

재외동포정책: 차세대 재미한인 교육지원 방향 중심으로

Korea's Policy on Overseas Koreans: Factors that Strengthen Korean Americans' Sentiment towards the Motherland

장안리

홍익대학교 광고홍보학부

Ahnlee Jang(hipr@hongik.ac.kr)

요약

한국 정부의 주요 해외 공중 집단 중 하나는 해외에 거주하고 있는 재외동포로서 정부는 이들을 인적자원으로 인식하여 2000년대 초반부터 재외동포정책을 수립하여 해외에 거주하고 있는 동포 자녀들에게 민족주의 제고를 위해 한국어 교육지원 사업을 실시하였다. 본 연구에서는 교육지원사업의 대상인 재미한인들이 한국어 학교를 통해 현재까지 진행된 교육 지원 사업에 대한 경험에 의거한 생각과 효과를 탐색적 접근을 통해 살펴본다. 연구 결과에 의하면 재미한인들에게는 한국어 학교 보다는 부모님이 가르쳐 준 한국 문화 및 가치 그리고 직접적인 한국 문화체험이 한국어에 대한 긍정적 태도 및 한국 혈통으로서의 자부심을 형성하는데 더 큰 영향을 미친 것으로 나타났다. 또한 연구결과 참여자들은 본인들도 한국문화 및 언어를 더 배울 뿐 아니라 추후 자녀에게도 계승하고자 하였는데 이러한 동기부여는 전반적으로 세계 무대에서 한국의 위상이 높아지고 한국 문화에 대한 평가가 향상되었기 때문인 것으로 나타났다. 본 연구는 앞으로 재외동포와의 관계발전을 위한 재외동포 정책 방향 및 차세대 재미한인들을 위한 문화 교류 프로그램을 제안하는데 의의가 있다.

■ 중심어 : | 재외동포정책 | 재미교포 | 재미한인 | 애국심 | 민족주의 제고 | 차세대 재미한인 |

Abstract

Since Kim Dae-jung's administration, the Korean government has established policy for overseas Koreans to provide nationalism education to their descendants. While the policy is still in effect today, as to how the recipients of the support in the USA make meaning of the programs given much changes in the social climate in respect to Korean culture, has not been examined in-depth. Therefore, through in-depth interviews with Korean Americans, the current study examined how the recipients of the educational program perceive policy on education program towards Korean Americans and whether it has strengthened their nationalism or sentiment towards motherland. The study further examines the factors that influences their sentiments towards the motherland as identified by Korean Americans. The findings show that exposure to the culture and parents' teachings of the Korean values have helped them embrace Korean heritage. Moreover, findings revealed that their sense of Koreanness were due to positive memories from visits they had when they were young and changes in Korea's status in the global arena. Future direction of the policy and suggestion for specific programs for Korean Americans, as well as implications of the findings are discussed.

■ keyword : | Policy on Overseas Koreans | Jaemi Kyopo | Korean Americans | Educational Program | Nationalism | Korean Pride |

I. Introduction

As of 2016, there are more than 7 million Korean Diasporas living in 181 countries[1]. Following China, the second largest group is in the United States. This year marks 116th year since the first group of Koreans immigrated to the United States. As of 2017, the number of Koreans in the US are approximately 2.5 million. Not only has Korean American grown in number, their socio-economic status is also well above average in America¹, and often referred to as a model minority group for their hard work ethics[2].

One of the ways in which Korean government has been supporting Koreans abroad is through education. The main purpose of sponsoring educational program was to instill nationalism to descendants of Koreans living abroad. Focus on nationalism is due to the government's recognition of overseas Koreans as human capital that could potentially contribute in advancing the homeland[3]. For this purpose, the government has funded Korean schools in America for decades. Since the initial stage, type of programs and the focus have altered over the years, nevertheless, the primarily goal remains as securing a sense of belonging towards the motherland. As result of such a program, many Korean Americans in America grow up attending Korean schools. At Korean schools, young Korean Americans learn Korean language and culture. However, to current, as to how effective these practices have not been

examined in-depth. The current research seeks to address the Korean government's current approach in supporting overseas Koreans, specifically Korean Americans, by examining how recipients' make meaning of the programs including Korean language schools. Examination of this issue is important as the number of younger generations are on the rise and inter-racial/ethnic marriage amongst 2nd² generations are increasing. Specifically, 1st generation consist of 45.7% where as 1.5³ and 2nd generations consist of 54.4% [27][28] and Korean in combination consist of about 1/3 of American born Korean descendent[27].

