization and the awareness and the experience of using formal services were identified by a simple "yes" or "no."

4. Ethnic attachment

The degree of ethnic attachment was measured by the proportion of elderly Korean immigrants who: were exposed to Korean mass media; maintained close social relations with Koreans; and, expressed strong attachment to the Korean culture and identity. The scale consisted of ten items and four items were selected and modified from the Korean Immigrants Survey in Los Angeles. The remaining six items were developed by the researcher. It was also a subjective evaluation about their degrees of ethnic attachment and the responses of the items were coded as 1 for "Strongly agree (Not at all)," 2 for "agree (Almost not at all)," 3 for "No opinion (Once in a while)," 4 for "Disagree (Often)," and 5 for "Strongly disagree (Always)". The negatively stated questions were reversed for scoring.

5. Assimilation

The degree of assimilation was measured by behavioral and attitudinal indices such as exposure to American mass media, English proficiency, maintenance of relationship with Americans, and adaptation to the American life and culture. The scale consisted of twenty items and eleven items were selected and modified from the Korean Immigrants Survey in Los Angeles. The remaining nine items were developed by the researcher.

The degree of immigrants' exposure to American mass media consisted of four items and two of them were selected from the Korean Immigrants Survey in Los Angeles. One of the most important variables affecting cultural adaptation is language. English proficiency was measured by the respondents' ability to speak, read, write, and understand English. It consisted of five items and three of them were selected from the Korean Immigrants Survey in Los

Angeles. It was a subjective evaluation about their English ability, and the responses of the items were ranged from (1) "Not at all," (2) "Almost not at all," (3) "About a half (Once in a while)," (4) "Moderately well (Often)," and (5) "Fluently (Always)." For measuring adaptation of the American culture and maintenance of relationship with Americans, eleven items were utilized and seven of them were selected from the Korean Immigrants Survey in Los Angeles. All items were placed on a Likert scale.

6. Life satisfaction

Life satisfaction can be defined as an attitude that individuals have about their lives in the past, present, and future. On the other hand, Campbell et al. (1979) defined life satisfaction as the overall conditions of one's life derived from a comparison of one's aspirations with one's actual achievements. Since this study focused its major attention on the process of elderly Korean immigrants' adaptation, the immigrants' subjective rating of their current life in relation to their past and future life appeared to be an important variable that may be associated with the degree of assimilation. This study concerned elderly Korean immigrants who may anticipate disorders in the future due to the present personal and situational vulnerability, and, therefore, the measurement of general life satisfaction was considered pertinent.

The scale consisted of twenty items and all items were selected from several different previous scales: eight items were selected from the Memorial University of Newfoundland Scale of Happiness; six items were adapted from OARS Mental Health Screening Questions; and each of three items was drawn from both the Korean Immigrants Survey in Los Angeles and the Philadelphia

Geriatric Center Morale Scale. It was also a subjective evaluation about their degrees of life satisfaction and all items were arranged in a 5 point ordinal format. For those negatively stated questions, the scores were reversely coded.

E. Data Analysis

The data analysis was composed of three stages. The first was coding the survey responses. The response of each item was placed in the appropriate category. The second stage was tabulating the data. The third stage was performing statistical computations through the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) programs. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences was used widely in the field of social sciences and included most statistical procedures used in these fields.

Descriptive statistics such as frequency distributions, measures of central tendency and variation were utilized to describe the socio-demographic characteristics and living arrangements of the elderly Korean respondents. To analyze the relationships between degree of informal and formal services utilization, degree of ethnic attachment, degree of assimilation, degree of life satisfaction as well as socio-demographic variables, multiple regression techniques were primarily employed to predict the value of criterion (dependent) variables from the values of predictor (independent) variables.

For multiple regression analysis, it was recommended that all the variables, especially dependent variables, be continuous. An ordinal or interval level of measurement was maintained for most of the variables, which can be treated as continuous variables. To insert nominal scale variables into a

regression equation, a set of dummy variables was created for some variables such as gender, marital status, religion, and living arrangement.

One of the first steps in calculating an equation with several independent variables was to calculate a correlation matrix for all variables, since this study needed techniques that can simultaneously consider and display the relationships among a large set of variables. The multiple regression model was analyzed by multiple correlation techniques in order to observe direct and indirect relationships. A correlation coefficient r between each pair of variables was calculated, once the data on each of a number of variables were collected. Since so many coefficients were possible among a large set of variables, coefficients were arranged in the form of a correlation matrix.

For testing the hypotheses in this study, simultaneous multiple regression analysis was used to account how much variance in dependent variable is explained by a combination of the independent variables.

Through these statistical procedures, the research hypotheses were testified. From the results of this research, it becomes possible to find the variables which affect the elderly Korean immigrants' assimilation and life satisfaction. Therefore, this study can be used to help elderly Korean immigrants adjust to a new society more effectively.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The data for this study were gathered in Atlanta, Georgia. Since comprehensive information on names and addresses of all elderly Korean immigrants in Atlanta was not available at the time of the study, a purposive sampling approach was used. Of the total of approximately 600 elderly Korean immigrants on a list of two different senior housing locations, a directory of the Korean senior citizen's association of Atlanta, and membership lists of Korean ethnic churches, a sample size of 150 was originally planned based on power considerations. A systematic sampling method was used to select one out of every four names from the original list of 600 elderly Korean immigrants for this study.

Interviews were usually conducted by the author at the Korean senior citizen's college, in Korean ethnic churches, and in respondent's homes. Interviews were conducted when the adult children of the elder were not present. Each questionnaire item was presented verbally in Korean, as it was apparent that some participants would have difficulty reading and understanding the questionnaire items. Participants responded to items verbally, and their responses were recorded on the questionnaire by the author. This procedure enabled the investigator to initiate open conversation with the elderly respondents, particularly on issues about relationships with their children. Seven interviews were administered by telephone, since the study subject was unable to tell the investigator the location of their residence.

A total of 160 elderly Korean immigrants were ultimately selected to be interviewed by the author and each interview lasted about an hour. The data

were collected during the period from August to October, 1996. However, 27 of the selected immigrants could not be reached due to incorrect addresses and/or telephone numbers. In 13 other cases, the data turned out to be useless because the respondents did not respond to some of the most important survey questions. As a result, the final sample size was 120 respondents.

A. Characteristics of The Study Subjects

There has been no previous research on elderly Korean immigrants in Atlanta. The following sections present results on respondents' demographic characteristics and living arrangements, followed by a presentation of findings pertaining to their informal service utilization, formal service utilization, ethnic attachment, degree of assimilation, and life satisfaction.

1. Socio-demographic characteristics

The ages of respondents ranged from 60 to 85 years. The mean age of all respondents was 68.8 (SD=6.09). The mean age of males was 69 (SD=5.66), which was slightly higher than that of females (mean=68.7, SD=6.37). 60 percent (n=72) of the respondents were in the younger age category of 60 to 70 years old. The gender distribution of the respondents revealed more females (62%, n=74) than males (38%, n=46). Unfortunately, this gender distribution failed to meet the original plan to sample an equal number of males and females. Table 7 shows the frequencies of males and females in several age categories for this study.

Table 7. Age distribution of respondents by gender

Age	Male		Female		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
60-64	11	23.9	24	32.4	35	29.2
65-69	17	37.0	20	27.0	37	30.8
70-74	10	21.7	14	18.9	24	20.0
75-79	6	13.0	12	16.2	18	15.0
80-84	2	4.3	3	4.0	5	4.2
85+	0	0	1	1.4	1	0.8
Total Respondents	46	100	74	100	120	100

Marital status differed sharply between elderly men and women. Among males, 83 percent (n=38) were married, while only 46 percent (n=34) of females were married. Married males outnumbered married females by nearly 2 to 1. Similarly, unmarried females outnumbered unmarried males by more than 3 to 1. The high proportion of female widows (45.9%) to male widowers (15.2%) was likely attributable to the common pattern that females were likely to have married a male older than themselves, hence to have survived longer. Another possible reason for this result is that females tend not to remarry because of cultural constraints and that females live longer than males. Elderly Korean females are in great demand for helping with household chores, baby-sitting, cooking, cleaning, and caring for their children. Thus, they can easily come to the United States to join their children after they have become widows. The female elderly may remain unmarried because of the relatively short supply of available men from whom to choose a marital partner. Table 8 gives a breakdown of marital status by gender.

Table 8. Marital status of respondents by gender

Marital Status	Male		Female		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Married	38	82.6	34	45.9	72	60.0
Widowed	7	15.2	34	45.9	41	34.2
Divorced	1	2.2	4	5.4	5	4.2
Single	0	0	2	2.7	2	1.6
Total Respondents	46	100	74	100	120	100

Health was measured by self-rated health status based on the respondent's perception and evaluation of his or her overall health. Table 9 shows respondents' self-reported health status.

Table 9. Self-rated health status of respondents

Health	n	%
Excellent	24	20.0
Good	33	27.5
Fair	39	32.5
Not good	24	20.0
Poor	0	0
Total Respondents	120	100

In social gerontology, subjective health ratings have often been used because they are easy to obtain and have shown a significant relationship to the ratings of physicians (Maddox & Douglass, 1973). Almost half of the respondents (47.5%) reported their health status in positive terms, rating their

health as either excellent or good. The remaining 52.5 percent of the respondents rated their health less favorably, rating it as fair or not good. Only one third of respondents (33.3%) had some kind of health or medical insurance. Two thirds of them were not covered by either health insurance or Medicaid.

Respondents had an average of 3.8 (SD=1.67) children. In general, over half of the respondents (55%) indicated they had 4 or more children as sources of potential help. Since the majority of respondents had several living children and many actual and potential grandchildren, it was reasonable to assume that Korean elderly without any linkage to their children in the United States were less likely to immigrate. Also, the elderly Korean immigrants did not expect to be isolated from their children or grandchildren. Table 10 gives a breakdown of the number of respondents' children.

Table 10. Prevalence of children of respondents

Number of children	n	%
1	5	4.2
2-3	49	40.8
4-5	46	38.3
6-7	17	14.2
8	3	2.5
Total Respondents	120	100

The educational levels attained by respondents in Korea and elsewhere are presented in Table 11. As indicated in the Table, the educational attainment of respondents showed marked differences between males and females. About

53 percent of males in the sample had attained a high school education or less, while about 77 percent females in the sample had attained a high school education or less. Over 45 percent (n=21) of male respondents had been exposed to at least some college education, while only 22 percent (n=16) of female respondents reported any college education. On the other hand, 10 percent (n=7) of female respondents had no education at all, while all male respondents had at least some formal education.

Table 11. Educational attainment of respondents by gender

Education	Male		Female		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
No schooling	0	0	7	10.0	7	6.0
Elementary school	5	11.0	17	24.3	22	19.1
Junior high	9	20.0	14	20.0	23	20.0
High	10	22.2	16	22.9	26	22.6
Some college	8	17.8	8	11.4	16	13.9
B.A.	9	20.0	5	7.1	14	12.2
M.A.	3	6.7	3	4.2	6	5.2
Ph.D.	1	2.2	0	0	1	0.9
Total Respondents	45	100	70	100	115	100

The wide discrepancy in educational attainment between the two gender groups reflected traditional Korean customs which prohibit girls from obtaining a formal education. Five respondents chose the "no answer" option for their highest educational attainment and they did not specify what this meant. These findings suggest that some of the respondents may not have

accurately reported their actual conditions or were too embarrassed to report that they had no formal educational background.

The respondents' individual incomes were difficult to obtain, hence family income was computed and is reported in Table 12.

Table 12. Monthly income of respondents

Income	n	%
Less than \$300	8	6.7
\$300-\$599	56	46.7
\$600-\$999	26	21.7
\$1000-\$1499	20	16.7
\$1500-\$1999	6	5.0
\$2000-\$2999	1	0.8
\$3000 and over	3	2.5
Total Respondents	120	100

Except for respondents living apart from children, the respondents reported their children's earnings as part of their total income. The median income of the respondents was \$500 per month. Many elderly Americans consistently fall below the income levels of other age groups in the adult population. According to the findings of this study, the elderly Korean immigrants were no exception. About half of the respondents (51.7%) had an annual income of \$6,000 or less, which placed them below poverty level. Furthermore, the income situation of elderly Korean immigrants seemed somewhat different from those of elderly Americans. While many American elderly have Social Security benefits, private pension funds, or private assets,

most elderly Korean immigrants do not possess these resources. Most elderly Korean immigrants have to rely either on their children or on formal sources of help, such as Supplemental Security Income, Food stamps, etc., for economic support.

For nearly half of the respondents (49.2%), their major source of income was their children. The next most important source of income was Supplemental Security Income (SSI), which was listed by about 45 percent of respondents. Food stamps were an important source of income for about 25 percent of the respondents. This relatively high proportion of welfare recipients indicated the importance of financial support from government sources for these respondents. Table 13 shows respondents' sources of income.

Table 13. Sources of income of respondents

Sources of Income		n	%
Job		33	27.5
Children		59	49.2
Private pension funds or assets		7	5.8
Government	Social Security	30	25
	SSI	54	44.2
	Food Stamp	30	25

Note: More than one source may be indicated.

As mentioned earlier, the exact amounts and sources of income among the respondents were difficult to obtain. But one can assume that elderly Korean immigrants are getting both cash and in-kind services from their children, because they could hardly survive without their children's support

and/or government subsidies. Only a little more than one fourth of the respondents (27.5%) had a job at the time of this study and the majority were completely retired. As new immigrants, the majority of Korean elderly respondents were dependent on others for financial support.

As a measure of perceived income adequacy, respondents were asked to subjectively evaluate the sufficiency of their monthly income. As shown in Table 14, less than one third of the respondents (29.2%) expressed satisfaction (somewhat or very satisfied) with their monthly income, while about one fifth of the respondents (19.1%) expressed dissatisfaction (somewhat or very dissatisfied). Substantial differences were observed between male and female respondents in the proportion of those who were satisfied with their current monthly income. A relatively higher proportion of male (41.3%) than female respondents (21.6%) expressed a satisfaction with the monthly income.

Table 14. Income satisfaction of respondents by gender

Income Satisfaction	Male		Female		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Very satisfied	3	6.5	2	2.7	5	4.2
Somewhat satisfied	16	34.8	14	18.9	30	25.0
Fair	17	37.0	45	60.8	62	51.7
Somewhat dissatisfied	8	17.3	11	14.9	19	15.8
Very dissatisfied	2	4.3	2	2.7	2	3.3
Total Respondents	46	100	74	100	120	100

Religious participation among the elderly Korean immigrants seemed to be an important part of life in the United States. As shown in Table 15, a great majority of the respondents (95.8%) reported religious beliefs, and about 85

percent were affiliated with Christian churches of various denominations. A little over 6 percent of respondents reported themselves as Buddhist. Religious participation thus appeared to be one of the integral parts of the Korean immigrants' life in the United States.

Table 15. Religion of respondents

Religion	n	%
Protestant	84	70.0
Catholic	19	15.8
Buddhism	8	6.7
Confucianism	2	1.7
Other	2	1.7
No Religion	5	4.2
Total Respondents	120	100

Elderly Korean immigrants seemed to participate in church activities for a number of reasons. They participated not only to continue their religious beliefs, but also to meet socio-cultural needs by sharing intimate communal bonds together with their ethnic friends and relatives from Korea. Active involvement in the church and other religious activities may be extremely valuable as such religious involvement can create social acceptance and approval as minority elderly may feel a great need to belong. The high incidence of Christians in the sample seemed to be a function of the high proportion of Christian groups among Korean immigrants, and also of the sample collection process which relied in part on churches.

The respondents' length of residence in the United States ranged from 1 year to 32 years. No one in the sample was born in the United States. 50 percent of the respondents have lived in the United States eleven years or less. The average length of residence among the respondents was 13 years (SD=6.5). Table 16 gives a breakdown of respondents' length of residence by gender.

Table 16. The respondents' length of residence in the United States

Length of residence	Male		Female		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
1 year or less	1	2.1	2	2.7	3	2.5
2 to 3 years	2	4.3	3	4.0	5	4.2
4 to 5 years	1	2.1	2	2.7	3	2.5
6 to 10 years	14	30.4	23	31.1	37	30.8
11 to 15 years	13	28.2	25	33.8	38	31.7
16 to 20 years	7	15.2	9	12.2	16	13.3
21 to 30 years	7	15.2	10	13.5	17	14.2
31 years or more	1	2.1	0	0	1	0.8
Total Respondents	46	100	74	100	120	100

2. Living arrangements

Type of living arrangement has been considered a primary factor in explaining diverse aspects of aging. Since the majority of elderly Korean immigrants were invited by their adult children to come to the United States, there were no Korean elders who did not have at least one adult child. Cohabitation with children represented a common living arrangement for the elderly Korean immigrants. Of the 120 respondents, little less than one half of

them reported living in the same household with their minor and/or married children, while a little more than one half lived in a household separate from their children. Table 17 describes the living arrangement of respondents by gender.

Table 17. Living arrangement of respondents by gender

Living Arrangement		Male		Female		Total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Living with children		22	47.8	36	48.6	58	48.3
Separate households from children	Within walking distance	9	19.6	16	21.6	25	20.8
	Within 1 hour drive	8	17.4	14	18.9	22	18.3
	1-2 hours drive	2	4.3	3	4	5	4.2
	2-5 hours drive	2	4.3	1	1.4	3	2.5
	Within 1 day drive	1	2.2	3	4.1	4	3.3
	More than 1 day drive	2	4.3	1	1.4	3	2.5
	Overseas	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Respondents		46	100	74	100	120	100

Residential proximity between aged parents and adult children allows continued close contact and mutual aid within an extended family system. As Table 17 revealed, almost half of the respondents' children (48.3%) shared households with their parents, and another one fourth (20.8%) lived within walking distance. Close to 90 percent of the respondents (87.5%) were living with their children or within a 1 hour drive, which implied they lived in the Atlanta area.

It was also pointed out that the prevalence of a cohabitation arrangement for the study subjects could be explained by the traditional Korean norm of the extended family, by the children's need for the help of elderly parents in baby-sitting, housekeeping, etc., and by the relatively lower income levels of the aged. All of these factors, except the first one, strongly suggested that a substantial proportion of the aged might live together with their children not by choice but rather by necessity. This possibility seemed to be supported by the data. Only a little more than one third of the total sample (34.2%, n=41) agreed with the view that an elderly parent should live together with their children, while one half of the respondents (48.3%, n=58) actually did so. These results suggested that as long as parents are healthy and want an independent residence, adult children should help them establish one. Independent residences can offer a viable solution to stressful intergenerational relationships in Korean immigrant families.

As a reflection of the prevalence of the cohabitation arrangement, respondents tended to maintain close proximity to, and frequent contacts with, at least one of their children. For the elderly residing with their adult children, the children may provide elderly parents with emotional support and a variety of instrumental services such as housing, food, transportation, nursing, and linkages with the bureaucracy. Faced with crisis situations, immediate care is more available for the elderly living with their children than for those living apart.

As mentioned earlier, with regard to preference on living arrangements, a wide majority of respondents (65.8%) preferred to live in separate households, while a little more than one third (34.2%) preferred to live with their children. Among those who have joint households, almost one-

half of them would prefer to move out of their children's houses, while among those who have separate households, only 5 percent of them wanted to move into their children's households. The availability of public support programs for the elderly in the United States, such as Supplementary Security Income (SSI), Medicaid, rent subsidies, and the like, made it feasible to contemplate living apart from adult children. Above all, adequate levels of income and health status appeared to be prerequisites for establishing and maintaining a separate household.

As the length of residence in the United States increases, the probability that an elderly Korean immigrant maintains a separate household increases. Three possible reasons exist for this relationship. With the passage of time in the new environment, the Korean elderly become more socialized into Western norms and ideas. There may also be an increase in the knowledge of, and information on, the host society, particularly information on available social services which can be used to assist in establishing and maintaining a separate household. Furthermore, they become more likely to encounter social as well as physical inconveniences and threats to independence and autonomy that are associated with a cohabitation arrangement. All of these factors imply a negative relationship between length of residence and the presence of a joint household with adult children.

For the reader's convenience, selected socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents in this study are summarized in Table 18.

Table 18. Summary of socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

Variables	Characteristics
Gender	male (38%, n=46), female (62%, n=74).
Age	range: 60-85 years, mean: 68.8 (69 for male; 68.7 for female). 60-64 (29.2%); 65-69 (30.8%); 70-74 (20%); 75-79 (15%); 80-84 (4.2%); 85 and over (0.8%).
Marital status	married: 82.6% (n=38) for male; 45.9% (n=34) for female. widowed: 15.2% (n=7) for male; 45.9% (n=34) for female. divorced: 2.2% (n=1) for male; 5.4% (n=4) for female. never married: 0% (n=0) for male; 2.7% (n=2) for female.
Education	average: "high school graduate" for male; "completed junior high" for female. mean: 10.5 years.
Monthly income	range: \$0 - \$6000, median: \$500 per person.
Number of children in U.S.	average: 3.8 (minimum of 1 to maximum of 8).
Living arrangement	living with children: 48.3% (n=58); separate households from children: 51.7% (n=62).
Length of residence	range: 6 months to 32 years, mean: 13 years.
Religion	Protestant (70%, n=84); Catholic (15.8%, n=19); Buddhism (6.7%, n=8); Confucianism (1.7%, n=2); other (1.7%, n=2); no religion (4.2%, n=5).

3. Informal services utilization

Data related to frequency of contacts with relatives, friends, and neighbors are presented in Table 19. Among the three types of non-family relations, friendship ties comprised the most viable relational ties for the elderly Korean immigrants. 55 percent of the respondents met with friends frequently, whereas only three respondents (2.5%) did not have any contact at all with their peers.

Table 19. Frequency of contacts with relatives, friends, and neighbors

Frequency of contacts	Relatives		Friends		Neighbors	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Very often	19	15.8	27	22.5	9	7.5
Often	35	29.2	39	32.5	40	33.3
Fair	61	50.8	39	32.5	53	44.2
Not often	5	4.2	10	8.3	13	10.8
Not at all	0	0	3	2.5	5	4.2
Total Respondents	120	100	118	98.3	120	100

Filial support is the primary force in the lives of Korean elderly parents, especially among the newly arrived immigrants who came to live with their children in the United States. Even though aged parents live in separate households from their adult children, familial relationships are expected to be strong, offering mutual help in time of need.

As mentioned earlier, all of respondents in this study reported they had at least one child, but close to 90 percent of them indicated they had two or more children. While the prevalence of children, proximity, and frequency of contacts are important indices of the relationship between an elderly parent

and his/her adult child, qualitative aspects of this relationship, such as degree of closeness or strength of feelings are perhaps even more revealing. A substantial number of female respondents (64.8%), but more male respondents (71.7%), reported that they had close (very close or somewhat close) relationships with their adult children. Only a small portion of female respondents (8.1%), and even fewer male respondents (6.5%), indicated that their relationships with their children were not close. In the judgment of respondents, relationships with their children were viewed as close and cohesive. Table 20 shows respondents' degree of closeness to their children.

Table 20. Relationship of respondents to children by gender

Relationship	Male		Female		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Very close	19	41.3	30	40.5	49	40.8
Somewhat close	14	30.4	18	24.3	32	26.7
Fair	10	21.7	20	27	30	25
Not close	3	6.5	6	8.1	9	7.5
Not at all close	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Respondents	46	100	74	100	120	100

The general conclusion to be drawn from these data was that most of the elderly Korean immigrants were well integrated into the family. Although proximity and relationship measures do not totally reflect the qualitative aspects of family integration, the above findings may indicate that the minority aged have relatively stronger family bonds than other aged groups.

4. Formal services utilization

Socio-demographic changes in contemporary societies have created new constraints on the role of the family support network in caring for the aged. The family can no longer remain as an exclusive source of support for the aged, primarily due to the dramatic increase of the elderly population, decrease of the number of children, and the expanded role of women outside of the home. The growth of formal service organizations and diversified service programs can be viewed as a response to these socio-demographic transformations.

Detailed information about awareness and utilization of social services is presented in Table 21. As shown in the Table, more than half of the sample respondents were aware of Social Security, Supplemental Security Income (SSI), Medicare, Medicaid, and Food stamps. Numerous studies have shown that, for minority elderly, levels of service awareness and utilization were very low in proportion to their service needs. This was also found to be true in the sample of elderly Korean immigrants in Atlanta. However, almost all of the respondents had utilized at least one kind of service.

The best known services reported by the respondents were, in rank order, SSI (67.5%), Medicare (66.7%), Social Security (65%), Medicaid (65%), and Food Stamps (60.8%). It was clear that the use of formal services by respondents was affected by their awareness of their existence. As shown in Table, there was strong evidence of congruence between awareness and utilization in the above five specific service areas. Undoubtedly, when respondents were driven by need, they tended to uncover and utilize services appropriate for them.

Table 21. Formal service awareness and utilization of respondents

Types of social services	Awareness		Utilization	
	n	%	n	%
Social Security	78	65	30	25
Supplemental Security Income (SSI)	81	67.5	54	45
Medicare	80	66.7	38	31.7
Medicaid	78	65	39	32.5
Food stamp	73	60.8	29	24.2
Elderly housing	43	35.8	22	18.3
Rent subsidies	35	29.2	24	2
Employment services	19	15.8	3	2.5
Reduced fares	22	18.3	9	7.5
Transportation services	16	13.3	4	3.3
Meals-on-wheels	15	12.5	1	0.8
Nutrition sites	12	10	0	0
Telephone reassurance	18	15	6	5
Friendly visiting	17	14.2	3	2.5
Home maker services	15	12.5	1	0.8
Home health care	16	13.3	2	1.6

Note: Categories are not mutually exclusive, therefore will not add up to 100%

As one of the largest city in the United States, Atlanta offers a program of formal services embracing income maintenance, health, housing, nutrition, employment, transportation, recreation, and information and referral services. However, the absence of Korean speaking personnel in this multitude of services and programs tended to diminish the participation of Korean non-English-speaking elderly immigrants in these programs.

Transportation provides access to essential activities and programs, such as jobs, grocery shopping, health care services, nutrition and activity centers, churches, and other places. Transportation was a problem among respondents. About seventy percent of respondents reported their transportation needs were not being met.

Discrimination has been considered a significant element in the aging experiences of minority elderly. However, due to the relative recency of their immigration to this country, elderly Korean immigrants may not have perceived or experienced discrimination to the same extent as other minority elderly have. The most important factor in explaining stressful aging experiences among elderly Korean immigrants was the loss of social ties and the difficulty of adjustment rather than the experience of discrimination. The short period of residence in the United States did not seem to provide them with enough time to find new compensatory social ties and to adjust themselves to their new environment. Due to their recency of immigration, the effects of social loss and other adjustment-related problems were maximized, and those of discrimination were minimized for the elderly Korean immigrant group as compared to most other minority elderly groups.

5. Ethnic attachment

As defined earlier, ethnic attachment refers to immigrants' subjective identification with their Korean heritage, preservation of Korean culture, and active maintenance of their intimate social ties with Koreans. The respondents were asked to express the degree to which they agreed or disagreed with the statements dealing with ethnic pride, native language, and ethnic association.

Being the first-generation immigrants, the respondents' ethnic attachment to Korean culture has persisted. Regardless of gender, the majority of the respondents (70%) indicated that they were proud of being born a Korean, and nearly all of them (95.8%) thought it was necessary for their children to speak the Korean language well.

Their social participation and interpersonal relations were largely confined to their ethnic group. Concerning the statement on associations with Koreans, more than half of the respondents agreed on ethnic association. Most of the respondents (87.5%) actively participated in Korean ethnic associations, including Korean ethnic churches, whereas only a small portion of them (15%) were members of American voluntary organizations. The respondents' primary group relations did not extend beyond their families, relatives, Korean friends, and Korean neighbors.

Through the foregoing observations, it became apparent that the elderly Korean immigrants' attachment to their native culture and society was generally strong. Their ethnic attachment was further augmented by their attitudes on return migration. About half (47.5%) of the respondents expressed a desire to return to Korea, whereas about one-fourth (25.9%) preferred to remain in the United States. The remaining fourth (26.7%) of the respondents were undecided.

6. Cultural pluralism

According to Hraba (1979), assimilationism has been the unofficial national doctrine, and little attention has been granted to ethnic pluralism in the United States which has hardly encouraged appreciation for ethnic diversity. However, there have always been those who have maintained that ethnic diversity endures in a modern society, though their opinions have been in a minority. Among them are the pluralists, who believe that ethnicity has social, economic, political, and psychological functions in modern society.

As discussed in Chapter II, cultural pluralism continues to be characteristic of modern American society. Because there is a trend of growing numbers of elderly Korean immigrants who have spent much of their lives in ethnic communities, examining their life satisfaction with respect to three prevalent patterns in American racial and ethnic relations (assimilation, ethnic attachment, and cultural pluralism) seems to be relevant.

As described earlier in Chapter II, Kitano and Daniels developed an immigrant adaptation model which describes the relationship between assimilation and ethnic attachment. Their model shows that assimilation and ethnic attachment are not necessary mutually exclusive. Kitano and Daniels's model is schematically represented in Figure 2.

		Degree of assimilation	
		High	Low
Degree of ethnic attachment	High	Pluralist	Traditionalist
	Low	Integrationist	Isolationist

Figure 2. Four modes of elderly Korean immigrants' adaptation

From Towards a Korean-American ethnicity: some theoretical models, by Won Moo Hurh. 1980, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 3, p. 457.

Elderly Korean immigrants who fall into the category of high assimilation and low ethnic identity can be defined as integrationists. Their language, life style and the way of thinking are more Americanized than the other three groups. For elderly Korean immigrants in Atlanta, 29.2 percent (n=35) of the study subjects belongs to this category.

Those in the second category of high assimilation, high ethnic identity differ from the previous category by retaining a strong ethnic identity. These individuals can move easily in and out of both cultures, and their friendship patterns, group memberships, and interests reflect a bicultural perspective. They tend to be comfortable with their ethnic identity and also their questioning of ethnic prejudice and discrimination. For elderly Korean immigrants in Atlanta, 17.5 percent (n=21) of the study subjects belongs to this category.

The category of low assimilation, low ethnic identity includes those elderly Korean immigrants who are alienated. These people have acquired little of the core American culture but are also uncomfortable with their original ethnic identity. For elderly Korean immigrants in Atlanta, 15 percent (n=18) of the study subjects belongs to this category.

Those in the fourth category, persons with low assimilation, high ethnic identity, are often newly arrived immigrants or Korean Americans who have spent most of their lives in the ethnic communities. They prefer their ethnic communities and tend to form friendship and marriage bonds with people in their own ethnic group. They may feel that the dominant society will never treat them as equals, so they are better off in their enclave adaptation. For elderly Korean immigrants in Atlanta, 38.3 percent (n=46) of the study subjects belongs to this category.

7. Assimilation

One of the most important variables affecting assimilation is language. In a society dominated by the English language, a person who cannot communicate in English is at an obvious disadvantage. Elderly Korean immigrants definitely belonged to this disadvantaged group. Among the 120 study respondents, for instance, no single interview was conducted in English.

Because of the limited contact between interviewer and respondents, a subjective self-evaluation method was used to measure their English proficiency. As Table 22 reveals, about 50 to 70 percent of the respondents rated their English ability as "A little" or less in the three dimensions of speaking, reading, and writing. This was true for both male and female respondents. More than half of them (59%) were not exposed to the American-printed media at all. Nearly all of them (95.8%) did not speak English at home.

Table 22. English proficiency of respondents

English proficiency	Speaking		Reading		Writing	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Very well	0	0	1	0.8	0	0
Moderately well	14	11.7	24	20	10	8.3
Fair	43	35.8	37	30.8	25	20.8
A little	26	21.7	23	19.2	35	29.2
Not at all	37	30.8	35	29.2	50	41.7
Total Respondents	120	100	120	100	120	100

Even though many respondents had some college education prior to their emigration from Korea, a large proportion of these Korean immigrants experienced language problems. English is taught in Junior high schools,

high schools, and colleges in Korea, but its practical use is extremely limited because of the major emphasis on written English. As a result, even a college graduate in Korea is frequently not able to engage in simple conversations in English. As far as English was concerned, the elderly Korean immigrants studied were functional illiterates, which negatively affected their life adjustment in an English-speaking society.

Since most of the elderly Korean immigrants did not have a good command of English, their friendship network tended to be largely restricted to ethnic friends. Only fifteen percent of all the respondents reported that they had friends other than Koreans.

The degree of elderly Korean immigrants' exposure to American-printed mass media was measured. The data revealed that only 5 respondents (4.2%) subscribed to and read American newspapers regularly, whereas 28 respondents (23.3%) regularly subscribed to Korean newspapers. About one-third (31.7%, n=38) of the respondents read American magazines and/or books occasionally. More than half of the respondents did not read any English-printed mass media at all. No significant gender differences were observed in the general readership of printed materials.

In sum, elderly Korean immigrants had a limited exposure to American-printed mass media. This was probably the result of a combination of the language problems discussed above limiting their participation in American society, and their persisting interest in Korea and primary focus on the local Korean community. The results suggested that the assimilation process has been very slow among these respondents.

8. Life satisfaction

There is perhaps no other construct in gerontology that has been as widely investigated as life satisfaction among the aged. Extensive investigations have been conducted regarding the biological, psychological, and social correlates of an individual's well-being, of which life satisfaction is one of the major components. A number of studies indicate that among older adults, current good health, secure socioeconomic standing, and high levels of social activity are associated with strong feelings of satisfaction (Song, 1992, p. 227). However, there has been no study which examined the relationship between life satisfaction and degree of assimilation in elderly Korean immigrants. Table 23 shows the frequency of respondents' self-rated life satisfaction

Table 23. Self-rated life satisfaction of respondents by gender

Life Satisfaction	Male		Female		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Very satisfied	10	21.7	20	27	30	25
Somewhat satisfied	16	34.8	15	20.3	31	25.8
Fair	17	37	36	48.6	53	44.2
Somewhat dissatisfied	3	6.5	2	2.7	5	4.2
Very dissatisfied	0	0	1	1.4	1	0.8
Total Respondents	46	100	74	100	120	100

As shown in Table 23, the majority of the sample respondents appeared to be satisfied with their present life in the United States. More specifically, the proportion of those who expressed positive (very or somewhat satisfied) and neutral (fair) responses amounted to 95 percent, while only 5 percent

reported dissatisfaction (somewhat or very dissatisfied) with their present life in the United States. No consistent pattern was found to exist in terms of differences in life satisfaction by gender.

B. Tests of Statistical Assumptions

To use multiple regression techniques, we must make several statistical assumptions. These assumptions are that the population scores for the dependent variable are normally distributed, that conditional variances are homoscedastic across levels of the independent variables, and that observations are independent. Figures 3 through 8 suggested the validity of the assumptions of multiple regression for the data in this study.

1. Frequency distribution of dependent variables

In this study, a frequency distribution of scores on each dependent variable shown in Figures 5 and 6 suggested that values of the dependent variables were distributed within normal ranges.

2. Normal probability plot of dependent variables

The normal probability plot of residuals shown in Figures 5 and 6 also suggested a normally distributed dependent variable. That is, the data points fell close to a straight line.

3. Residual prediction error plot of dependent variables

The plot of studentized residuals versus standardized predicted values shown in Figures 7 and 8 showed a scatter that was consistent with the assumption of homoscedasticity.