Based on the evaluation of the current funding and programs per Korean Americans, the study offers suggestions of future direction and practices of policy on overseas Korean. The findings of the study contribute to strengthening the relations between Korea and overseas Koreans as suggestion for policy would be more reflective of the needs of the recipients and current social climate. The study also contributes practically, as it suggests specific ways in which Korean government can support Korean Americans through overseas Korean policy.

The current juncture is important because Korean Americans coming to Korea is increasing and they are coming for different reasons. More and more Korean Americans are increasing their transnational practices by going back and forth Korea and America[3]. While Korean Americans in the 90s came to their motherland to address their identity crisis

1 For instance, their average income is \$43,300 which is well above national average (\$35,000) and even Anglo-Saxon Americans (\$40,000) (American Community Survey, 2014). In terms of educational level, the total number of 4-year college graduates are 52.8% which is also well above the national average (29.6%). (American Community Survey, 2014).

2 2nd generations are those who are born in the US or immigrated to the US before the age of 6. They are more familiar with American ways of doing things[29]

3 1.5 generations are those who immigrated to the US between the ages of 7-18; who are familiar with both American and Korean cultures and languages[8].

in their 20s, the current population is coming as young professionals to advance their career and extend and expand upon their business ventures[3]. It could be implied that those who intent to stay connected to the motherland are networking and reaching out to Korea for reasons such as professional career and relationship building[3]. Scholars suggest that this crew of Korean Americans already have positive attitude towards the motherland and have fondness or identification towards Korea [3]. Therefore, it is critical to investigate how effective the government programs have been and what changes need to be made in order to strengthen the connection between Korean descendants and the homeland.

II. Literature Review

Policy on overseas Koreans

Korea has long experienced out-migration since the turn of the centennial. Out of 7.1 million Koreans living outside the peninsula, the largest group of Koreans living abroad are in China with 2,585,993 in number (35.99%), followed closely by Korean Americans with 2,238,989 (31.16%)[4]. Koreans in America consist mostly of those who went to the States in the late 1960s and 1970s as result of change in immigration law in America[3][27]. The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 abolished earlier quota system that limited immigrants based on national origin[4]. As result of the change in immigration policy, many Koreans immigrated to the US for to achieve American dream. Those who went to the US during this time, varied in terms of social economic status and their occupation

ranged from international students, politicians, to businessmen[27].

It is widely accepted that talks of policy on overseas Koreans officially began during Kim Young-sam (1993-1998) Administration by the Globalization Committee[10]. However, the actual policy was established during the Kim Dae-jung (1998-2003) Administration. Since then, the framework has largely remained as is while revisions were made during Roh Moo-hyun (2003-2008) Administration[10].

The policy and organizations were established in December of 1999 to overseas Koreans living abroad. As for the policy, Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Korean Act and Immigration and Legal Status of Overseas Korean Code were established, and under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1997 (then Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade), Overseas Koreans Foundation (OKF) was established to manage Overseas Koreans. Moreover, along with 4 government ministries the Prime Minister became in charge of overseeing works involved with overseas Koreans (namely, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism; Ministry of Justice; and Ministry of Education) [11] as cited in [3].

The policy on overseas Koreans during the Kim Dae-jung (1998-2003) administration were focused on the following: 1) supporting overseas Koreans to have stable living and become respectable members in the host nation, 2) them maintaining *Han* (Korean) ethnic identity and strengthening ties with the home country, 3) utilizing potentials of overseas Koreans for national development. To achieve these goals the policy were focused on the following: 1) supporting them in advancement of the mainstream society in the host nation,

in their protection of rights, improvement of legal and social status, and self-help efforts, 2) support Korean language school, as well as arts and cultural events as well as dispatch arts groups to strengthen ethnic pride and self-esteem, 3) encourage economic activities in Korea to provide opportunities for overseas Koreans to contribute the home nation's economy, and 4) in addition to improving domestic law and system, improvement of system to use the brains of overseas Koreans were set as projects in priority [11] as cited in [3].

As can be assumed from above, education became one important component in overseas Korean policy. While initially the primarily focus was on preventing anti-government acts or pro-North Korean activities of the Korean Japanese, upon the turn of the 21st century, the focus shifted to instilling nationalism to young Korean Americans. The change was due to the government's changed perception of seeing them as capital that could contribute to advancing the home nation[12].

Thus, the Ministry of Education came to be the primary division in charge of the educational program for overseas Koreans and per Basic Education Act (Article 29, issue 2) and Regulation on Education of Overseas Nationals (partly revised in Jan. 29, 2001), Overseas Koreans also came to be entitled to receiving education sponsored by Korean government. Basic Education Act states that "The government has to make necessary policy for *dongpo*⁴ living abroad to provide them with necessary schooling or social education" [3]. Therefore, the Ministry of Education funded and managed schools abroad as well as selected

and sent teachers to teach in these schools[12]. As of 2006, there are 26 Korea Schools in 14 countries, 2,072 Korean schools in 106 countries, and 35 Korean Education Institutes in 14 countries [1] as cited in [3].

Nationalism Education for Korean Americans in America

In America, nationalism education has been primarily carried out through unofficial Korean language schools. Korean language schools, first established during the Japanese occupation, was set to raise children as "Koreans" [3]. Therefore, during this initial period, nationalism was strong in character because the focus was on educating children to learn Korean culture and instilling Korean pride and identity to the younger generations[3]. However, since, 1970, education become more focused on achieving practical purposes[3][5]. Most of the Korean language schools are founded by religious institutions and often run on Saturdays and Sundays. Therefore, classes are held in Korean churches or local school buildings. And resources such as textbooks and part of maintenance fees are provided by the government.

Today, there are about 1000 Korean language schools all over America, however, Kim [12] suggests there are problems of Korean educational programs. They are 1) lack of motivation on nationalism education, 2) limited support from the Korean government, 3) limited professionalism of the teachers and environment not conducive for effective education, and 4) lack of adequate textbooks [12]. Kim further argues that while the younger generation does not recognize importance of ethnic education, lack of Korean American parents' motivation in teaching their children

⁴ Korean descendants living abroad.

about nationalism is a more serious issue. The parents are rather keen on teaching their children to speak better English and assimilate into the mainstream[12]. Second, Kim argues that support from the Korean government is lacking, specifically, though the government has continued to support education, it needs to provide practical ways. Kim argues that specific ways in which Korean Americans would be motivated to learn about Korea needs to be examined. Third, because majority of Korean language schools are founded and run by Korean Americans themselves or Korean churches, not only are the facilities poor but there is lack of professionalism in its curriculum and teachers (most of the teachers are volunteers who have not had proper training in teaching Korean language and culture)[12]. As such there are limitations in the current education system of Korean language schools.

However, due to changing social climate in ways in which Korean culture is being spread and accepted in the US, policy makers need to question whether the current policy is reflective of these social changes and whether or not there needs modification in the program, or in the direction of policy on education support of overseas Koreans.

Spread of Korean pop culture in the US

Spread of Korean pop culture, also known as *Hallyu* (Korean wave in Korean), is said to have begun in the late 1990s with its introduction of Korean TV drama, Winter Sonata, in Japan and idol group, H.O.T., in China[15]. While some scholars proposed that Korean wave reached its peak in Asian countries and that Korean waves have shown its limit in moving beyond Asia [16][17] since the

mid-2000, Korean media content has now expanded beyond Asian countries and has moved into other continents including the USA, Europe and South America[18].

Today, one of the media markets that shows more visibility and popularity of Korean pop culture is the USA. More recently, Korean media content has been admitted to the US mainstream media and its local ethno-cultural market. Such changes are starkly different from the way Korean media was introduced in the US. For a long time, Korean media contents has seen demands in cities with large ethnic Korean population such as Los Angeles, Chicago and New York[19]. Korean public television network KBS launched KBS World Radio and KBS American broadcast service targeting Korean communities in Los Angeles, New York, Hawaii and Toronto, Canada in 2003. All the more, not many Korean media are directly produced in the USA. Also, since a few local Korean-American radio stations and newspapers provided for specific communities, audience in the US largely lacked access to Korean media outlet.