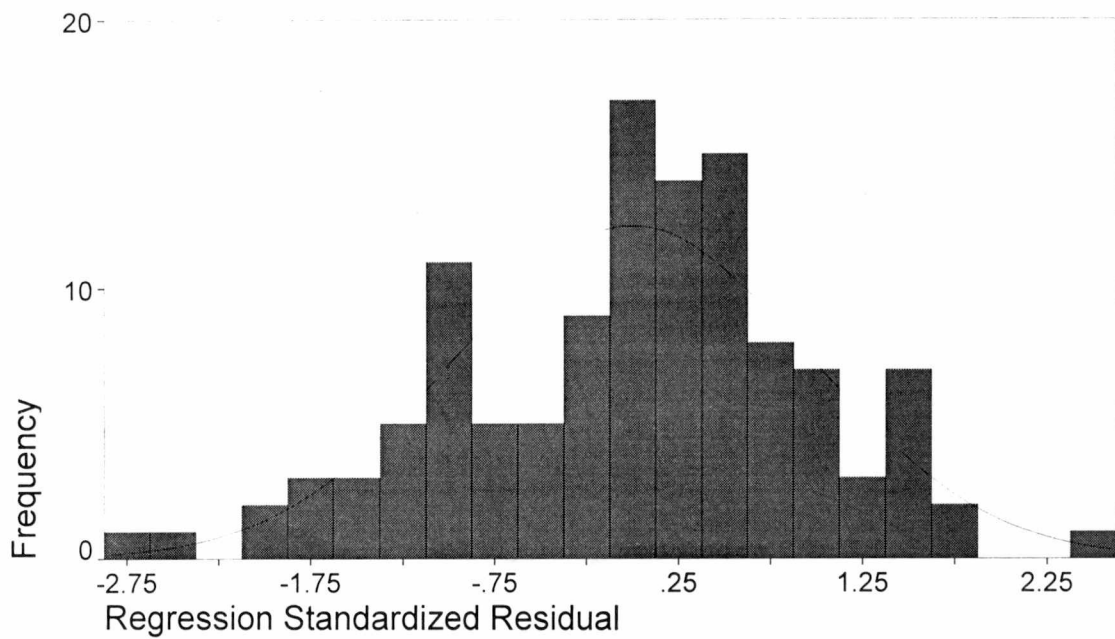


Figure 3. Frequency distribution of assimilation

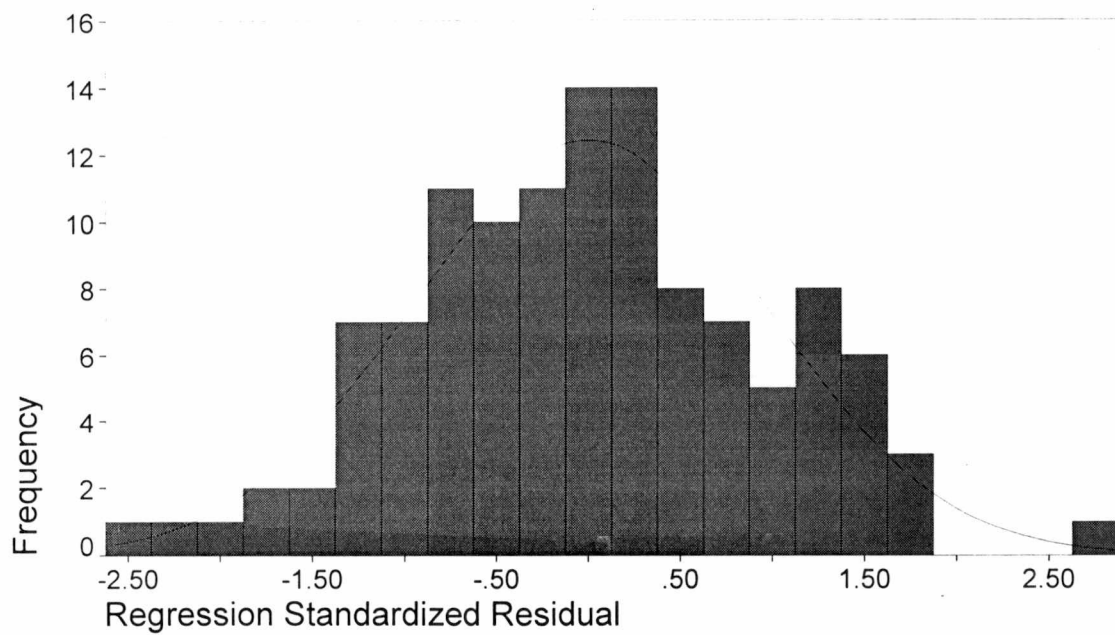


Figure 4. Frequency distribution of life satisfaction

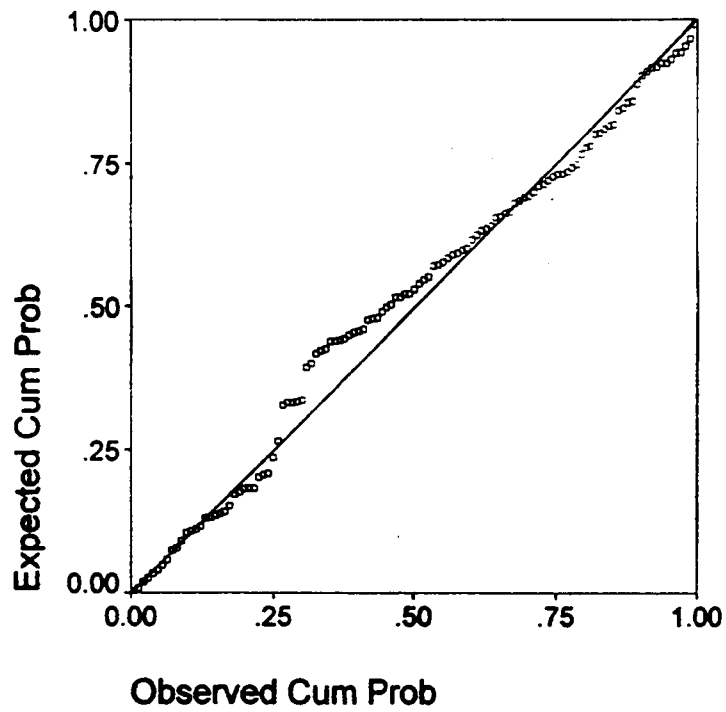


Figure 5. Normal probability plot of assimilation

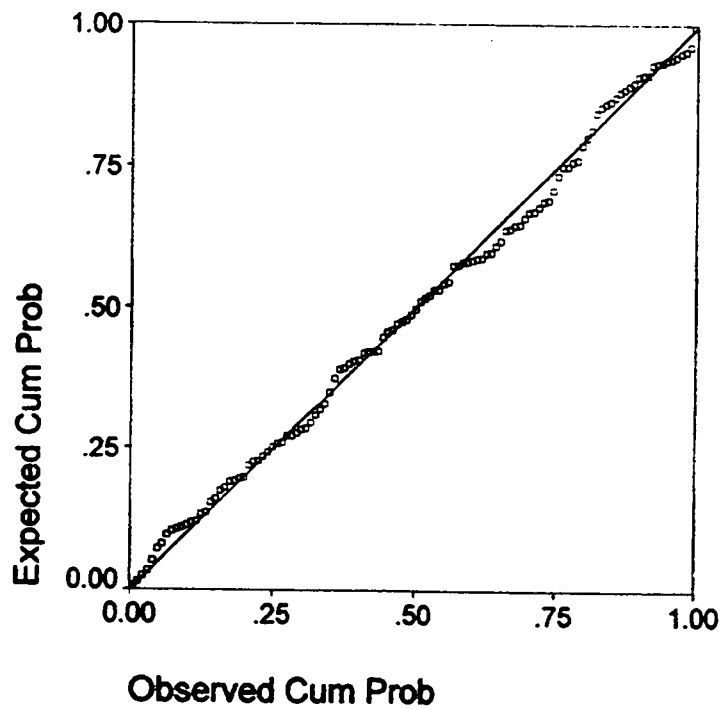


Figure 6. Normal probability plot of life satisfaction

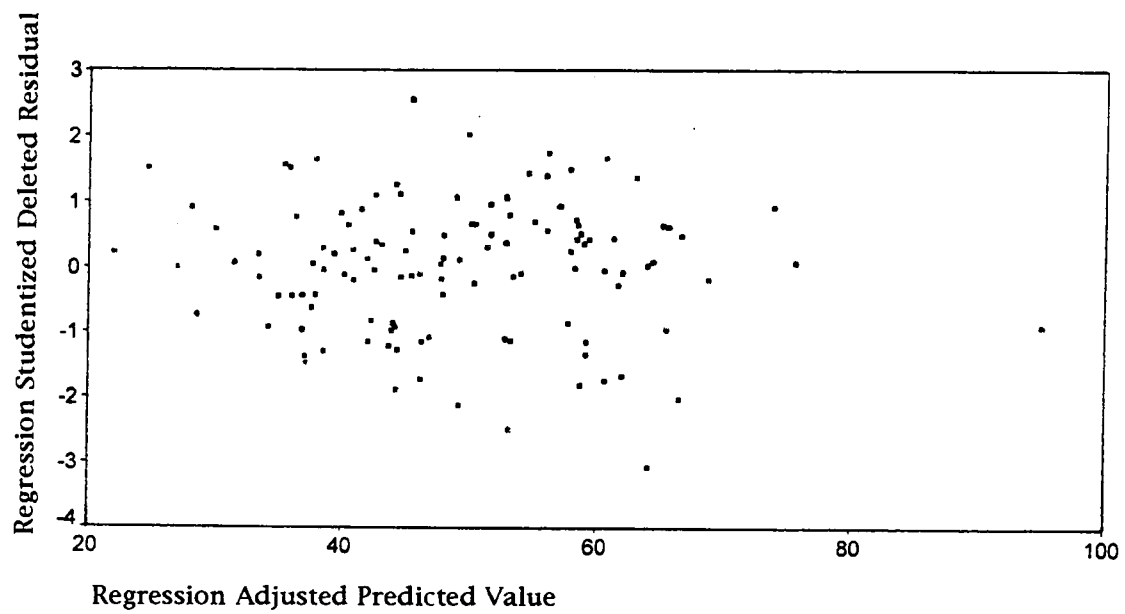


Figure 7. Residual prediction error plot of assimilation

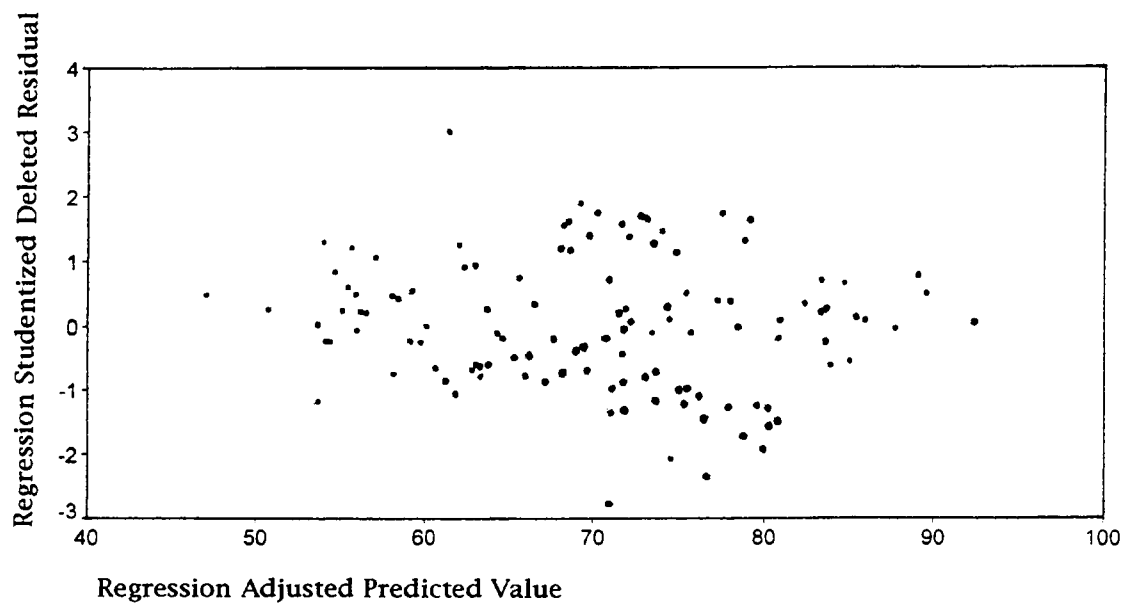


Figure 8. Residual prediction error plot of life satisfaction

C. The Correlates of Assimilation of The Study Subjects

This section focuses upon the findings of relationship between assimilation and nine predictor variables. After examining the results of a zero-order correlation analysis, the results of the multiple regression analysis are presented and discussed.

1. Discussion of correlation analysis

As a first step in investigating the relationship between the degree of assimilation and the nine predictor variables, zero-order correlations were computed. The correlation coefficients and their levels of significance are presented in Table 24.

Table 24. Pearson correlation coefficient matrix of all variables (n=120)

Vs	X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8	X9
Y1	<u>.538</u> ¹	<u>.314</u> ¹	<u>.385</u> ¹	<u>.339</u> ¹	<u>.602</u> ¹	<u>.094</u>	<u>.063</u>	<u>.570</u> ¹	<u>-.433</u> ¹
X1	1.00	.469 ¹	.400 ¹	.184 ²	.404 ¹	.229 ¹	-.106	.426 ¹	.038
X2		1.00	.165 ²	.120 ³	.278 ¹	.044	.052	.246 ¹	.110
X3			1.00	.156 ²	.297 ¹	.182 ²	.089	.142 ³	-.092
X4				1.00	.265 ¹	.046	.062	.296 ¹	-.138 ³
X5					1.00	.149 ³	-.007	.436 ¹	-.200 ²
X6						1.00	-.059	.106	.038
X7							1.00	.037	-.204 ²
X8								1.00	-.178 ²
X9									1.00

Y1=degree of assimilation, X1=education, X2=marital status, X3=monthly income, X4=living arrangement (living with married child), X5=length of residence, X6=religion, X7=informal service utilization, X8=formal service utilization, X9=ethnic attachment

¹=p<.01, ²=p<.05, ³=p<.10 two-tailed tests (one-tailed tests for underlined coefficients).

Between the dependent variable (degree of assimilation) and nine predictor variables, most correlations were in predicted directions. However, contrary to predictions, no significant correlations were found between religion and degree of assimilation, and between informal service utilization and degree of assimilation.

Correlations between each pair of the nine variables (nine predictor variables and the criterion variable) can be summarized as follows.

- (1) Degree of assimilation was significantly related to respondents' educational background ($r = .54$; $p < .01$), marital status ($r = .31$; $p < .01$), monthly income ($r = .39$; $p < .01$), living arrangement ($r = .34$; $p < .01$), length of residence ($r = .60$; $p < .01$), formal service utilization ($r = .57$; $p < .01$), and ethnic attachment ($r = -.43$; $p < .01$) respectively;
- (2) Educational background was significantly related to respondents' marital status ($r = .47$; $p < .01$), monthly income ($r = .40$; $p < .01$), living arrangement ($r = .18$; $p < .05$), length of residence ($r = .40$; $p < .01$), religion ($r = .23$; $p < .01$), and formal service utilization ($r = .43$; $p < .01$);
- (3) Marital status was significantly related to respondents' educational attainment ($r = .47$; $p < .01$), monthly income ($r = .17$; $p < .05$), length of residence ($r = .28$; $p < .01$), and formal service utilization ($r = .25$; $p < .01$);
- (4) Monthly income was significantly related to the respondents' education ($r = .40$; $p < .01$), marital status ($r = .17$; $p < .05$), living arrangement ($r = .16$; $p < .05$), religion ($r = .18$; $p < .05$), and length of residence in the United States ($r = .30$; $p < .01$);
- (5) Living arrangement was significantly related to length of residence ($r = .27$; $p < .01$), education ($r = .18$; $p < .05$), monthly income ($r = .16$; $p < .05$), and formal service utilization ($r = .30$; $p < .01$);

- (6) Length of residence was significantly related to education ($r = .40$; $p < .01$), marital status ($r = .28$; $p < .01$), monthly income ($r = .30$; $p < .01$), living arrangement ($r = .27$; $p < .01$), and formal service utilization ($r = .44$; $p < .01$). However, ethnic attachment was negatively related with length of residence ($r = -.20$; $p < .05$). That is, the longer the elderly Korean immigrants live in the United States, the less their degrees of ethnic attachment will be;
- (7) Informal service utilization was significantly related to ethnic attachment ($r = -.20$; $p < .05$);
- (8) Formal service utilization was significantly related to respondents' education ($r = .43$; $p < .01$), marital status ($r = .25$; $p < .01$), living arrangement ($r = .30$; $p < .01$), length of residence ($r = .44$; $p < .01$), and ethnic attachment ($r = -.18$; $p < .05$);
- (9) Ethnic attachment was significantly related to respondents' length of residence ($r = -.20$; $p < .05$), informal service utilization ($r = -.20$; $p < .05$), and formal service utilization ($r = -.18$; $p < .05$).

2. Discussion of multiple regression analysis

While the zero-order correlations were of interest, it was necessary to examine the relationship between degree of assimilation and each independent variable while controlling for all other independent variables. To determine the relative contribution of each independent variable to the variation in the dependent variable, a simultaneous multiple regression analysis was performed, regressing the dependent variable on the entire set of independent variables. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 25.

Table 25. Summary table for multiple regression analysis on assimilation

Independent variables	B	sr ²	t	p
Education	.77	.031	3.43	.0009
Marital status	2.06	.004	1.11	.2684
Monthly income	.002	.012	1.99	.0488
Living arrangement	2.33	.006	1.40	.1636
Length of residence	.56	.045	3.81	.0002
Religion	-1.38	.002	-.78	.4371
Informal service utilization	-.01	.000	-.12	.9044
Formal service utilization	.52	.037	3.49	.0007
Ethnic attachment	-.88	.096	-5.60	.0000
(Constant)	23.98		1.92	.0574

As shown in the Table, education, monthly income, length of residence, formal service utilization, and ethnic attachment were significantly related to degree of assimilation after controlling for other independent variables. The multiple correlation coefficient for these nine predictor variables was .8160, and its square was .6658. The *F*-ratio was $F(8, 110) = 24.13$ ($p < .01$). Approximately 67 percent of the variation in degree of assimilation was accounted for by the nine predictor variables.

The regression equation for this model was,

$$Y_1' = 23.98 + .77X_1 (\text{education}) + 2.06X_2 (\text{marital status}) + .002X_3 (\text{income}) \\ + 2.33X_4 (\text{living arrangement}) + .56X_5 (\text{length of residence}) \\ - 1.38X_6 (\text{religion}) - .01X_7 (\text{informal service utilization}) \\ + .52X_8 (\text{formal service utilization}) - .88X_{10} (\text{ethnic attachment})$$

D. Analysis of Hypotheses on Assimilation

The results of the above statistical analysis tested nine research hypotheses on assimilation.

Hypothesis 1 : Educational background is positively related to degree of assimilation.

The results supported this hypothesis. Results indicated that educational background was positively related to degree of assimilation ($r = .54$; $p < .01$). The regression coefficient indicating the relationship between education and degree of assimilation, controlling for all other independent variables, was also statistically significant, as can be seen in Table 25. The squared semipartial correlation coefficients were calculated to determine the percentage of variation in degree of assimilation uniquely explained by each predictor variable. Educational attainment uniquely accounted for about 3 percent of the variation in degree of assimilation. That is, elderly Korean immigrants who have completed higher levels of education tend to have also achieved a greater level of assimilation.

Hypothesis 2 : Marital status is positively related to degree of assimilation.

The results did not support this hypothesis. At the level of the zero-order correlation, there was a positive relationship between marital status and degree of assimilation ($r = .31$; $p < .01$). However, as can be seen in Table 25, the relationship between marital status and degree of assimilation disappears after controlling for the relationship between degree of assimilation and the other eight independent variables. Marital status does not seem to have a significant effect on degree of assimilation.

Hypothesis 3 : Income is positively related to degree of assimilation.

The results supported this hypothesis. Results indicated that economic status was positively related to degree of assimilation ($r = .39$; $p < .01$). The regression coefficient indicating the relationship between economic status and degree of assimilation, controlling for all other independent variables, was also statistically significant, as can be seen in Table 25. The squared semipartial correlation coefficients were calculated to determine the percentage of variation in degree of assimilation uniquely explained by each predictor variable. Economic status uniquely accounted for 1.2 percent of the variation in degree of assimilation. That is, the higher the level of the immigrant's economic status, the higher the degree of assimilation is.

Hypothesis 4 : Living arrangement is related to degree of assimilation.

The results did not support this hypothesis. At the level of the zero-order correlation, there was a positive relationship between living arrangement and degree of assimilation ($r = .34$; $p < .01$). However, as can be seen in Table 25, the relationship between living arrangement and degree of assimilation disappears after controlling for the relationship between degree of assimilation and the other eight independent variables. Living arrangement does not seem to have a significant effect on degree of assimilation.

Hypothesis 5 : Length of residence in the United States is positively related to degree of assimilation.

The results supported this hypothesis. Results indicated that length of residence was positively related to degree of assimilation ($r = .60$; $p < .01$). The

regression coefficient indicating the relationship between length of residence and degree of assimilation, controlling for all other independent variables, was also statistically significant, as can be seen in Table 25. The squared semipartial correlation coefficients were calculated to determine the percentage of variation in degree of assimilation uniquely explained by each predictor variable. Length of residence uniquely accounted for 4.5 percent of the variation in degree of assimilation. That is, the longer the elderly Korean immigrants' length of residence in the United States, the higher the degree of their assimilation becomes.

Hypothesis 6 : Religious affiliation is positively related to degree of assimilation.

An unexpected finding in this study was that there was no statistically significant associations between religion and degree of assimilation. As can be seen in Tables 24 and 25, the membership in a Christian church did not relate with degree of assimilation. However, under conditions of more adequate sampling and measurement (in this analysis, religion was dichotomized into Christian and all other religions) a significant relationship might be found.

Hypothesis 7 : Informal service utilization is negatively related to degree of assimilation.

The results did not support this hypothesis. That is, there was no statistically significant relationship between immigrants' degree of informal service utilization and degree of assimilation.

Hypothesis 8 : Formal service utilization is positively related to degree of assimilation.

The results supported this hypothesis. Results indicated that degree of formal service utilization was positively related to degree of assimilation ($r =$

.57; $p < .01$). The regression coefficient indicating the relationship between degree of formal service utilization and degree of assimilation, controlling for all other independent variables, was also statistically significant, as can be seen in Table 25. The squared semipartial correlation coefficients were calculated to determine the percentage of variation in degree of assimilation uniquely explained by each predictor variable. Degree of formal service utilization uniquely accounted for 3.7 percent of the variation in degree of assimilation. That is, the respondents' degree of assimilation were determined in part by the level of their formal service utilization, not by their informal service utilization.

Hypothesis 9 : Ethnic attachment is negatively related to degree of assimilation.

The results supported this hypothesis. Results indicated that ethnic attachment was negatively related to degree of assimilation ($r = -.43$; $p < .01$). The regression coefficient indicating the relationship between ethnic attachment and degree of assimilation, controlling for all other independent variables, was also statistically significant, as can be seen in Table 25. The squared semipartial correlation coefficients were calculated to determine the percentage of variation in degree of assimilation uniquely explained by each predictor variable. Ethnic attachment uniquely accounted for 9.6 percent of the variation in degree of assimilation. That is, a higher degree of the respondents' ethnic attachment is related to a lower degree of assimilation. These findings are inconsistent with those of Hurh and Kim (1984) who found no direct link between Korean immigrants' assimilation and their ethnic attachment.

E. The Correlates of Life Satisfaction of The Study Subjects

1. Discussion of correlation analysis

As a first step in investigating the relationship between the degree of life satisfaction and the ten predictor variables, zero-order correlations were computed. Between the dependent variable (degree of life satisfaction) and ten predictor variables, all correlations were in predicted directions. Degree of life satisfaction was significantly related to respondents' educational background ($r = .24$; $p < .01$), marital status ($r = .24$; $p < .01$), monthly income ($r = .19$; $p < .05$), living arrangement ($r = .27$; $p < .01$), length of residence ($r = .35$; $p < .01$), religion ($r = .19$; $p < .05$), informal service utilization ($r = .36$; $p < .01$), formal service utilization ($r = .28$; $p < .01$), ethnic attachment ($r = -.16$; $p < .05$), and assimilation ($r = .47$; $p < .01$), respectively.

2. Discussion of multiple regression analysis

The results of multiple regression analysis on degree of life satisfaction with ten independent variables are presented in Table 26. As shown in the Table, religion, informal service utilization, and assimilation were significantly related to degree of life satisfaction. The multiple correlation coefficient for these ten predictor variables was .6239, and its square was .3893. The F -ratio was $F(9, 109) = 6.88$ ($p < .01$). Approximately 39 percent of the variation in degree of life satisfaction was accounted for by the ten predictor variables.

The regression equation for this model was,

$$Y' = 3.72 - .13X_1 (\text{education}) + 2.18X_2 (\text{marital status}) - .001X_3 (\text{income}) \\ + 3.3X_4 (\text{living arrangement}) + .22X_5 (\text{length of residence}) \\ - 5.71X_6 (\text{religion}) + .53X_7 (\text{informal service utilization}) \\ - .10X_8 (\text{formal service utilization}) + .28X_9 (\text{ethnic attachment}) \\ + .45X_{10} (\text{assimilation})$$

Table 26. Summary table for multiple regression analysis on life satisfaction

Independent variables	B	sr ²	t	p
Education	-.13	.004	-.38	.7078
Marital status	2.18	.004	.80	.4249
Monthly income	-.001	.003	-.702	.4839
Living arrangement	3.30	.010	1.35	.1788
Length of residence	.22	.005	.963	.3375
Religion	-5.71	.027	-2.21	.0296
Informal service utilization	.53	.116	4.54	.0000
Formal service utilization	-.10	.001	-.42	.6758
Ethnic attachment	.28	.007	1.08	.2809
Assimilation	.45	.059	3.24	.0016
(Constant)	3.72		.201	.8411

F. Analysis of Hypotheses on Life Satisfaction

The results of the above statistical analysis tested five research hypotheses on life satisfaction.

Hypothesis 10 : Religious affiliation is positively related to degree of life satisfaction.

The results supported this hypothesis. Results indicated that religious participation was positively related to degree of life satisfaction ($r = .19$; $p < .05$). The regression coefficient indicating the relationship between religious participation and degree of life satisfaction, controlling for all other independent variables, was also statistically significant, as can be seen in Table 26. The squared semipartial correlation coefficients were calculated to

determine the percentage of variation in degree of life satisfaction uniquely explained by each predictor variable. Religious participation uniquely accounted for 2.7 percent of the variation in degree of life satisfaction. That is, the participation in Christian church is related to high degree of life satisfaction.

These results are consistent with other researchers who suggest that religion plays an important role in the lives of the elderly and that indices of mental well-being such as happiness, feelings of usefulness and personal adjustment increase with religious activity and interests (Song, 1992; Koenig et al., 1988; Taylor, 1986; Jackson et al., 1977).

Hypothesis 11 : Informal service utilization is positively related to degree of life satisfaction.

The results supported this hypothesis. Results indicated that informal service utilization was positively related to degree of life satisfaction ($r = .36$; $p < .01$). The regression coefficient indicating the relationship between informal service utilization and degree of life satisfaction, controlling for all other independent variables, was also statistically significant, as can be seen in Table 26. The squared semipartial correlation coefficients were calculated to determine the percentage of variation in degree of life satisfaction uniquely explained by each predictor variable. Informal service utilization uniquely accounted for 11.6 percent of the variation in degree of life satisfaction. That is, a higher level of informal service utilization is related to a higher degree of life satisfaction.

These findings are consistent with those of other researchers who have found that informal activities to have a significant impact on life satisfaction (Okun et al., Song, 1992; 1984; Toseland & Rasch, 1980). This suggests that, for

elderly Korean immigrants, remaining active with family and friends provides stimulation and purpose to life which contributes to their psychological well-being. These findings also indicate that elderly Korean immigrants prefer continued engagement with relatives and neighbors rather than being isolated and restricted from participating within the community.

Hypothesis 12 : Formal service utilization is positively related to degree of life satisfaction.

The results did not support this hypothesis. At the level of the zero-order correlation, there was a positive relationship between formal service utilization and degree of life satisfaction ($r = .28$; $p < .01$). However, as can be seen in Table 26, the relationship between formal service utilization and degree of life satisfaction disappears after controlling for the relationship between degree of life satisfaction and the other nine independent variables. That is, formal service utilization does not seem to have a significant effect on degree of life satisfaction.

Hypothesis 13 : Degree of ethnic attachment is negatively related to degree of life satisfaction.

The results did not support this hypothesis. At the level of the zero-order correlation, there was a negative relationship between ethnic attachment and degree of life satisfaction ($r = -.16$; $p < .05$). However, as can be seen in Table 26, the relationship between ethnic attachment and degree of life satisfaction disappears after controlling for the relationship between degree of life satisfaction and the other nine independent variables. That is, ethnic attachment does not seem to have a significant effect on degree of life satisfaction. However, the significant interaction discussed below implies that

the effect of ethnic attachment on life satisfaction depends upon the level of assimilation.

Hypothesis 14 : Degree of assimilation is positively related to degree of life satisfaction.

The results supported this hypothesis. Results indicated that assimilation was positively related to degree of life satisfaction ($r = .47$; $p < .01$). The regression coefficient indicating the relationship between assimilation and degree of life satisfaction, controlling for all other independent variables, was also statistically significant, as can be seen in Table 26. The squared semipartial correlation coefficients were calculated to determine the percentage of variation in degree of life satisfaction uniquely explained by each predictor variable. The main effect of assimilation uniquely accounted for 5.9 percent of the variation in degree of life satisfaction. That is, a higher degree of assimilation is related to a higher degree of life satisfaction. However, the significant interaction discussed below implies that the effect of assimilation on life satisfaction depends upon the level of ethnic attachment.

G. Interaction Effect of Ethnic Attachment and Assimilation

In order to examine further the effect of ethnic attachment and assimilation on life satisfaction, the interaction effect of ethnic attachment and assimilation on life satisfaction was examined in separate regression analysis. To study the interaction or joint influence of assimilation and ethnic attachment on degree of life satisfaction, the values of two independent variables were simply multiplied over all cases and entered in the regression equation as another variable. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 27.

Table 27. Interaction of ethnic attachment and assimilation on life satisfaction

Independent variables	B	sr ²	t	p
Education	-.21	.002	-.60	.5469
Marital status	2.39	.004	.89	.3747
Monthly income	-.00	.006	-1.08	.2820
Living arrangement	2.72	.007	1.12	.2640
Length of residence	.35	.013	1.51	.1335
Religion	6.25	.033	2.44	.0163
Informal service utilization	.54	.119	4.65	.0000
Formal service utilization	-.10	.001	-.46	.6438
Ethnic attachment	2.09	.030	2.33	.0215
Assimilation	1.61	.044	2.84	.0053
Ethnic attachment x Assimilation	-.04	.024	-2.11	.0375
(Constant)	-72.90		-2.17	.0323

As shown in the Table above, a significant interaction effect of ethnic attachment and assimilation was found for degree of life satisfaction. The multiple correlation coefficient for these eleven predictor variables including the interaction was .6431, and its square was .4136. The *F*-ratio was $F(10, 108) = 6.86$ ($p < .01$). Approximately 41 percent of the variation in degree of life satisfaction was accounted for by these eleven predictor variables.

The full regression equation for this model was,

$$Y_2' = -72.90 - .21X_1 (\text{education}) + 2.39X_2 (\text{marital status}) - .002X_3 (\text{income}) \\ + 2.72X_4 (\text{living arrangement}) + .35X_5 (\text{length of residence}) \\ + 6.25X_6 (\text{religion}) + .54X_7 (\text{informal service utilization}) \\ - .10X_8 (\text{formal service utilization}) + 2.09X_9 (\text{ethnic attachment}) \\ + 1.61X_{10} (\text{assimilation}) - .04X_9X_{10} (\text{ethnic attachment x assimilation})$$

To describe the interaction of ethnic attachment and assimilation on life satisfaction more clearly, the mean scores of life satisfaction of the study subjects are presented in Figure 9 for high and low levels of ethnic attachment and assimilation.

		Degree of assimilation	
		High	Low
Degree of ethnic attachment	High	64.79	62.57
	Low	69.39	55.09

Figure 9. Life satisfaction scores related to ethnic attachment and assimilation

The results in Figure 9 should be compared with the predictions made by the cultural pluralism model of Kitano and Daniels shown in Figure 10 below.

		Degree of assimilation	
		High	Low
Degree of ethnic attachment	High	Highest life satisfaction	Moderate life satisfaction
	Low	Moderate life satisfaction	Lowest life satisfaction

Figure 10. Predictions of cell means from cultural pluralism model

As discussed earlier in Chapter II, cultural pluralism models assert that immigrants should become bicultural in order to achieve a high level of life satisfaction. However, contradictory to the cultural pluralism model of Kitano

and Daniels, the results in Figure 9 show that the elderly Korean immigrants who have achieved a high degree of assimilation and a low degree of ethnic attachment have the highest degree of life satisfaction among the four cell means. These results are inconsistent with the cultural pluralism model of Kitano and Daniels, as can be seen in Figure 10. This finding suggests that degree of life satisfaction is more strongly related with degree of assimilation than with degree of ethnic attachment.

H. Analysis of Hypothesis on Interaction Effect

The results of the above statistical analysis tested one research hypotheses on life satisfaction.

Hypothesis 15 : The interaction between assimilation and ethnic attachment is statistically significant, and the interaction term is positive as predicted by cultural pluralism models.

The results did not support this hypothesis. As can be seen in Table 27, the partial regression coefficient was negative as opposed to positive ($B = -.04$). The squared semipartial correlation coefficient was calculated to determine the percentage of variation in degree of life satisfaction uniquely explained by the interaction. The interaction between assimilation and ethnic attachment uniquely accounted for 2.4 percent of the variation in degree of life satisfaction. Evidently there is a statistically significant negative interaction between assimilation and ethnic attachment in their effect on degree of life satisfaction. These findings are inconsistent with the theory of cultural pluralism which maintains that social and personal well-being requires being adequately socialized within both one's own culture and the dominant culture.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

A. Conclusions and Implications

The intent of this study was to examine various aspects of the aging experience for elderly Korean immigrants in the United States. By examining socio-demographic characteristics, informal and formal service utilization, and ethnic attachment of elderly Korean immigrants in the Atlanta area, it was possible to find factors associated with their assimilation and life satisfaction in American life.

A study of immigrants is also, in some extent, a study of the host society. In other words, the degree of assimilation among the elderly Korean immigrants depends not only on their adaptive capacities but also on the openness of the American society. Various problems of the immigrants' adaptation described in this study reflect in many ways structural problems inherent both in American society and in the immigrants' cultural and socio-demographic backgrounds.

It seems natural that any first generation immigrants would have strong ethnic attachments to their traditional culture and society and be less assimilated into their new country. This tendency may be more pronounced for those immigrants whose racial and cultural backgrounds are radically different from that of the dominant group of the host society. The first-generation Korean immigrants are certainly not unique in this respect. As discussed earlier, the elderly Korean immigrants' perception of their social segregation from mainstream American society and their own limited adaptive

capacities, cultural unfamiliarity in general and language in particular, may tend to enhance their ethnic attachment as a defensive mechanism.

I have suggested that, for elderly Korean immigrants and the recent immigrant population in the United States in general, the process of assimilation can serve to mitigate the immigrants' feelings of daily frustration, relative deprivation, and social isolation in the short run, but it also can serve to eliminate ethnic confinement and their marginality in the long run, as were the cases of African-Americans in urban slums, Mexican-Americans in barrios, and Chinese-Americans in Chinatowns.

The findings of this study supported the basic tenets of assimilation theory in that (1) a lower degree of ethnic attachment was related to a higher degree of assimilation; and (2) a higher degree of life satisfaction was related to a higher degree of assimilation. A further major finding of this study was the negative interactive relationship between ethnic attachment and assimilation in their effect on life satisfaction. This finding failed to support cultural pluralism models, which maintain that immigrants should become bicultural in order to achieve a high level of life satisfaction in the new country. Assimilation is, however, more than a process of learning of the culture and social systems of the dominant group by an ethnic minority. To be assimilated, an ethnic minority must be socially accepted by the dominant society. Otherwise, the ethnic minority can never become an integral part of the new society.

As discussed in earlier Chapters, ethnic minority elderly are a multi-racial and multi-cultural group. Many are new immigrants from other countries, with different languages, cultures, and customs. Their life experiences and expectations can be different in significant ways from the

majority American elderly. Previous studies about Korean immigrants (Choi, 1979; Han, 1987; Hurh, 1977; Hurh & Kim, 1984, 1990; Hwang, 1987; Kim, 1976; Lee, 1987; Park, 1986; Yoo, 1990) reported that Korean immigrants have distinctive features relative to other ethnic minority populations in the United States. The underutilization of services and the failure of some service programs have been attributed to a lack of understanding of the cultural differences among recipients.

The elderly Korean immigrants in this study, like most other minority elderly, appeared to lack adequate health care services. The findings of this study showed that only one third of the study subjects had health or medical insurance. Although some service providers have rationalized that ethnic minority elderly do not utilize formal services because they have their families' assistance, the underutilization of services cannot be explained in terms of strong family support. In fact, a study of African-American elderly found that those who received aid from their families were also those who needed and used the greatest number of social services, which suggests their need for a variety of formal and informal supports (Mindel & Wright, 1982).

Some may view the need to explore social support in relation to life satisfaction among elderly Korean immigrants as unwarranted because of the existence of informal social support. In the Korean family in the United States, strong family traditions and the influence of Confucianism may be seen as a buffer to prevent the potential for disrespect. However, as discussed in Chapter II, the traditional filial expectation is often improper to practice under the current conditions of immigrant life. Excessive work patterns of Korean immigrants may cause serious problems for their elderly parents. Previous studies (Kiefer, et al., 1985; Kim, Kim, & Hurh, 1991; Moon & Pearl, 1991) have

revealed that many adult children of elderly Korean immigrants do not have time to provide much needed emotional, social, and financial support for their elderly parents. Without that support, elderly Korean immigrants can easily fail, because they are too fragile to cope with the difficulties caused by their aging and cultural differences.

Mindel and Wright's findings are inconsistent with the results of this study. It was hypothesized that informal and formal services utilization would increase the elderly Korean immigrants' life satisfaction. However, this study did not confirm both hypotheses. Formal service utilization did not have a significant impact on life satisfaction. This unexpected finding might be explained by changing the expected direction of the causal relationship between the variables, whereby a weak informal support network for the elderly immigrants forces them to seek alternative supports. In other words, a poor familial support network could lead to a high utilization rate of social services. However, these alternative explanations represent merely conjectures and the precise assessment of causality would necessitate a longitudinal design, as opposed to the cross-sectional design utilized in this study.

There are a number of implications of this study for social work practice, programs, and policies related to the development of an alternative service delivery system that responds to the needs of elderly Korean immigrants.

The findings of this study showed that formal service utilization was a strong predictor of degree of assimilation. The data also showed that nearly all of the study subjects had utilized at least one kind of service. The extent and type of the elderly's knowledge of and utilization of formal services seemed to

be related to their demand for those services. Since many elderly Korean immigrants have great difficulties in adjusting to the new cultural environment in the United States, such as their lack of familiarity with the social system, existing services and the dominant language as well as their loss of status due to immigration and aging, there is a need for social programs to help these elderly Korean immigrants so that they can continue to utilize their capacities and potentials for achieving self-actualization and contributing to the Korean American communities and society at large. It would be very useful to identify differences and similarities in service needs and utilization among racial and ethnic groups for program and policy development.