However, accessibility changed as result of emerging online media platforms, Korean media contents are now being supplied to audience in the US through various streaming services (e.g., Comcast Bay Area, Netflix) and satellite channels[18]. As such, new media platforms are becoming a major avenue for dissemination Korean pop culture throughout the West including the USA[20].

Aforementioned studies discussed the purpose of engaging in support program for overseas diasporic group in Korea as well as changing climate in Korean culture in the US that call for examination of the current policy on overseas

Koreans. Based on the previous literature the current study proposes the following research questions. First, it seeks to examine how the Korean Americans, who have been the main target of the educational program, make meaning of the governments' efforts on overseas Koreans, specifically on the educational support, and second, it seeks to examine whether they have strengthened nationalism or sentiment towards the motherland. Since the target public of the government funds were geared towards Korean descendants born in the United States as American citizens, the term "nationalism" may be inappropriate to use, therefore, for the purpose of the current study, the term "Koreanness" is used to examine Korean Americans' sentiment towards homeland.

Research Questions:

RQ1: How do Korean Americans make meaning of the government's support on Korean descendants overseas?

RQ2: What do Korean Americans think are the factors that influence Korean Americans' Koreanness?

III. Methods

Because of the exploratory nature of the study, the study employed qualitative research methods. Qualitative research methods are appropriate for researchers who are "intrigued with the complexity of social interactions as expressed in daily life and with the meanings participants themselves attribute to these interaction"[21]. In the process of obtaining these complexities embedded in the participants' daily lives, the researchers are able

to gather "detailed description of situations, events, people, interactions, and observe behaviors"[22].

This study used in-depth interviewing method. In-depth interviewing method is appropriate as its goal is to obtain in-depth and open-ended narrative rather than trying to fit participants' experiences into certain categories[22]. Therefore, although the interviewer may guide the conversation, the interviewer still "respects how the participant frames and structures the responses[23]. One of the key strengths of the interview method is its ability to understand the participants' experiences in greater depth and breadth.

Sample

The study employed purposive sampling to recruit participants. In-depth interviews were conducted with 16 interviewees who were born in America or immigrated to the US before the age of 12 (Female: 11, Male: 5; see appendix A for detailed demographic information). Their age ranged from 25-48 (average being 35), all attended Korean schools at some point in their childhood and were from various parts of America. All the participants identified their mother tongue to be English and identified themselves as Korean Americans. The data recruiting process started with personal contacts to recruit participants as well as snowball methods.

The participants varied in terms of age, occupation, reason for living in Korea, educational level (though relatively higher than US national average) so that diverse perspectives could be gathered. Rubin and Rubin stressed that when a researcher provides a "variety of perspectives" which offers "different vantage points" [24], the study's

credibility increases as result. The length of interviews was about 90-180 minutes on average and 3 of the participants were interviewed twice for in-depth perspectives. All the interviews were led by open-ended questions that were semi-structured. All the participants were asked to give consent to be audio taped-this process helps the researcher recall the material accurately. The interviews were conducted in English and once the interviews were transcribed, the researcher began the transcribing process.

Data Analysis

A grounded theory approach was employed to analyze the data for this study. Established and developed by Glaser and Strauss, grounded theory approach seeks to explain and theorize about a phenomenon from the data collected[25]. Through a systematic and constant comparison methods in collecting, analyzing and interpreting the data. through open coding, axial coding and selective coding processes, findings can be used as foundation for theory building. By identifying the topics or key terms that emerged consistently thought the open and axial process, the emerging themes or patterns were identified.

IV. Results

RQ1: How do Korean Americans make meaning of the government's support on Korean descendants overseas?

No awareness of the support

Interviews revealed that most of the participants were unaware of the support Korean government has been providing over the past decades via Korean school. Of the total

participants, not a single participant indicated their awareness. Although not all participants went to Korean school and of those who attended Korean school, not everyone attended those sponsored by the governments (due to physical proximity between their residence and Korean school etc.), no one had even heard of such a program. Many expressed genuine surprise when they were later told that Korean government has been sponsoring Korean schools.