Conceptually, a coalition between family and formal organizations appears to be a resilient solution to the issue of social responsibility for elderly persons, maximizing benefits to society and families. The results of this research indicated that family and formal organizations share the welfare function of care for elderly Korean immigrants. As new immigrants, the majority of the respondents were dependent on others for financial support. For the elderly Korean immigrants in the Atlanta area, family was the major source of help. Adult children were the primary source of help to whom elderly Korean immigrants first turned for assistance when they had problems. Formal service organizations were also considered as important sources of help, not to supplant but rather to supplement the help received from their children.

Korean ethnic churches and other Korean ethnic service organizations appear to play a linking role between the elderly Korean immigrants and formal organizations in support of the independence of Korean elderly living in the Atlanta area. The Korean ethnic agencies can make the difference

between isolation and contact with the service system. Therefore, appropriate policies, incorporating applicable cultural values and the special needs of each ethnic minority elderly population, need to be developed for a coordinated system linking elderly individual and formal organizations.

The issue for service development is not whether ethnic minority elderly need services but, rather, how services can be designed to take account of cultural and geographic differences. Since the ethnic minority elderly's life-style and value system differ to a greater or lesser extent from the majority elderly population, it is important that services to these persons be studied in the context of each ethnic community.

This study also identified some important factors of life satisfaction among elderly Korean immigrants that have implications for helping professionals. First, the growing number of elderly Korean immigrants requires that individuals who serve Korean elderly should take a greater interest in understanding and serving this minority group. A person who serves elderly Korean immigrants must go further than just understanding their basic needs. For providing effective services, the professional must be knowledgeable and familiar with certain significant cultural patterns, beliefs, norms, and life-styles that are inherent within the Korean community.

A consistent theme that emerged from discussions with subjects in this study was that the existing service delivery system for Korean elderly in Atlanta was neither comprehensive nor coordinated in meeting their needs. The data from the study suggested that the elderly Korean immigrants were inclined to use certain formal health and welfare services for their needs. However, based on interview results, it appeared that the Korean elderly's unique needs for English education and socio-cultural activities were ignored

by the existing formal agencies. These results suggest that more outreach is needed to help elderly immigrants to utilize many existing facilities and services where they have previously been ignored or excluded. Efforts should also be made to furnish more services and programs. Some of the study subjects complained of a difficulty in using needed services because those services were often inaccessible, impersonal, and inadequate. Thus, the need for more government resources to allow service agencies to provide outreach services to the ethnic minority elderly is highly recommended.

In addition, the data also suggested that elderly Korean immigrants will utilize services when they are readily accessible in the local neighborhood. For example, there was no single senior citizen center in Atlanta where the elderly Korean immigrants could enjoy indigenous leisure activities as well as their own ethnic foods. As a matter of fact and interest, the majority of the respondents expressed a desire to have a multi-service senior center where they can enjoy activities with their ethnic peers. The ethnic agency can make a difference between isolation and contact with the service system. Services for the Korean elderly, therefore, should be located in or near their community. If the agencies are located within the immediate neighborhood, utilization by the Korean elderly may be enhanced.

The need to involve Korean elderly at the program planning and development stages would be essential to ensure that services reflect the needs of elderly Korean immigrants as they perceive them. Cultural uniqueness of each group (for example, food preferences, gender roles, language differences, or other instances of cultural etiquette that are usually unknown to ethnic outsiders) needs to be considered if programs and services are to be successful. Also, services should be advertised in ways to reach elderly Korean

immigrants, such as through Korean newspapers, Korean television and radio programs, and announcements made through Korean churches, temples, and other Korean ethnic associations.

In addition, the services for Korean elderly can be best met by members of their own groups who have accurate knowledge of current conditions, and who know that these elderly should be treated as distinct populations and that separate indigenous services should be developed. Lack of bilingual skills on the part of both elderly Korean immigrants and service providers often created barriers to the use of essential services. The fact that nearly all of the subjects in this study spoke only Korean has implications for services. These persons often have great difficulty understanding or communicating in English when they seek health and welfare services. Therefore, bi-lingual social workers should be employed in public and private agencies for service delivery for elderly Korean immigrants. It is also suggested that programs using the Korean language be created for the elderly Korean immigrants to foster continued engagement in a variety of meaningful culturally sensitive activities in order to maximize emotional well-being.

The results of this study indicated that more than 85 percent of the respondents were affiliated with Christian churches. The importance of church attendance was also clear in its effects upon life satisfaction. Korean ethnic churches, therefore, can serve as a crucial resource for elderly Korean immigrants. Churches can serve as a supportive network for the development of leadership for this minority population, in providing opportunity for validation of self-esteem, and offering psychological and spiritual encouragement in immigrant life.

In sum, assimilation of elderly Korean immigrants reflect multiple realities involved in the intergroup relations in the United States. The results of this study suggested that, as a way to increase the elderly Korean immigrants' life satisfaction, elderly Korean immigrants need to modify their attachment to their preimmigration belief system, the traditional expectation of filial piety, and accept a modified expectation. Such a restructuring of their belief systems allows the elderly Korean immigrants to have a more positive experience in their aging process in the United States. However, as noted earlier, assimilation is a mutual process involving both an individual immigrant and the host society. More importantly, it also reveals the most salient aspect of an American dilemma which is the idea of ethnic pluralism versus the reality of ethnic confinement.

B. Study Limitations and Suggestions

As has been noted, this research was undertaken as an exploratory study. It is essential to keep in mind that this study is not intended to represent the entire population of elderly Korean immigrants in the United States and, therefore, the implications of the study are only applicable to the population studied. This section will discuss some of the methodological problems, limitations of the study, and recommendations for future research generated by this study.

Throughout the research, I recognized some methodological problems unique to the Korean immigrant population. They are (1) linguistic and conceptual equivalence of measurement instruments; (2) sampling and data collection procedure; and (3) interactional difficulties between the interviewer and respondents.

As mentioned earlier, in most research with non-Western subjects, the major obstacle to overcome is the language barrier. Since almost all of the respondents in this study had difficulty in the use of both spoken and written English, the interview schedule had to be translated into Korean. Difficulties involved in translation are well known (Hurh & Kim, 1984), especially between Western and Oriental languages. Many words were just not translatable, even literally. Therefore, a great deal of care was needed when translating from English to Korean, especially in addressing aged.

The sampling technique was also a problem of this study. The sampling problems unique to the study of Korean immigrants largely derive from the particular demographic characteristics of the Korean community in the United States. Among others, two major factors seem to most significantly contribute to the sampling problem. They are the rapid growth of the Korean population in the United States and their broad geographic dispersion. In this study, about one fourth of the sample population were found to have wrong addresses with no forwarding addresses to follow up. The Korean immigrants' mobility was found to be unusually high. Not only were incorrect addresses problematic but telephone numbers were also incorrect. Because of the prevalent mobility of Korean immigrants, the problem of incorrect addresses was hard to mitigate.

A number of directories are published each year, such as the Korean community association directories, Korean church directories, and directories from alumni associations, business associations, and even some hobby clubs. However, none of these including the immigration office, can keep track of the Korean immigrants accurately. The task of securing the names and current addresses of the target population was one of the most frustrating and

time-consuming problems I experienced. However, church membership lists were found to be the most reliable sources.

As indicated earlier, respondents selected in this study turned out to be more females than males, more Christians than non-Christians, more senior club members than non-members, and probably more outgoing and active Korean elderly rather than home-bound elderly. Despite the fact that elderly Korean immigrants residing with their children had less chances of being selected, the final sample was found to be almost evenly distributed between those living with and those living apart from children. However, snowball approach used in this study had a potentially biasing effect on the selection of respondents. Since only voluntary participants were included in the sample, these self-selected respondents may be those who feel strongly about the problems and issues of elderly Korean immigrants, and, therefore, may have extreme opinions.

However, at present, there exists no realistic alternative to the snowball approach for collecting data on elderly Korean immigrants. Although the annual registration of aliens by the office of Naturalization and Immigration could serve as an important source of data, the list is not accessible to the public. In addition, The lists of names and addresses compiled by Korean ethnic organizations are not complete and reliable, since the degree of geographical dispersion and residential turn-over tend to be prevalent for Korean immigrants. As a result, the most promising direction of data collection for future research on elderly Korean immigrants seems to involve compensating for the limitations of the snowball approach by increasing sample sizes and as much as possible by applying random sampling procedures using more comprehensive lists of names obtained from more diverse sources.

Another one fourth of the prospective respondents either could not be reached despite repeated attempts or refused to be interviewed for one reason or another. The refusal rates may be reduced by persuasive and persistent telephone calls by trained interviewers. The interviewer's knowledge about the social network of the prospective respondent would expedite such persuasive calls. To know the social circle of the respondent would be important not only for gaining access to the respondent but also for interviewing itself (Hurh & Kim, 1984). A humble and cordial approach was found to be the most efficient way to yield the maximum result.

Interactional difficulties in the interview involve not only verbal and non-verbal miscommunication between the interviewer and respondents, but also the time and place of the interview, the nature of the questions asked, the length of the interview, and the provision of anonymity and confidentiality.

In this study, several respondents were interviewed during their lunch hours or coffee breaks. In such cases, the main problem was pressure as the interview had to be completed in a short period of time. Some respondents were interviewed in a hurry, while others were relaxed and responded to the interview willingly without any immediate time pressure. It was felt that some sort of compensation would facilitate the interview situation favorably. Money may be given in exchange for the respondents' time.

There were several places where the respondents were interviewed such as their home, church, and work place. Hence, the problems in setting a place for the interview were diverse. Homes can provide privacy for the interview, and the interview needs such privacy for a self-diagnosis of one's attitudes and experiences. Privacy can also reduce mistakes in responses that result from simple forgetting or confusion. But the home also contains

distractions, such as children, visitors, telephone calls, and other family happenings (Hurh & Kim, 1984). Church was another convenient place for interviewing. The Korean church on Sunday was, however, a busy place where the respondents had to see their friends and relatives. Thus, I could easily locate the prospective respondents at the Korean church, but it was just not a suitable place for an interview.

In a few cases, the interview was conducted over the telephone. The telephone interview usually took longer time to complete than the face-to-face interview, and it required a considerable patience on the part of the interviewer and respondent. In addition, the telephone interview missed some crucial aspects of nonverbal communication. This deficiency made the interviewer less capable of controlling the interview situation.

The interviews usually took about an hour, although some extreme cases ranged from under a half hour to over two hours. The optimal length of an interview seemed to be less than one hour. Some respondents even suggested to the interviewer to leave the interview schedule so that they could fill the questionnaire out by themselves and mail it to the interviewer. According to my experience, this was not a desirable practice. The majority of such respondents never returned the interview schedule. When the respondents returned the interview schedule, several crucial questions were often left blank. In a few cases, I suspected that a family member filled out the interview schedule for the respondents.

Many elderly Korean subjects seemed to be bored after an hour-long interview and to be annoyed by these research activities, which some of them considered irrelevant to their immediate issues. I also assured them how

valuable their answers and comments will be to my research and how the potential benefits of this research will influence their lives.

Another potential problem was that the respondents may provide inaccurate but socially desirable responses, especially about intergenerational relationships. They may want to avoid reporting less desirable attitudes or behaviors when they are strongly influenced by a cultural value. For example, the existence of family conflicts is considered a disgrace in Korean society. Thus Koreans' unwillingness to disclose less desirable behaviors affects the quality of the data analysis.

Koreans are extremely sensitive about personal as well as family honor. Two major sources of respondents' help of interest in this study were the filial and formal support networks. Disclosure of extent of filial support was based on reports by the elderly respondents only. Therefore, the accuracy of support received from children rests entirely on statements by the elderly respondents. Even though many Korean American elderly are unhappy with their adult children, they may not express this simply to protect their pride in family unity.

As Kiefer et al. (1985) observed in their study, elderly Korean immigrants tended to express the cultural ideal rather than actual behavior in identifying the person in the families to whom they felt closest. Several techniques, therefore, were attempted to minimize the potential effects of inaccurate or limited responses from elderly Korean immigrants. I assured them of both anonymity and the confidentiality of the information that they provided. I interviewed at a times when their children were not present, giving them freedom to talk about their personal lives.

In addition, the measurement scales used in this study were made by adapting or modifying the items from many different previous scales. Some items were developed by the researcher. For these reasons, there was no previously established reliability and validity for these scales. Therefore, the measurement instruments developed by this study need to be reevaluated. The replication of this study will help establish the validity of the instruments used in this study.

Since the basic problem was transcultural equivalence of measurement instruments, sampling and data collection procedures, and the socio-cultural context of research settings, the methodology used in this study was subjected to the critical tests. It should be noted that the findings from this study ought not be generalized beyond the sample population. Due to time and financial limitations, the sample size was smaller than the researcher would have preferred.

Even though problems of reliability, validity, and generalization were unavoidable in this study because of small and limited sample, a number of research projects can be developed out of the result of this study. First, this study can be replicated in other areas of the United States. The findings of this study can be compared with those of elderly Korean immigrants in other cities to see if there are any differences as well as similarities in elderly's living arrangement, patterns of informal and formal services utilization, degree of ethnic attachment, degree of assimilation, and degree of life satisfaction. Another suggestion is to re-interview of the elderly Korean subjects in the Atlanta area if at all possible. It would contribute to testing the validity and reliability of study results as well as comparing findings over time.

To conclude, with more refined measurement instruments and representative samples of elderly Korean immigrants, it may be possible to predict, with some degree of confidence, the probability that a given group of elderly Korean individuals will become successfully assimilated into the mainstream culture in a specific period of time.

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APPENDIX. HUMAN SUBJECT REVIEW FORM B

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE, KNOXVILLE

Application for Review of Research Involving Human Subjects

(In accordance with institutional assurance of compliance to DHHS.)

I. IDENTIFICATION OF PROJECT

Date: 5/5/96

Principal Investigator and Co-PI:

Student: Hee-Nyon Kim
Advisor: William R. Nugent, Ph.D.

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Student: 125 Henson Hall
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Title of Project: Assimilation in American Life:
Elderly Korean Immigrants in Atlanta

Department: Social Work

Starting Date: Upon IRB approval

Estimated Completion Date: May, 1997

External Funding Agency and Identification Number: N/A

Grant Submission Deadline: N/A

II. OBJECTIVE OF PROJECT

The objective of this dissertation research project is to examine the relationship between the degree of assimilation and socio-demographic characteristics, informal and formal services utilization, life satisfaction, and ethnic attachment of Korean elderly immigrants in the Atlanta area. By fully understanding the relationships among various factors on assimilation in American life, it will be possible to predict the probability that a certain group of Korean elderly individuals can be successfully assimilated into American culture.

III. DESCRIPTION OF SUBJECTS

The criteria for eligibility to be the subjects of this study are Korean immigrants who: (1) are over 60 years of age; (2) immigrated to America for the first time after 1970; (3) represent both men and women; and (4) are currently living in the Atlanta area. About 117 subjects will be involved in this study.

The sample will be drawn by combination of random and non-random sampling methods. Atlanta is chosen as a research site mainly because of this researcher's familiarity with it and its convenience. In addition, Atlanta has advantages for purposes of the study over other cities in other parts of the United States. To a greater extent than most other American metropolitan areas, the Korean community in Atlanta has developed recently. The Korean population in Atlanta may be ideal for examining assimilation because it consists to a great extent of recent immigrants who are in the process of adjustment.

IV. METHODS OR PROCEDURES

Within the area selected, a combination of purposive (judgmental) and systematic sampling will be conducted. For obtaining study subjects, the heads of Korean ethnic associations, churches, and agencies in the Atlanta area were contacted by the doctoral student. The names of these organizations are the Korean senior citizen's association in Atlanta, the Korean senior citizen's college in Atlanta, the Korean welfare center in Atlanta, the Korean first Presbyterian church in Atlanta, Salt and light Presbyterian church in Atlanta, the Korean united seventh day Adventist church in Atlanta, and Jun Dung Sa Buddhist temple in Atlanta (see attachment C, letters from organizations). All members of these organizations will be given advance notice of this research and given the opportunity to inform the organizations they don't want the doctoral student to contact them. Korean elderly subjects will be selected in a random manner from available membership lists of these organizations. However, to avoid bias from selecting only active people as the study subjects, a snowball sampling technique also will be employed.

The data for this study will be obtained through face-to-face contact based on a written questionnaire. After the random selection of the Korean elderly subjects, the selected individuals will be contacted by phone requesting their cooperation. The purpose of the research, the usage of data, and confidentiality of responses will be explained. And, if the person agrees to be interviewed, an appointment for a convenient time and place to conduct the interview will be arranged. These selected individuals will be met by the doctoral student. Finally, after obtaining informed consent, the interview will be performed and will last approximately an hour. All interviews will be conducted in Korean. The questionnaire and consent form are attached as attachment A and attachment B.

V. SPECIFIC RISKS AND PROTECTION MEASURES

The risk of this study would be minimal. The content of the questionnaire should not be offensive or uncomfortable for a subject. Furthermore, a subject will be informed before answering the questionnaire that their participation is voluntary and that he/she can withdraw at anytime without any penalty or skip questions if he/she wishes.

The only risk to subjects is to the confidentiality of their responses to the questionnaire. No names will be placed on any questionnaires. Further, no number identification codes of any kind will be placed on the questionnaires until after all data have been collected and all questionnaires have been transported back to the University of Tennessee by the doctoral student. All membership lists used by the doctoral student will be returned to the participating organizations before any completed questionnaires are transported to the University of Tennessee by the doctoral student. In this manner, respondents confidentiality will be protected. Even if the doctoral student were involved in an accident while transporting completed questionnaires, no names would be in his possession, only completed questionnaires with no names or identification numbers on them. Transported questionnaires will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in the research center, College of Social Work, University of Tennessee until responses are entered into a computer file. After all data are collected, number codes will be used by the doctoral student on questionnaires as identification of order of entry into a computer data file. The number will represent only order of entry into the computer and will not represent individual subjects. Following the data entry, the questionnaire instruments will be destroyed.

VI. BENEFITS VS. RISKS

Although this study may have no direct benefits for the subjects, it is expected to increase our knowledge about psychological and sociological adaptation of Korean elderly immigrants in the United States. While risks are minimal, this study can contribute to the accumulation of research-based knowledge and to social work practice for Korean elderly immigrant populations by providing information about the factors which affect assimilation of Korean elderly immigrants in the United States.

VII. METHOD OF OBTAINING "INFORMED CONSENT" FROM SUBJECTS

The head of each organization will inform his/her members about the purpose of this study and the method of data collection either by verbal notice or by posting a flyer at the organization. Therefore, those who don't want to be called by the doctoral student can let the head of the organization know so he/she can tell the doctoral student. In this way, anyone who does not want to be involved in this study will not be considered as a potential study subject.