However, many were aware of other programs the government has been providing such as leadership conferences like KASCON (Korean American Student Conference),⁵ NetKAL (Network of Korean American Leaders)⁶ and Future Leaders Conference.⁷ These participants were aware of these programs because they themselves participated at one point in time, however, those who hadn't had personal experiences were unaware of programs government has been providing. A few participants also discussed some of the cultural programs Korean embassy in the Washington DC provides to highlight Korean culture and language. However, majority of the participants were unable to comment on questions related to support Korean government has been providing to Koreans in the US because they

5 Founded in 1987 at Princeton University its purpose is to foster conversations on identity and provide networking opportunities with fellow students and leaders in the Korean American community (KASCON, ND).

6 This organization of Korean-American professionals who want to make a difference in the community and beyond was founded in 2005 at University of Southern California (NetKAL, 2018).

7 Held by the Overseas Koreans Foundation every year, this program promotes growth of overseas Korean community. It invites next generation of leaders from overseas to Korea every year to help them network (Overseas Koreans Foundation, 2018).

have no experiences.

Exposure to the culture and parents' teachings help embrace Korean heritage

When asked how they felt about the Korean schools, responses varied. While most of them had attended Korean schools where most of the contents included learning the language and culture, they did not enjoy it very much. One participant said, "yeah, I attended Korean school until junior high but only because my parents made me." Similar answers were repeated during the interview. Many of them attended because they were forced to attend and they did not enjoy learning because growing up many wanted to be more American rather than Korean. One participant said, "growing up I wanted to be White. I rejected my Korean identity. I even dyed my hair blond to become more American." Similar stories were told by the participants. Because growing up, they wanted to have stronger sense of belonging amongst their peers, learning Korean language and culture were not their priority. Others also discussed how they were discriminated against because of their difference, primarily owing to their ethnic background. Therefore, accepting and learning Korean language and culture meant having more reasons to be rejected and discriminated against by their peers. Therefore, their desire to be accepted by the environment in which they grew up in and to not be the target of discrimination caused them to reject Korean culture and language, which could lead to rejection of their cultural identity.

Yet there were also a group of interviewees who grew up embracing their cultural heritage. One participant said, "growing up exposed to Korean culture has helped my understanding of

kinship and friendship ties." Similarly, another participant said, "I feel like I have so much "life insight" due to my parents' teaching and upbringing in Korea." In these ways, exposure to the culture and how their parents taught them of Korean values since young have instilled positive attitudes about Korea and Korean culture. One participant's answer succinctly summarizes their experiences and conflict in embracing Korean culture, "my first visit to Korea as a teenager. It's when I felt I understood my parents and began to appreciate my heritage." Because of the disparity between Korean and American culture as well as the desire to be accepted in mainstream American society has made them reject Korean heritage, yet, exposure and knowledge about the culture and its values help them to embrace Korean background. In such a way, many Korean Americans grow up experiencing internal conflict.

RQ2: What do Korean Americans think are the factors that influence Korean Americans' Koreanness?

Experiences give them Korean pride

Many interviews revealed that it wasn't until participants were in college that they began to consider visiting their parents' homeland. One participant said, "the summer of my freshmen year in college, almost all Korean Americans that I know in my university came to Korea for language exchange program so I came too." She discussed how that was her second visit to Korea and how it was one of the important things amongst her Korean American friends to come to Korea and have more in-depth understanding of their homeland. "I had so much fun that summer. Everyone was so nice and people stared at us because we were

different.” She discussed how back then there weren’t a lot of Koreans from the US so she remembered being everyone being nice to her. Because of that special memory in her first year in college, she came back for an intern for a year after she graduated from college. Others also discussed how they came to Korea when they were in college to reconnect to Korea and learn the culture.

One of the primary reasons for coming to Korea in college is to explore and learn more about Korea but it was also during this time that they came to face their Korean identity and Koreanness. One participant said, “growing up, my family were the only Asian in our community so we always stood out. I was always conscious of my difference. Then when I came to Korea, I didn’t stand out at all, I was just one of them. I felt home. It was very comforting...” Yet another participant who grew up rejecting her Korean identity, said, “I don’t think I am Korean even now that I’ve lived in Korea for almost 10 years. I’m more of an American than I am Korean but I definitely became more Korean than I was before.” She also discussed how her differences between her and other Koreans remind her of her American background but she discussed how learning more about the culture and the language have strengthened her identity as Korean American.