The selected Korean elderly immigrants will be contacted first by a telephone call. The purposes and procedures of this study will be explained. And, if the person agrees to be interviewed, he/she will be met by the doctoral

student. The individuals selected for this study will not be forced or coerced into participating. They will be informed that their involvement is fully voluntary. After allowing the person about five minutes to read the consent form as well as the questionnaire while the doctoral student is absent, the person will decide whether he/she wants to participate in the study. If the person still agrees to participate, a consent form will be obtained, granting permission for the doctoral student to administer questionnaires and to use the data obtained. However, if the person does not want to participate, the doctoral student will immediately leave.

Completed consent forms will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in a locked room in the College of Social Work Research Center (Henson hall). These forms will be kept for three years. After three years they will be shredded. A Korean version will be used for both the questionnaire and the informed consent form to minimize the likelihood of misunderstanding. Both English and Korean versions of consent forms are attached in attachment B.

VIII. QUALIFICATION OF THE INVESTIGATOR

The PI, Hee-Nyon Kim, is a doctoral candidate at the College of Social Work, University of Tennessee, Knoxville. He has been studying research methods and working as a graduate assistant on various research projects. He holds a masters degree in social work and a graduate certificate in gerontology. He also has worked in several settings that provide an overall understanding of the elderly population. He has a genuine interest and concern for the aged and a wish to contribute to the development of the field of aging.

The Co-PI, Dr. William R. Nugent, is the chair for the PI's doctoral dissertation. Dr. Nugent holds masters degrees in social work and in counseling. He also holds a Ph.D. in social work, has many years experience in providing mental health services in numerous settings. The PI and Co-PI are experienced in conducting research and are familiar with and understand issues concerning their involvement in research.

IX. ADEQUACY OF FACILITIES TO SUPPORT RESEARCH

Many Korean ethnic service organizations in the Atlanta area such as the Korean senior citizen's association, the Korean senior citizen's college, the Korean welfare center, the Korean first Presbyterian church, Salt and light Presbyterian church, the Korean united seventh day Adventist church, and Jun Dung Sa Buddhist temple have agreed to help the doctoral student contact with and collect data from Korean elderly immigrants. However, facilities of these organizations may or may not be utilized in this study. Data will be collected when the doctoral student meets each subject. Since the doctoral student has his own office and locked cabinet, confidentiality and safety of the data will be maintained.

X. RESPONSIBILITY OF PROJECT DIRECTOR

By the compliance with the policies established by the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Committee on Research Participation, the principal investigator subscribes to the principles stated in "The Belmont Report" and standards of professional ethics in all research, development, and related activities involving human subjects under the auspices of The University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

- a. Approval will be obtained from the University Committee prior to instituting any change in the research project.
- b. Development of any unexpected risks will be reported to the University Committee.
- c. A status report (Form D) will be submitted at 12 month intervals or as requested attesting to the current status of the project.
- d. Signed consent statements will be kept for the duration of the project and for at least three years thereafter.

Principal Investigator

Name

Signature

Date

Advisor

Name

Signature

Date

XI. DEPARTMENTAL REVIEW

Department Head

Name

Signature

Date

The application described above has been reviewed by the departmental committee and has been approved.

Chair of Departmental Review Committee

Name

Signature

Date

APPROVED: Steve Pulik, Coordinator of Compliances Research Administration

Name

Signature

Date

ATTACHMENT A
MEASUREMENT INSTRUMENTS

General directions: Please answer all questions in this survey to the best of your knowledge. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers or opinions. Unless otherwise specified, you can answer the question simply by circling one response that is true for you or that comes closest to your own opinion. Feel free to write in comments whenever you feel it is necessary.

SECTION I. Sociodemographic and Living Arrangement Information

1. What is your gender?

- 1) Male 2) Female

2. When were you born?

Month _____ Year _____

3. What is the highest grade or degree you completed in school?

- | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|----------------|
| 1) No schooling | 2) Elementary school | 3) Junior high |
| 4) High school | 5) Some college | 6) Bachelors |
| 7) Masters | 8) Doctorate | 9) Other _____ |

4. How many years of school have you completed?

_____ years

5. What is your marital status?

- 1) Married 2) Widowed 3) Divorced 4) Single 5) Other _____

6. If you are married, are you currently living with your spouse?

- 1) Yes 2) No

7. How many children do you have?

_____ persons

8. If you have children, how many of them are in the United States?

_____ persons

9. Do you currently live with any of your children?

- 1) Yes 2) No

10. If you do not live with your children, how close do they live to you?

- 1) Walking distance 2) Within 1 hour drive 3) 1-2 hours drive
4) 2-5 hours drive 5) 5 hours to 1 day drive 6) More than 1 day drive
7) Overseas 8) Not applicable

11. If you had your choice, do you think you would prefer living alone or living with your adult children?

- 1) Prefer living alone 2) Prefer living with children
3) Other _____

12. Who usually prepares your meals for the day?

- 1) Self 2) Spouse 3) Son or daughter (in-law)
4) Other relatives 5) Restaurant 6) Other _____

13. What is the average monthly net income for your household?

_____ dollars

14. Where does your (and your spouse's) income come from? (Please be sure to answer every item on the list.)

a. Employment	1) Yes	2) No
b. Children	1) Yes	2) No
c. US government	1) Yes	2) No
d. Other (describe)		

15. How many people altogether live on this income?

_____ persons

16. Are you satisfied with your current income?

- 1) Very satisfied 2) Satisfied 3) Don't know 4) Dissatisfied 5) Very dissatisfied

17. What is your employment status?

- 1) Employed 2) Unemployed 3) Other _____

18. How long have you lived in the United States?

_____ years _____ months

19. Do you have a citizenship of the United States?

- 1) Yes 2) No

20. What is your religion?

1) Protestant
4) Confucianism

2) Catholic
5) No religion

3) Buddhism
6) Other _____

21. If you belong to a Christian church, do you attend church services regularly?

1) Yes

2) No

22. How would you rate your own overall health at the present time?

1) Excellent

2) Good

3) Fair

4) Not good

5) Poor

23. Who usually takes care of you at home when you are sick?

1) Self

2) Spouse

3) Son or daughter (in-law)

4) Other relatives

5) Friend or Neighbor

6) Other _____

24. how would you rate the physical condition of your living quarters?

1) Excellent

2) Good

3) Fair

4) Not good

5) Poor

25. Do you have a problem with any of the following? (Please be sure to answer every item on the list.)

a. Health	1) Yes	2) No
b. Income	1) Yes	2) No
c. Children	1) Yes	2) No
d. Language	1) Yes	2) No
e. Loneliness	1) Yes	2) No
f. Transportation	1) Yes	2) No
g. Housing	1) Yes	2) No
h. Employment	1) Yes	2) No
i. Nutrition	1) Yes	2) No
j. Racial discrimination	1) Yes	2) No

SECTION II. Informal Service Utilization

1. Do you have someone you can talk to when things are troubling you?

1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know 4) Somewhat no 5) Not at all

2. If you became sick or disabled, is there someone who would take care of you?

1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know 4) Somewhat no 5) Not at all

3. How satisfied are you with the frequency of contact(letter, phone, in person) which you have with your children?

1) Very satisfied	2) Satisfied	3) Don't know
4) Dissatisfied	5) Very dissatisfied	0) Not applicable

4. How satisfied are you with the frequency of contact(letter, phone, in person) which you have with your grandchildren?

1) Very satisfied	2) Satisfied	3) Don't know
4) Dissatisfied	5) Very dissatisfied	0) Not applicable

5. Are you dependent on emotional support from your children?

1) Definitely yes	2) More or less yes	3) Don't know
4) More or less no	5) Definitely no	0) Not applicable

6. Are you dependent on emotional support from your grandchildren?

1) Definitely yes	2) More or less yes	3) Don't know
4) More or less no	5) Definitely no	0) Not applicable

7. Are you dependent on financial help from your children?

1) Definitely yes	2) More or less yes	3) Don't know
4) More or less no	5) Definitely no	0) Not applicable

8. Are you satisfied with the help you have received from your children?

1) Very satisfied	2) Satisfied	3) Don't know
4) Dissatisfied	5) Very dissatisfied	0) Not applicable

9. Are you satisfied with the help you have received from your grandchildren?

1) Very satisfied	2) Satisfied	3) Don't know
4) Dissatisfied	5) Very dissatisfied	0) Not applicable

10. How do you feel your relationship is with your children?

1) Very close	2) Somewhat close	3) Fair
4) Not close	5) Not at all close	0) Not applicable

11. How do you feel your relationship is with your grandchildren?

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1) Very close | 2) Somewhat close | 3) Fair |
| 4) Not close | 5) Not at all close | 0) Not applicable |

12. Besides your family, how many people do you know well enough to visit with in their homes?

- 1) None 2) One 3) Two to three 4) Four to five 5) Six or more

13. Do you contact with your relatives as often as you want to?

- 1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know 4) Somewhat no 5) Not at all

14. How do you feel your relationship is with your relatives?

- 1) Very close 2) Somewhat close 3) Fair 4) Not close 5) Not at all close

15. Do you see your friends as often as you want to?

- 1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know 4) Somewhat no 5) Not at all

16. How often do you see your close friends?

- | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| 1) Everyday | 2) 2-3 times a week | 3) Once a week |
| 4) 1-2 times a month | 5) Hardly ever | |

17. How do you feel your relationship is with your friends?

- 1) Very close 2) Somewhat close 3) Fair 4) Not close 5) Not at all close

18. How often do you visit or are visited by your neighbors?

- | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| 1) Everyday | 2) 2-3 times a week | 3) Once a week |
| 4) 1-2 times a month | 5) Hardly ever | |

19. How do you feel your relationship is with your neighbors?

- 1) Very close 2) Somewhat close 3) Fair 4) Not close 5) Not at all close

20. How do you feel about your neighborhood as a place to live?

- 1) Excellent 2) Good 3) Fair 4) Not good 5) Poor

SECTION III. Formal Service Utilization

1. Do you know about the following public services? (Please be sure to answer every item on the list.)

a. Social Security	1) Yes	2) No
b. Supplemental Security Income (SSI)	1) Yes	2) No
c. Medicare	1) Yes	2) No
d. Medicaid	1) Yes	2) No
e. Food stamp	1) Yes	2) No
f. Elderly housing	1) Yes	2) No
g. Rent subsidies	1) Yes	2) No
h. Employment services	1) Yes	2) No
i. Reduced fares	1) Yes	2) No
j. Transportation services	1) Yes	2) No
k. Meals-on wheels	1) Yes	2) No
l. Nutrition sites	1) Yes	2) No
m. Telephone reassurance	1) Yes	2) No
n. Friendly visiting	1) Yes	2) No
o. Home maker services	1) Yes	2) No
p. Home health care	1) Yes	2) No

2. Have you ever used the following public services? (Please be sure to answer every item on the list.)

a. Social Security	1) Yes	2) No
b. Supplemental Security Income (SSI)	1) Yes	2) No
c. Medicare	1) Yes	2) No
d. Medicaid	1) Yes	2) No
e. Food stamp	1) Yes	2) No
f. Elderly housing	1) Yes	2) No
g. Rent subsidies	1) Yes	2) No
h. Employment services	1) Yes	2) No
i. Reduced fares	1) Yes	2) No
j. Transportation services	1) Yes	2) No
k. Meals-on wheels	1) Yes	2) No
l. Nutrition sites	1) Yes	2) No
m. Telephone reassurance	1) Yes	2) No
n. Friendly visiting	1) Yes	2) No
o. Home maker services	1) Yes	2) No
p. Home health care	1) Yes	2) No

3. Is there someone who gives you information about the kind of help that is available or puts you in touch with those who could help you?

1) Yes

2) No

0) Not applicable

4. Do you feel you need to have someone organize or coordinate the kinds of help you need and make arrangements for you to get them?

1) Yes

2) No

5. Do you belong to any clubs, churches, or organizations that provide social and recreational activities for older persons?

1) Yes

2) No

6. If you belong to any clubs, churches, or organizations that provide social and recreational activities for older persons, do you attend those clubs or meetings regularly?

1) Yes

2) No

0) Not applicable

7. Which of the following organizations do you belong to? (Please be sure to answer every item on the list.)

a. Korean association	1) Yes	2) No
b. Korean senior citizen's association	1) Yes	2) No
c. Korean senior citizen's college	1) Yes	2) No
d. Church-related groups	1) Yes	2) No
e. Work-related associations	1) Yes	2) No
f. Alumni associations	1) Yes	2) No
g. Veterans association	1) Yes	2) No
h. Recreation or hobby groups	1) Yes	2) No
i. Political organizations	1) Yes	2) No
j. Community services organizations	1) Yes	2) No
k. American senior citizen's center	1) Yes	2) No

8. Do you feel you need transportation more often than it is available to you now?

1) Yes

2) No

9. Are you covered by any kinds of health or medical insurance?

1) Yes

2) No

10. Do you need medical care or treatment beyond what you are receiving at this time?

1) Yes

2) No

SECTION IV. Life Satisfaction

1. Are you satisfied with your life today?

1) Very satisfied 2) Satisfied 3) Don't know 4) Dissatisfied 5) Very dissatisfied

2. Are you happy most of the time?

1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know
4) Somewhat no 5) Definitely no

3. Are you just as happy as when you were younger?

1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know
4) Somewhat no 5) Definitely no

4. Do you think the things you do are as interesting to you as they ever were?

1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know
4) Somewhat no 5) Definitely no

5. Do you feel lucky?

1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know
4) Somewhat no 5) Definitely no

6. Do you feel useless at times?

1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know
4) Somewhat no 5) Definitely no

7. Do you think you are less useful as you get older?

1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know
4) Somewhat no 5) Definitely no

8. Do you feel weak all over much of the time?

1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know
4) Somewhat no 5) Definitely no

9. Do you often feel lonely?

1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know
4) Somewhat no 5) Definitely no

10. Do you think most of the things you do are boring or monotonous?

1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know
4) Somewhat no 5) Definitely no

11. Does it seem that no one understands you?

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 1) Definitely yes | 2) Somewhat yes | 3) Don't know |
| 4) Somewhat no | 5) Definitely no | |

12. Do you get upset easily?

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 1) Definitely yes | 2) Somewhat yes | 3) Don't know |
| 4) Somewhat no | 5) Definitely no | |

13. Do you get mad more than you used to?

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 1) Definitely yes | 2) Somewhat yes | 3) Don't know |
| 4) Somewhat no | 5) Definitely no | |

14. Do you think things are getting worse as you get older?

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 1) Definitely yes | 2) Somewhat yes | 3) Don't know |
| 4) Somewhat no | 5) Definitely no | |

15. Have you at times very much wanted to leave home?

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 1) Definitely yes | 2) Somewhat yes | 3) Don't know |
| 4) Somewhat no | 5) Definitely no | |

16. Do you think life is hard for you most of the time?

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 1) Definitely yes | 2) Somewhat yes | 3) Don't know |
| 4) Somewhat no | 5) Definitely no | |

17. How would you rate your mental or emotional health at the present time?

- | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|---------|-------------|---------|
| 1) Excellent | 2) Good | 3) Fair | 4) Not good | 5) Poor |
|--------------|---------|---------|-------------|---------|

18. Since your immigration, do you think everything has progressed as you planned?

- | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| 1) Almost yes | 2) Somewhat yes | 3) Don't know | 4) Somewhat no | 5) Not at all |
|---------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|

19. Do you regret that you came to the United States?

- | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|------------------|
| 1) Always yes | 2) Often yes | 3) Don't know | 4) Nearly no | 5) Absolutely no |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|------------------|

20. Taking everything into consideration how well are you generally satisfied with your immigrant life?

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 1) Very satisfied | 2) Satisfied | 3) Don't know | 4) Dissatisfied | 5) Very dissatisfied |
|-------------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------------|

SECTION V. Ethnic Attachment

1. Do you read any Korean newspaper(s) and/or magazine(s)?
1) Not at all 2) Almost not at all 3) Once in a while 4) Often 5) Always
2. Do you watch the Korean television and/or video tapes?
1) Not at all 2) Almost not at all 3) Once in a while 4) Often 5) Very often
3. Do you celebrate the Korean national holidays in the United States?
1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know 4) Somewhat no 5) Not at all
4. How many organizations (clubs, churches, or associations) for Koreans are you currently enrolled in?
1) None 2) One 3) Two 4) Three 5) Four or more
5. What types of neighbors do you have in your neighborhood?
1) Mostly Korean neighbors 2) More Korean neighbors
3) About half and half 4) More American neighbors
5) Mostly American neighbors
6. Would you feel more comfortable to live in Korean neighborhood than American?
1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know
4) Somewhat no 5) Definitely no
7. Are you proud of being born a Korean?
1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know 4) Somewhat no 5) Not at all
8. Do you think it is necessary for children of Korean immigrants to speak Korean language well?
1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know 4) Somewhat no 5) Not at all
9. Do you think, although Korean immigrants need to adjust themselves to the American society occupationally, they must associate mainly with Koreans in other areas of life?
1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know
4) Somewhat no 5) Definitely no
10. How do you feel about returning to Korea eventually and spending the rest of your life there?
1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Don't know 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

SECTION VI. Degree of Assimilation

1. Do you read any American newspaper(s)?
1) Not at all 2) Almost not at all 3) Once in a while 4) Often 5) Always
2. Do you read any American magazine(s) and/or book(s)?
1) Not at all 2) Almost not at all 3) Once in a while 4) Often 5) Always
3. Do you watch the American television?
1) Not at all 2) Almost not at all 3) Once in a while 4) Often 5) Always
4. Do you go to the American movies and/or sport events?
1) Not at all 2) Almost not at all 3) Once in a while 4) Often 5) Very often
5. Do you celebrate the American national holidays?
1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know 4) Somewhat no 5) Not at all
6. Do you speak English at home?
1) Not at all 2) Almost not at all 3) Once in a while 4) Often 5) Always
7. How well can you read English?
1) Not at all 2) A little 3) Fair 4) Moderately well 5) Fluently
8. How well can you write letters in English?
1) Not at all 2) A little 3) Fair 4) Moderately well 5) Very well
9. How well can you speak English?
1) Not at all 2) A little 3) Fair 4) Moderately well 5) Fluently
10. Reflecting on your experience in America, how well do you think you can express yourself in English?
1) Not at all 2) A little 3) Fair 4) Moderately well 5) Fluently
11. During the last year, have you been invited to the home(s) of any American(s)?
1) Not at all 2) Almost not at all 3) Once in a while 4) Often 5) Quite often
12. During the last year, have you invited any American(s) to your home?
1) Not at all 2) Almost not at all 3) Once in a while 4) Often 5) Quite often

13. How many American friends do you have?

- 1) None 2) One 3) Two to three 4) Four to five 5) Six or more

14. Do you think it is generally difficult to make friends with Americans?

- 1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know 4) Somewhat no 5) Not at all

15. How many organizations (clubs, churches, or associations) for Americans are you currently enrolled in?

- 1) None 2) One 3) Two 4) Three 5) Four or more

16. Do you think, as long as Koreans have immigrated to the United States, they must learn actively the American way of life?