Changes in Korea’s status as a nation give them sense of pride

Interviewees discussed how being Korean is accepted differently today compared to how it was when they were growing up. Especially interviewees whose ages were mid-30 and up, discussed how it was uncool to be Korean when growing up in the 80s and 90s. however, they discussed how things have changed due to a

number of reasons. One of it was due to Korean cuisine having gained popularity. One participant said, “today it’s cool to be a Korean. Americans brag about having tried Korean food. But when I was growing up, we were made fun of for eating *gimbop*⁸.” Another mentioned how *go chu jang*⁹ is the secret sauce for Micheline star chefs and discussed how proud she is of where Korean cuisine is today.

Interviewees also discussed how *Hallyu* (Korean wave) contributed to Korean culture being cool. One interviewee said, “when K-pop got hot, I felt very proud.” Yet another said, “when I see my intern, who is Taiwanese and good in Korea. Learning the language through BTS.¹⁰ Just like our parents learning English listening to the Beatles.” While there were Korean drama, the participants discussed how K-pop was more significant in spreading Korean culture in the US and other countries.

Yet other also discussed how advanced technology integrated into daily lives in Korea give them sense of pride. In the same vain, others discussed, “The fact that Samsung and LG are in every household in the US.” “Korea is economically very aggressive in the Asian sphere, so that makes me proud.” Along with economical and technological advancements, participants mentioned how they are proud of Koreans work ethics and ability to excel.

The participants coherently mentioned how these changes contributed to them feeling proud of being Korean descendants. The participants further discussed how these reasons give them motivation to learn more about Korean culture and language.

8 Korean style Sushi roll (Trifood, 2017).

9 Red chili pepper paste (Trifood, 2017).

10 A Korean boy idol group also known as Bangtan Sonyeondan (Wikipedia, 2019).

Bilingual background gives more competitive edge today

The interviews also discussed how now that they've become parents are getting to an age where they are considering having family and children, they are considering teaching Korean culture and language to their children or future children. One parent said, "I'm not sure where I'll settle down...[but] I grew up in a small suburb in America and I want to give my children the same experiences that I had growing up... I don't think I want to raise my children in Korea where it's so competitive." Similar responses were told throughout the interviews.

Many also discussed how they want to give their children more opportunities to do whatever they want to do in the future and that meant giving more competitive edge to the children. To the participants, raising their children to have bilingual and bicultural background meant having more competitive edge and opportunities in the future compared to other children in the United States. In such a way, the interviewees were found to value Korean culture and language in connection with their children.

More programs to do in Korea (not in the US)

As for what types of programs the participants would like to see more of if the government continues its' support for Korean American, the basis was that there should be no reason for the government to support Koreans overseas. One participant said, "Living in the US, frankly they have no responsibility." Yet other participant, mentioning how the government has already done so much, said, "I don't know how to answer this because I don't know what Korea has NOT done for KAs." As

such the basis of this question was that Korean Americans did not expect the Korean government to provide support for Korean Americans in the first place.

Yet, the interviews revealed that if the government is to continue its support, rather than funding Korean schools in the United States, the participants discussed wanting to have more unique programs in Korea for the children of Korean descendants. As Korean Americans come to visit Korea during their college years, they wanted to see more cultural exchange programs for college age students. Also, those who have children discussed how they would like to see more programs for their teenage children. They would to bring their children to Korea for more of a hands-on-experiences but have trouble finding unique programs where the children can have fun and enjoyable time learning the culture and language. They also wanted to see programs where their children can meet and make friends with other native Korean teenagers.

Secondly, if the government plans to continue its support for Korean Americans, they wanted to see more programs or support for Korean Americans living in Korea. One participant said, "If there could be government sponsored programs for Korean Americans (such as my friends in Korea) that are catered specifically to this group of people and allow them to experience Korea without them feeling so isolated from the culture, I think it'd be a great implementation!" yet in similar vein others said, "For those living in Korea, there can be a lot of friction for basic things such as banking..." in these ways, the participants discussed how the transition for many Korean Americans who come to Korea for work or other purposes are

difficult because of the language barrier and their status as a foreigner though they come with F-4 VISA.¹¹

V. Discussion

Indirect influence more effective in motivating Korean Americans

Findings indicate that for Korean Americans, providing indirect reasons was more effective in motivating them to learn Korean language and culture, and gaining Korean pride. Interviews revealed that participants' sense of Koreanness and Korean pride was strengthened as result of heightened status of Korea as a nation. Moreover, spread and popularization of Korean cuisine, K-pop, sporting events, and economical and technological advancement of Korea gave them sense of pride as Korean descendants living abroad. Although some were proud of being Korean descendants to begin with, because of peer pressure and other socio-psychological pressure to fit in to the society in which they live in, many grew up rejecting their Korean identity, thereby lacking motivation to learn Korean language or culture. However, things have changed and younger generations are motivated to learn Korean

language and culture for themselves and for their children.

Therefore, since their motivation is on the rise, it is important to change the direction and purpose of the educational program towards 2nd and 3rd generation Korean Americans that are geared towards enhancing positive sentiments towards Korea by enhancing Korean pride. One way to do this is providing them more opportunities to learn and experience Korean culture when they come to visit Korea. Interviews also revealed how they would like to see more programs for Korean American teenagers and college students. Interviews revealed that personal experiences at a young age instilled Korean pride and also helped form positive attitudes towards Korea. Such a positive experience at a young age makes them come back to Korea when they get older and it can give them stronger sense of Korean identity. Therefore, the government ought to focus its attention and resources on providing more experiences for young Korean Americans. With technological advancement, if there is desire and motivation to learn a language, there is always a way to learn, therefore, it is more important to target young age Korean Americans in changing their attitudes. With the rise of various media outlets, the government can utilize medium younger generation prefer to achieve what was previously done through in-class environment. However, unlike general understanding that Korean Americans are successful, the socio-economic divide between successful Koreans and those who are not remain large, especially amongst 2nd generation Korean Americans[28]. Therefore, if the government is to continue its assistance overseas, the support should gear towards those

11 Visa issued to descendants of overseas Koreans.

Participants information	Number
Number of participants	16
Gender	M=5, F=11
Ages	Range: 25-48 years old 20-29 years: 3 30-39 years: 8 40-49 years: 3 Average: 35 US: 11
Country of birth	Korea: 5 (all immigrated before the age of 12; Native language of all participants=English)
Educational Attainment	Bachelor's degree: 7 Master's degree: 2 Professional degree (e.g., J.D.): 7

who live far away from Korean community, Korean American adoptees who lack access to exposure of Korean language and culture, as well as those who need financial assistance in visiting homeland. Nevertheless, though specific methods may vary the policy ought to establish one goal and deliver consistent message to Korean Americans.

Also, of import is informing Korean American parents the value of teaching Korean values to their children at a young age. Participants discussed how Confucius values (parents' extensive care of their children and the children's' return of the care when the parents become elderly etc), work ethics, and Korean history (of struggles Koreans experiences in modern history) have strengthened their sense of Koreanness and emotional connection with the homeland.

Lastly, in terms of the implication on government, thus far, the government has not been so active in informing what it has done to its constituents. As one of the constituents, overseas Koreans are identified as an important human capital, and the government has placed much effort and resources in building positive relationship. Yet, what it has done for them has not been communicated effectively. The government need to be more proactive in informing its assistance to its publics. Secondly, it needs to execute timely evaluation of previous programs in order to make necessary changes.

VI. Conclusion

The study is not without limitation. Though the researcher tried to recruit as many

participants as possible whose background vary, because of the difficulties in recruiting Korean Americans from Korea, most of the participants were recruited through the researcher's contact and their friends. Therefore, most of the participants had relatively high educational level. Therefore, their stories many not be applicable in understanding experiences of all Korean Americans who experienced Korean school at a young age. However, in order to bring more varying aspect, the researcher tried bring more variation in terms of age and occupation. Also, due to limited space, the authors were unable to bring detailed discussions on identity issues of 1.5 and 2nd generations in the literature review; rather, these issues were highlighted in the result and discussion sections. However, morel discussion of the issue of cultural identity was beyond the scope of this paper. Despite some of these limitations, saturation point was reached after about 15 interviews, yet, more studies are needed to better understand younger group of Korean Americans (primarily, 3rd generation of Korean Americans) in the near future.