- 1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know
4) Somewhat no 5) Definitely no

17. Do you feel some aspects of Korean culture (habit, customs) which are disadvantageous to the American life need to be modified?

- 1) Definitely yes 2) Somewhat yes 3) Don't know
4) Somewhat no 5) Definitely no

18. How do you feel about Korean changing their names to American names?

- 1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Don't know 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

19. How do you feel about Korean-American marriage?

- 1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Don't know 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

20. How would you rate your overall understanding of the people and culture in America?

- 1) Excellent 2) Good 3) Fair 4) Not good 5) Poor

Thank you very much for your assistance in answering this questionnaire.
Using this opportunity, would you like to suggest anything for promoting life conditions of the Korean elderly immigrants in the United States?

I. 인적, 물적 및 주거환경에 관한 사항

1. 귀하의 성별은 무엇입니까? 1) 남 2) 여
2. 귀하의 생년월일은 언제 이십니까? ____년 ____월 ____일
3. 귀하의 최종학력은 무엇입니까?
1) 무학 2) 초등학교 졸업 (6년) 3) 중학교 졸업 (9년)
4) 고등학교 졸업 (12년) 5) 대학 중퇴 6) 학사학위 취득 (16년)
7) 석사학위 취득 (18년) 8) 박사학위 취득 (20년 이상) 9) 기타
4. 귀하께서 학교에 재학하신 총 기간은 얼마나 되십니까? ____년
5. 귀하의 혼인 사항은 어떻게 되십니까?
1) 기혼 2) 사별 3) 이혼 4) 미혼 5) 기타 ____
6. 귀하께서 기혼자이시라면 현재 배우자와 함께 사십니까? 1) 네 2) 아니오
7. 귀하의 자녀는 전부 몇 분이십니까? ____명
8. 귀하에게 자녀분이 계시다면 미국 내에 몇 분이나 살고 계십니까? ____명
9. 귀하께서는 현재 자녀분과 함께 살고 계십니까? 1) 네 2) 아니오
10. 귀하께서 현재 자녀분과 함께 살고 계시지 않는다면 자녀들과 얼마나 떨어져서 살고 계십니까?
1) 도보 거리 2) 차로 1시간 이내의 거리 3) 차로 1-2시간 거리
4) 차로 2-5시간 거리 5) 차로 5시간에서 하루거리
6) 차로 하루 이상 7) 외국 8) 해당 없음
11. 귀하께서는 노인들이 결혼한 성인 자녀들과 함께 사는 것에 대해서 어떻게 생각하십니까?
1) 노인 스스로 독립하여 사는 것이 좋음 2) 자녀들과 함께 사는 것이 좋음
3) 기타 ____
12. 귀하의 식사는 주로 어느 분이 준비하십니까?
1) 본인 2) 배우자 3) 자녀 4) 그 외의 친척 5) 식당 6) 기타 ____
13. 귀하 가정의 한달 평균수입(세금 공제후)은 얼마나 되십니까? 약 ____불

14. 귀하 (배우자 포함)의 소득 원은 무엇입니까?
a) 직업 1) 네 2) 아니오 b) 자녀 1) 네 2) 아니오
c) 미국 정부 1) 네 2) 아니오 d) 기타 _____
15. 몇 분이 귀하 가정의 소득으로 생활하고 계십니까? _____명
16. 귀하께서는 현재의 수입에 만족하고 계십니까?
1) 매우 만족 2) 만족 3) 보통 4) 약간 부족 5) 매우 부족
17. 귀하께서는 현재 직업을 갖고 계십니까? 1) 네 2) 아니오
18. 귀하께서 미국에 사신 지는 얼마나 되셨습니까? _____년 _____개월
19. 귀하께서는 미국 시민권을 갖고 계십니까? 1) 네 2) 아니오
20. 귀하의 종교는 무엇입니까?
1) 기독교 2) 천주교 3) 불교 4) 유교 5) 종교가 없음 6) 기타 _____
21. 만약 귀하께서 교인이시라면, 정기적으로 예배에 참석하십니까?
1) 네 2) 아니오
22. 현재 귀하의 전반적인 건강상태는 어떻다고 생각하십니까?
1) 매우 좋음 2) 좋음 3) 보통 4) 좋지 않음 5) 매우 나쁨
23. 귀하께서 편찮으실 때 집에서 주로 누가 귀하를 돌보아 드립니까?
1) 본인 2) 배우자 3) 자녀 (며느리 포함)
4) 그 외의 친척 5) 친구나 이웃 6) 기타 _____
24. 모든 것을 고려해 볼 때 귀하가 현재 생활하시는 주거공간을 어떻게 생각하십니까?
1) 매우 좋음 2) 좋음 3) 보통 4) 좋지 않음 5) 매우 나쁨
25. 아래에 열거한 사항들 중에서 만약 귀하께서 현재 어려움을 겪고 계시는 것들이 있으시다 면 어떤 것들입니까?
a) 건강 1) 네 2) 아니오 b) 수입 1) 네 2) 아니오
c) 자녀 1) 네 2) 아니오 d) 언어 1) 네 2) 아니오
e) 외로움 1) 네 2) 아니오 f) 교통 1) 네 2) 아니오
g) 주택 1) 네 2) 아니오 h) 취업 1) 네 2) 아니오
i) 영양 1) 네 2) 아니오 j) 인종 차별 1) 네 2) 아니오

II. 가족이나 친지와의 관계 및 도움에 관한 사항

1. 귀하께서 어렵거나 곤란한 상황에 처하신다면 상의하실 분이 계십니까?
1) 있음 2) 있을 것임 3) 잘 모르겠음 4) 없을 것임 5) 없음
2. 귀하께서 아프시거나 거동이 불편하실 때 귀하를 간호해드릴 분이 계십니까?
1) 있음 2) 있을 것임 3) 잘 모르겠음 4) 없을 것임 5) 없음
3. 귀하께서는 자녀들과 편지나 전화 또는 직접적인 만남을 포함한 접촉의 정도에 얼마나 만족하고 계십니까?
1)매우 만족 2)약간 만족 3)보통 4)약간 불만족 5)매우 불만족 0)해당 없음
4. 귀하께서는 손 자녀들과 편지나 전화 또는 직접적인 만남을 포함한 접촉의 정도에 얼마나 만족하고 계십니까?
1)매우 만족 2)약간 만족 3)보통 4)약간 불만족 5)매우 불만족 0)해당 없음
5. 귀하께서는 정신적으로 자녀들에게 얼마나 의존하고 계시다고 생각하십니까?
1)전적으로 2)상당히 3)약간 4)거의 의존 안함 5)전혀 의존 안함 0)해당 없음
6. 귀하께서는 정신적으로 손 자녀들에게 얼마나 의존하고 계십니까?
1)전적으로 2)상당히 3)약간 4)거의 의존 안함 5)전혀 의존 안함 0)해당 없음
7. 귀하께서는 금전적으로 자녀들에게 얼마나 의존하고 계십니까?
1)전적으로 2)상당히 3)약간 4)거의 의존 안함 5)전혀 의존 안함 0)해당 없음
8. 귀하의 자녀분들이 귀하를 돌보아 드리는데 만족하고 계십니까?
1)매우 만족 2)약간 만족 3)보통 4)약간 불만족 5)매우 불만족 0)해당 없음
9. 귀하의 손 자녀분들이 귀하를 돌보아 드리는데 만족하고 계십니까?
1)매우 만족 2)약간 만족 3)보통 4)약간 불만족 5)매우 불만족 0)해당 없음
10. 귀하와 귀하의 자녀들과의 관계는 어떻다고 생각하십니까?
1)매우 친밀 2)친밀 3)보통 4)가깝지 않음 5)전혀 가깝지 않음 0)해당 없음
11. 귀하와 귀하의 손 자녀들과의 관계는 어떻다고 생각하십니까?
1)매우 친밀 2)친밀 3)보통 4)가깝지 않음 5)전혀 가깝지 않음 0)해당 없음

12. 귀하의 가족을 제외하고, 귀하께서는 서로 왕래하시는 가까운 친지 분들이 몇 분이나 계십니까?
1) 없음 2) 한 명 3) 두 세 명 4) 네 다섯 명 5) 여섯 명 이상
13. 귀하께서는 만족하실 만큼 충분히 친척 분들과 연락을 하고 계십니까?
1)매우 만족 2)약간 만족 3)보통 4)약간 불만족 5)매우 불만족 0)해당 없음
14. 귀하와 귀하의 친척 분들과의 관계는 어떠십니까?
1)매우 친밀 2)친밀 3)보통 4)가깝지 않음 5)전혀 가깝지 않음 0)해당 없음
15. 귀하께서는 만족하실 만큼 충분히 친구 분들과 만나고 계십니까?
1)매우 만족 2)약간 만족 3)보통 4)약간 불만족 5)매우 불만족 0)해당 없음
16. 귀하께서는 친한 친구 분들과 얼마나 자주 만나고 계십니까?
1)매일 2)일주일에 두세 번 3)일주일에 한번 4)한 달에 한두번 5)거의 못만남
17. 귀하와 귀하의 친구 분들과의 관계는 어떠십니까?
1)매우 친밀 2)친밀 3)보통 4)가깝지 않음 5)전혀 가깝지 않음 0)해당 없음
18. 귀하께서는 이웃들과는 얼마나 자주 만나고 계십니까?
1)매일 2)일주일에 두세 번 3)일주일에 한번 4)한 달에 한두번 5)거의 못만남
19. 귀하와 귀하의 이웃들과의 관계는 어떠십니까?
1)매우 친밀 2)친밀 3)보통 4)가깝지 않음 5)전혀 가깝지 않음 0)해당 없음
20. 귀하께서 거주하시는 동네는 사시기에 어떻다고 생각하십니까?
1) 매우 좋음 2) 좋음 3) 보통 4) 좋지 않음 5) 매우 나쁨

III. 사회복지 서비스에 관한 지식 및 이용에 관한 사항

1. 아래에 열거한 사회 복지 서비스들 중에서 귀하께서는 어떠한 것들을 알고

계시는지 항목 별로 만약 아시면 '네'에, 모르시면 '아니오'에 표시해 주십시오.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------|--------|
| a. 소셜 씨큐리티 (Social Security) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| b. Supplemental Security Income (SSI) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| c. 메디케어 (Medicare) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| d. 메디케이드 (Medicaid) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| e. 푸드 스탬프 (Food stamp) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| f. 주택제공 서비스 (Elderly housing) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| g. 주거비 보조 (Rent subsidies) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| h. 취업알선 서비스 (Employment services) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| i. 요금할인 서비스 (Reduced fares) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| j. 교통편의 제공 (Transportation services) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| k. 배식 서비스 (Meals-on-wheels) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| l. 영양 프로그램 (Nutrition sites) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| m. 전화확인 서비스 (Telephone reassurance) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| n. 우호방문 서비스 (Friendly visiting) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| o. 홈 메이커 서비스 (Home maker services) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| p. 가정건강보호 (Home health care) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |

2. 아래에 열거한 사회 복지 서비스들 중에서 항목 별로 귀하께서 이용하신 경험이 있으시면 '네'에, 없으시면 '아니오'에 표시해 주시기 바랍니다.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------|--------|
| a. 소셜 씨큐리티 (Social Security) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| b. Supplemental Security Income (SSI) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| c. 메디케어 (Medicare) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| d. 메디케이드 (Medicaid) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| e. 푸드 스탬프 (Food stamp) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| f. 주택제공 서비스 (Elderly housing) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| g. 주거비 보조 (Rent subsidies) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| h. 취업알선 서비스 (Employment services) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| i. 요금할인 서비스 (Reduced fares) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| j. 교통편의 제공 (Transportation services) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| k. 배식 서비스 (Meals-on-wheels) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| l. 영양 프로그램 (Nutrition sites) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| m. 전화확인 서비스 (Telephone reassurance) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| n. 우호방문 서비스 (Friendly visiting) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| o. 홈 메이커 서비스 (Home maker services) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |
| p. 가정건강보호 (Home health care) | 1) 네 | 2) 아니오 |

IV. 생활 만족도에 관한 사항

1. 귀하께서는 오늘 하루의 생활에 만족하고 계십니까?
1) 매우 만족 2) 약간 만족 3) 보통 4) 약간 불만족 5) 매우 불만족
2. 귀하께서는 대부분의 시간이 즐겁다고 생각되십니까?
1) 그렇음 2) 그런 편임 3) 모르겠음 4) 안 그런 편임 5) 안 그렇음
3. 귀하께서는 현재의 생활이 귀하께서 젊으셨을 때만큼 행복하다고 생각 하십니까?
1) 그렇음 2) 그런 편임 3) 모르겠음 4) 안 그런 편임 5) 안 그렇음
4. 귀하께서 현재 하시는 일들이 과거에 하셨을 때처럼 흥미 있게 생각되십니까?
1) 그렇음 2) 그런 편임 3) 모르겠음 4) 안 그런 편임 5) 안 그렇음
5. 귀하께서는 운이 좋은 편이라고 생각하십니까?
1) 그렇음 2) 그런 편임 3) 모르겠음 4) 안 그런 편임 5) 안 그렇음
6. 귀하께서는 자신이 무가치하다는 생각이 드실 때가 있으십니까?
1) 그렇음 2) 그런 편임 3) 모르겠음 4) 안 그런 편임 5) 안 그렇음
7. 귀하께서는 나이가 드실수록 자신이 점점 쓸모가 없어진다고 생각되십니까?
1) 그렇음 2) 그런 편임 3) 모르겠음 4) 안 그런 편임 5) 안 그렇음
8. 귀하께서는 전체적으로 몸이 약하다고 느껴지십니까?
1) 그렇음 2) 그런 편임 3) 모르겠음 4) 안 그런 편임 5) 안 그렇음
9. 귀하께서는 자주 외로움을 느끼시는 편이십니까?
1) 그렇음 2) 그런 편임 3) 모르겠음 4) 안 그런 편임 5) 안 그렇음
10. 귀하께서는 귀하께서 하시는 대부분의 일들이 단조롭고 지루하다고
생각되십니까?
1) 그렇음 2) 그런 편임 3) 모르겠음 4) 안 그런 편임 5) 안 그렇음
11. 아무도 귀하를 이해하지 않는다고 생각되실 때가 있으십니까?
1) 그렇음 2) 그런 편임 3) 모르겠음 4) 안 그런 편임 5) 안 그렇음
12. 귀하께서는 화를 잘 내는 편이십니까?
1) 그렇음 2) 그런 편임 3) 모르겠음 4) 안 그런 편임 5) 안 그렇음

13. 귀하께서는 과거보다 화를 더 자주 내신다고 생각하십니까?
1) 그렇음 2) 그런 편임 3) 모르겠음 4) 안 그런 편임 5) 안 그렇음
14. 귀하께서 나이가 드실수록 귀하와 관련된 대부분의 일이나 상황들이 점점 어려워져 가고 있다고 생각되십니까?
1) 그렇음 2) 그런 편임 3) 모르겠음 4) 안 그런 편임 5) 안 그렇음
15. 귀하께서는 집을 나가고 싶은 충동이 생기실 때가 있으십니까?
1) 그렇음 2) 그런 편임 3) 모르겠음 4) 안 그런 편임 5) 안 그렇음
16. 귀하께서는 귀하의 삶이 대부분 고단하다고 생각되십니까?
1) 그렇음 2) 그런 편임 3) 모르겠음 4) 안 그런 편임 5) 안 그렇음
17. 현재 귀하의 심리적인 건강 상태가 어떻다고 생각하십니까?
1) 매우 좋음 2) 좋음 3) 보통 4) 좋지 않음 5) 매우 나쁨
18. 귀하께서 이민을 오신 이래로 모든 일들이 귀하께서 계획하셨던 대로 순조롭게 진행되어 왔다고 생각하십니까?
1) 그렇음 2) 그런 편임 3) 모르겠음 4) 안 그런 편임 5) 안 그렇음
19. 귀하께서는 이민 오신 것에 대해 후회되실 때가 있으십니까?
1) 항상 2) 가끔 3) 잘 모르겠음 4) 거의 없음 5) 전혀 없음
20. 모든 것을 고려해 볼 때 귀하께서는 현재 귀하의 생활에 얼마나 만족하고 계십니까?
1) 매우 만족 2) 약간 만족 3) 보통 4) 약간 불만족 5) 매우 불만족

V. 한국의 문화나 관습의 보존에 관한 사항

1. 귀하께서는 한국 신문이나 잡지를 읽고 계십니까?
1) 안 읽음 2) 거의 안 읽음 3) 가끔 읽음 4) 자주 읽음 5) 매일 읽음
2. 귀하께서는 텔레비전에서 방영하는 한국 방송이나 한국 비디오 테이프를 시청하고 계십니까?
1) 안함 2) 거의 안함 3) 가끔 함 4) 자주 함 5) 매일 함
3. 귀하께서는 설, 단오, 추석 등 한국의 명절들을 기념하고 계십니까?
1) 안함 2) 거의 안함 3) 약간 함 4) 자주 함 5) 많이 함
4. 귀하께서는 종교기관을 포함하여 한인들을 위한 모임이나 단체에 몇 개나 가입하고 계십니까?
1) 없음 2) 한 개 3) 두 개 4) 세 개 5) 네 개 이상
5. 귀하가 사시는 곳에는 한국인 이웃 분들이 많으십니까?
1) 거의 없음 2) 약간 3) 반 정도 4) 한국인 이웃이 더 많음 5) 대부분 한국인 이웃
6. 귀하께서는 한국인들은 한국인 이웃들과 사는 것이 미국인 이웃들과 사는 것 보다 편하다고 생각하십니까?
1) 그렇음 2) 그런 편임 3) 모르겠음 4) 안 그런 편임 5) 안 그렇음
7. 귀하께서는 한국인으로 태어나신 것에 대하여 자부심을 갖고 계십니까?
1) 그렇음 2) 그런 편임 3) 모르겠음 4) 안 그런 편임 5) 안 그렇음
8. 한국 교민 2세들도 마땅히 한국어를 잘 구사할 줄 알아야 한다고 하는 의견에 대해 귀하께서는 어떻게 생각하십니까?
1) 절대 찬성 2) 다소 찬성 3) 모르겠음 4) 다소 반대 5) 절대 반대
9. 비록 직업적으로는 미국사회에 적응할 필요가 있겠지만 그 외의 분야에 있어서는 한국 사람들은 한국 사람들끼리 어울려야 한다고 하는 의견에 대해 귀하께서는 어떻게 생각하십니까?
1) 절대 찬성 2) 다소 찬성 3) 모르겠음 4) 다소 반대 5) 절대 반대
10. 결국에는 다시 한국으로 돌아가서 귀하의 여생을 보내시는데 대하여 어떻게 생각 하십니까?
1) 절대 찬성 2) 다소 찬성 3) 모르겠음 4) 다소 반대 5) 절대 반대

VI. 미국문화, 관습에의 적응에 관한 사항

1. 귀하께서는 미국 신문을 읽고 계십니까?
1) 안 읽음 2) 거의 안 읽음 3) 가끔 읽음 4) 자주 읽음 5) 매일 읽음
2. 귀하께서는 미국 잡지나 책 등을 읽고 계십니까?
1) 안 읽음 2) 거의 안 읽음 3) 가끔 읽음 4) 자주 읽음 5) 매일 읽음
3. 귀하께서는 미국 텔레비전 방송을 시청하십니까?
1) 안함 2) 거의 안함 3) 가끔 함 4) 자주 함 5) 매일 함
4. 귀하께서는 미국 영화관이나 스포츠 경기장 등을 가십니까?
1) 안감 2) 거의 안감 3) 가끔 감 4) 자주 감 5) 매우 자주 감
5. 귀하께서는 미국의 명절들을 기념하고 계십니까?
1) 안함 2) 거의 안함 3) 약간 함 4) 자주 함 5) 많이 함
6. 귀하께서는 집에서 가족들 간의 대화에 영어를 얼마나 사용하십니까?
1) 안함 2) 거의 안함 3) 약간 함 4) 많이 함 5) 영어 만 함
7. 귀하께서는 영어를 얼마나 잘 읽으실 수 있습니까?
1) 전혀 못 읽음 2) 거의 못 읽음 3) 보통 4) 잘 읽음 5) 매우 잘 읽음
8. 귀하께서는 영어로 편지를 얼마나 잘 쓰실 수 있습니까?
1) 전혀 못 씀 2) 거의 못 씀 3) 보통 4) 잘 씀 5) 매우 잘 씀
9. 귀하께서는 영어로 대화를 얼마나 잘하실 수 있습니까?
1) 전혀 못함 2) 거의 못함 3) 보통 4) 잘함 5) 매우 잘함
10. 미국생활의 경험에 비추어서 귀하께서는 영어로 얼마나 자신의 의사를 표현하실 수 있다고 생각하십니까?
1) 전혀 못함 2) 거의 못함 3) 보통 4) 잘함 5) 매우 잘함
11. 지난 한해동안 귀하께서는 미국인의 집에 초대되어 가보신 적이 있으십니까?
1) 전혀 없음 2) 거의 없음 3) 가끔 있음 4) 자주 있음 5) 매우 자주 있음
12. 지난 한해동안 귀하께서는 귀하의 집에 미국인을 초대해보신 경험이 있으십니까?
1) 전혀 없음 2) 거의 없음 3) 가끔 있음 4) 자주 있음 5) 매우 자주 있음

13. 귀하께서는 미국인 친구 분들이 있으십니까?

- 1) 없음 2) 한 명 3) 두 세 명 4) 네 다섯 명 5) 여섯 명 이상

14. 일반적으로 미국인들과는 친구관계를 맺기가 어렵다고 하는 의견에 대해
귀하께서는 어떻게 생각하십니까?

- 1) 절대 찬성 2) 다소 찬성 3) 모르겠음 4) 다소 반대 5) 절대 반대

15. 귀하께서는 종교기관을 포함하여 미국인들을 위한 모임이나 단체에 몇 개나
가입하고 계십니까?

- 1) 없음 2) 한 개 3) 두 개 4) 세 개 5) 네 개 이상

16. 미국으로 이민을 온 이상 한국 사람들은 적극적으로 미국의 생활 방식을 익혀야
한다고 하는 의견에 대해 귀하께서는 어떻게 생각하십니까?

- 1) 절대 찬성 2) 다소 찬성 3) 모르겠음 4) 다소 반대 5) 절대 반대

17. 미국 생활을 하는데 있어서 지장을 줄 수 있는 한국으로부터의 관습들은
없애거나 고쳐야 한다고 하는 의견에 대해 귀하께서는 어떻게 생각하십니까?

- 1) 절대 찬성 2) 다소 찬성 3) 모르겠음 4) 다소 반대 5) 절대 반대

18. 귀하께서는 미국에 사는 한국인들이 미국 식으로 이름을 바꾸는 것에 대하여
어떻게 생각하십니까?

- 1) 절대 찬성 2) 다소 찬성 3) 모르겠음 4) 다소 반대 5) 절대 반대

19. 귀하께서는 한국인 자녀들의 국제 결혼에 대하여 어떻게 생각하십니까?

- 1) 절대 찬성 2) 다소 찬성 3) 모르겠음 4) 다소 반대 5) 절대 반대

20. 귀하께서는 전반적으로 미국의 문화나 미국사람들을 얼마나 이해하고 있다고
생각하십니까?

- 1) 전혀 못함 2) 약간 함 3) 보통 4) 잘함 5) 매우 잘함

바쁘신 중에도 불구하고 하시고 귀중한 시간을 내 주셔서 정말 감사합니다.

마지막으로 이 기회를 이용하여 미국에 살고 계시는 한국 노인 분들의
복지개선에 관한 좋은 의견이 있으시면 말씀해 주십시오.

ATTACHMENT B
INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

INFORMED CONSENT

The purpose of this dissertation research project is to measure the degree of assimilation of Korean elderly immigrants living in the Atlanta area. By examining socio-demographic characteristics, informal and formal services utilization, life satisfaction, and ethnic attachment of Korean elderly immigrants, it may be possible to find the factors associated with the assimilation in American life.

Data will be collected by a single face-to-face contact using a written questionnaire. The questionnaire consists of approximately 100 items and it will take about 30 minutes to complete. You do not have to complete every question. However, the more information you share, the more valid the results will be. While your participation is very important to understanding Korean American elderly, your participation is voluntary. You may withdraw from the research at any time without penalty. Also, if you wish, you can refuse to respond to any questions with which you do not feel comfortable.

The risk from participation in this study would be minimal since the content of the questionnaire is not offensive or uncomfortable for a subject. Participation in this study will not affect the benefits you receive from the government or any other programs received by any of your family member. All data obtained in this study will be held in strictest confidence. The data from the study will be reported only in group form. You need not sign your name, as all responses will remain anonymous and confidential. Your signed consent form and completed questionnaire will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in a locked room in the College of Social Work Research Center and only the researcher will have access to the data. The questionnaires will be destroyed at the conclusion of the study and the consent forms will be destroyed after three years of custody in the College of Social Work.

Although this study may have no direct benefits to you at this time, this study will contribute to the accumulation of research-based knowledge on Korean elderly immigrants, and possibly to the improvement of life conditions of Korean elderly immigrants in the United States. If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign this form in the space provided below. If you have any questions or would like more information, please feel free to contact the researcher (Hee-Nyon Kim) or faculty advisor (Dr. William Nugent) at any time. Thank you in advance for your cooperation and assistance with this project.

Hee-Nyon Kim

Ph.D. Program in College of Social Work, The University of Tennessee
125 Henson Hall, Knoxville, TN 37996-3333 (423) 974-6481

William R. Nugent, Ph.D.

Ph.D. Program in College of Social Work, The University of Tennessee
123 Henson Hall, Knoxville, TN 37996-3333 (423) 974-3802

I have read and understand the explanation of this study and agree to participate.

Name _____ Signature _____ Date _____

동의서

저는 테네시주 낙스빌에 위치한 테네시 주립대학에서 사회사업 학을 전공하고 있는 학생으로서 박사학위 과정을 수료하고 학위논문을 준비중에 있습니다. 평소에 재미 교민 가정내의 복지문제 특히 노인복지에 관하여 관심을 가져오던 중 그 실태를 좀 더 정확히 알고 싶어서 박사학위 논문으로 교포 사회 내의 노인복지에 관하여 연구하게 되었습니다.

본 연구의 목적은 애틀랜타에 거주하고 계시는 재미 교포 노인 분들이 미국의 문화나 생활 환경에 얼마나 잘 적응하고 계시는지, 또한 구체적으로 어떠한 요인들이 적응에 영향을 미치는 지를 조사함으로써 교포 노인 분들이 당면하고 계시는 여러 가지 어려움 들에 대한 이해를 돕는데 있으며 아울러 본 연구의 결과가 이러한 노인 복지 상의 문제점들을 해결하기 위한 여러 가지 사회 복지 서비스 및 정책을 개발하는데 있어서 기초 자료로써 활용되었으면 하는 것입니다.

동봉한 설문지는 백 여 개의 문항으로 이루어져 있으며 작성하시는데 약 삼십 분 정도가 소요되리라 생각됩니다. 귀하께서 평소 생활을 하시는 가운데 느끼시고 생각하시는 바를 솔직하게 답해 주시면 저의 연구에 큰 도움이 될 것입니다. 설문지 작성은 무기명으로 이루어 집니다. 자료 수집 과정에서 귀하의 신원은 물론 귀하가 제공하시는 모든 정보는 철저히 비밀로 보장될 것이며 이 연구의 결과는 학술적 목적 이외의 다른 용도로는 절대로 사용되지 않을 것을 약속 드립니다. 완성된 동의서와 설문지는 제가 소속되어 있는 학과의 잠금 장치가 되어있는 서류함에 보관되어질 것이며, 설문지는 제 논문의 완성 후 즉시, 동의서는 향후 삼 년의 보관 기간 후에 각각 파기될 것입니다. 하지만 본 연구에의 참가 여부는 전적으로 귀하의 의사에 달려 있습니다. 귀하께서는 설문지 작성을 중도에 그만 두실 수도 있고 또 불편한 질문에는 응답을 안 하셔도 괜찮습니다.

본 연구에의 참여는 귀하나 귀하의 가족께서 공공 프로그램으로부터 받으시는 혜택에 전혀 영향을 주지 않을 것입니다. 귀하께서 기꺼이 본 연구에 참여할 의향이 있으시면 아래의 준비된 난에 성함과 서명을 기입해 주시기 바랍니다. 바쁘신 중에도 이렇게 귀중한 시간을 내 주셔서 대단히 감사 드리며 아울러 댁내에 늘 건강과 기쁨이 함께 하시길 기원 드립니다. 설문지 작성 및 그 외의 의문 사항이 있으시면 아래의 주소로 본 연구자 또는 본인의 지도교수에게 문의하여 주시기 바랍니다.

연구자: 김 희 년 (Hee-Nyon Kim)

주 소: Ph.D. Program in College of Social Work, The University of Tennessee
125 Henson Hall, Knoxville, TN 37996-3333 (423)974-6481

지도교수: William R. Nugent, Ph.D.

주 소: Ph.D. Program in College of Social Work, The University of Tennessee
123 Henson Hall, Knoxville, TN 37996-3333 (423)974-3802

나는 상기된 연구의 내용을 이해하며 설문 조사에 참여하기를 원합니다.

성명 _____ 서명 _____ 날짜 1996년 ____월 ____일

ATTACHMENT C
LETTERS FROM ORGANIZATIONS

Korean Welfare Center
5455 Buford Highway #B-130
Doraville, GA 30340
(770) 457-1619

June 1, 1996

Human Subject Review Committee
College of Social Work
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

To whom it may concern:

My name is Moo-Chan Chung and I am a president of Korean Welfare Center in Atlanta, Georgia. By the request of Hee-Nyon Kim, a doctoral student at the College of Social Work in the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, I will help him conduct a questionnaire survey for his doctoral dissertation research project. By providing the membership list, I will help him contact and collect data from members of my organization. I will also give the members of my organization advance notice about the purpose of his study and the method of data collection.

Hee-Nyon and I agreed that the individuals selected for his research project should not be forced or coerced into participating. They will be informed that their involvement is fully voluntary and that they can refuse to answer questions and end their involvement in the research at any time they wish. Also, the confidentiality of respondents will be protected.

Please call me at (770) 457-1619 between 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. if you have any questions about this matter.

Sincerely,

Moo-Chan Chung, President of Korean Welfare Center in Atlanta

Korean Senior Citizen's College
6200 Buford Highway #A-3
Norcross, GA 30071
(770) 242-7105

June 1, 1996

Human Subject Review Committee
College of Social Work
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

To whom it may concern:

My name is Hyung-Sun Yu and I am currently working as a dean of Korean Senior Citizen's College in Atlanta, Georgia. By the request of Hee-Nyon Kim, a doctoral student at the College of Social Work in the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, I will allow him to conduct a questionnaire survey for his doctoral dissertation research project. By providing the membership list, I will help him contact with and collect data from members of this college. I will also give the members of this college advance notice about the purpose of his study and the method of data collection.

Hee-Nyon and I agreed that the individuals selected for his research project should not be forced or coerced into participating. They will be informed that their involvement is fully voluntary and that they can refuse to answer questions and end their involvement in the research at any time they wish. Also, the confidentiality of respondents will be protected.

Please call me at (770) 263-0100 after 5 p.m. if you have any questions about this matter.

Sincerely,

Hyung-Sun Yu, Dean of Korean Senior Citizen's College in Atlanta

Korean Senior Citizen's Association
3481 E, Durden Drive
Atlanta, GA 30319
(770) 451-3790

June 22, 1996

Human Subject Review Committee
College of Social Work
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

To whom it may concern:

My name is Wan-Sik Min and I am a chairman of Korean Senior Citizen's Association in Atlanta, Georgia. By the request of Hee-Nyon Kim, a doctoral student at the College of Social Work in the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, I will help him conduct a questionnaire survey for his doctoral dissertation research project. By providing the membership list, I will help him contact and collect data from members of my association. I will also give the members of my association advance notice about the purpose of his study and the method of data collection.

Hee-Nyon and I agreed that the individuals selected for his research project should not be forced or coerced into participating. They will be informed that their involvement is fully voluntary and that they can refuse to answer questions and end their involvement in the research at any time they wish. Also, the confidentiality of respondents will be protected.

Please call me at (770) 451-3790 if you have any questions about this matter.

Sincerely,

Wan-Sik Min, Chairman of Korean Senior Citizen's Association in Atlanta

Korean United Seventh Day Adventist Church
551 West Road
Roswell, GA 33075
(770) 998-6021

June 22, 1996

Human Subject Review Committee
College of Social Work
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

To whom it may concern:

My name is Sung-Ho Jang and I am a pastor of Korean United Seventh Day Adventist Church in Atlanta, Georgia. By the request of Hee-Nyon Kim, a doctoral student at the College of Social Work in the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, I will help him conduct a questionnaire survey for his doctoral dissertation research project. By providing the membership list of my church, I will help him contact and collect data from members of my church. I will also give the members of my church advance notice about the purpose of his study and the method of data collection.

Hee-Nyon and I agreed that the individuals selected for his research project should not be forced or coerced into participating. They will be informed that their involvement is fully voluntary and that they can refuse to answer questions and end their involvement in the research at any time they wish. Also, the confidentiality of respondents will be protected.

Please call me at (770) 998-6021 if you have any questions about this matter.

Sincerely,

Reverend Sung-Ho Jang, Korean United Seventh Day Adventist Church

Korean First Presbyterian Church
6175 Highway 29, N.W.
Tucker, GA 30084
(770) 934-8282

June 23, 1996

Human Subject Review Committee
College of Social Work
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

To whom it may concern:

My name is Sam Jung Suh and I am a pastor of Korean First Presbyterian Church in Atlanta, Georgia. By the request of Hee-Nyon Kim, a doctoral student at the College of Social Work in the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, I will help him conduct a questionnaire survey for his doctoral dissertation research project. By providing the membership list of my church, I will help him contact and collect data from members of my church. I will also give the members of my church advance notice about the purpose of his study and the method of data collection.

Hee-Nyon and I agreed that the individuals selected for his research project should not be forced or coerced into participating. They will be informed that their involvement is fully voluntary and that they can refuse to answer questions and end their involvement in the research at any time they wish. Also, the confidentiality of respondents will be protected.

Please call me at (770) 934-8282 or (770) 923-6801 if you have any questions about this matter.

Sincerely,

Reverend Sam Jung Suh, Korean First Presbyterian Church in Atlanta

Salt and Light Presbyterian Church
5511 Williams Road
Norcross, GA 30093
(770) 921-8702

June 23, 1996

Human Subject Review Committee
College of Social Work
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

To whom it may concern:

My name is Jong-Soo Lim and I am a pastor of Salt and Light Presbyterian Church in Atlanta, Georgia. By the request of Hee-Nyon Kim, a doctoral student at the College of Social Work in the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, I will help him conduct a questionnaire survey for his doctoral dissertation research project. By providing the membership list of my church, I will help him contact and collect data from members of my church. I will also give the members of my church advance notice about the purpose of his study and the method of data collection.

Hee-Nyon and I agreed that the individuals selected for his research project should not be forced or coerced into participating. They will be informed that their involvement is fully voluntary and that they can refuse to answer questions and end their involvement in the research at any time they wish. Also, the confidentiality of respondents will be protected.

Please call me at (770) 921-8702 or (770) 717-9112 if you have any questions about this matter.

Sincerely,

Reverend Jong-Soo Lim, Salt and Light Presbyterian Church in Atlanta

Jun Dung Sa Buddhist Temple
900 Beaver Run Road
Lilburn, GA 30247
(770) 923-5375

June 24, 1996

Human Subject Review Committee
College of Social Work
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

To whom it may concern:

My name is Maya and I am a Buddhist monk of Jun Dung Sa Buddhist Temple in Atlanta, Georgia. By the request of Hee-Nyon Kim, a doctoral student at the College of Social Work in the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, I will help him conduct a questionnaire survey for his doctoral dissertation research project. By providing the membership list, I will help him contact and collect data from members of my temple. I will also give the members of my temple advance notice about the purpose of his study and the method of data collection.

Hee-Nyon and I agreed that the individuals selected for his research project should not be forced or coerced into participating. They will be informed that their involvement is fully voluntary and that they can refuse to answer questions and end their involvement in the research at any time they wish. Also, the confidentiality of respondents will be protected.

Please call me at (770) 923-5375 if you have any questions about this matter.

Sincerely,

Reverend Maya, Jun Dung Sa Buddhist Temple in Atlanta

VITA

Hee-Nyon Kim was born in Seoul, Korea on September 27, 1960. In his hometown, he graduated from Soong-In Elementary School in 1973, Kwang-Woon Junior High School in 1976, and Dong-Sung High School in 1979. In March of 1979, He entered Dan-Kook University, and in February 1986 he received the Bachelor of Arts in English Language and Literature with teaching certification in secondary education. In August 1988, he entered the Master's program in Social Work at West Virginia University, Morgantown, where he earned a Master's degree in Social Work in May 1990. In August 1990, he entered the Graduate program at West Virginia University Gerontology Center as a Graduate Associate. He earned a Gerontology Graduate Certificate in May 1991. In August 1991, he entered the Doctoral program at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. The Doctor of Philosophy degree was received in August, 1997.