The current study attempted to evaluate the current relationship status between the Korean government and Korean American publics mediated by Korean schools in the US. The findings show that previous ways in which the government has been sponsoring Korean American could be directed differently for more effective relationship building process. Making a few adjustments to the current program could not only receive more positive responses from the constituents but it could also help redirect funds to be spent where it is most needed. Also, by making changes based on the recipients' experiences and thoughts, two-way

communication channels could be opened up for more extensive talks in the near future. As the size and influence of Korean Americans are expanding beyond United States, Korean Americans as well as other overseas Koreans are important social capital for the Korean government.

참고 문헌

- [1] Overseas Koreans Foundation (2018). The 21st Future Leaders' Conference. http://www.korean.net/portal/customer/pg_notice.do?mode=view&articleNo=3998588&article.offset=0&articleLimit=10#/list
- [2] N. Abelman and J. Lie, *Blue Dreams: Los Angeles Riots of 1992 and Korean Americans*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- [3] A. Jang and B. Jin, "Transnational Practices and Nationalism of Korean Americans in Korea: How They Make Meaning of Korean Government's Effort to Strengthen Transnational Korean Identity," *Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies*, Vol.25, No.3, pp.5-47, 2018.
- [4] Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Current Overseas Koreans, 2013. http://www.mofa.go.kr/travel/overseascitizen/index.jsp?menu=m_10_40
- [5] E. S. Choi, "jaeodongpo gyoyuggwa ileul wihan bongug jeongbuui gyoyug, jeongchaeg-e gwanhan gochal: jaemidongposahoeleul jungsim-eulo," [Education of Overseas Koreans. Thoughts on Motherland's policy and education on the Education of Overseas Koreans: focus on Korean American communities], *The Journal of Korean Society for Sociology of Education*, Vol.8, No.2, pp.207-232, 1998.
- [6] KAFGW, Korean American Foundation-Greater Washington, History of Korean Americans in the Washington Metropolitan Area 1883-2005, Korea: C& C Media, 2009.
- [7] E. Lee, "Korean Americans look for avenues of change," *Asianweek*, San Francisco, California, Vol.14, No.35, 1993.
- [8] P. G. Min, *Asian Americans: Contemporary Trends and Issues*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1995.
- [9] P. G. Min and M. Bozorgmehr, "Immigrant entrepreneurship and business patterns: A comparison of Koreans and Iranians in Los Angeles," *International Migration Review*, Vol.34, No.3, pp.707-738, 2000.
- [10] J. Y. Lee, "hangug-ui jaeodongpojeongchaeg," [Korea's Overseas Korean policy], IOM Migration Research & Training Centre, No. 2010-11, 2010.
- [11] J. H. Lee, "Jaeodongpo jeongchaeg-ui hyeonhwang-gwa hyanghu banghyang," [Current Overseas Korean Policy and future direction] 21st Century Korea's Diplomatic Policy, Nanam, 1999.
- [12] J. S. Kim, J"jaeohan-in minjoggyoyug baljeonbang-an," [Development plan of Overseas Koreans' ethnic Education], Chonnam University, Research Center for Overseas Korean Business & Culture International Conference, pp.207-223, 2008.
- [13] KSAA, Korean School Association of America, 2017. <https://www.facebook.com/ksaaca/about?l=5735902%3A1310563352%3A1498620339>
- [14] NAKS, National Association for Korean Schools, 2017. <https://www.naks.org/jml/aboutus-purpose>
- [15] E. Y. Jung, *Transnational Korea: A Critical Assessment of the Korean Wave in Asia and the United States*, Southeast review of Asian studies, 31, 2009.
- [16] J. Dator and Y. Seo, "Korea as the Wave of a Future: The Emerging Dream Society of Icons Aesthetic and Experience," *Journal of Future Studies*, Vol.9, No.1, pp.31-44, 2004.
- [17] W. Ryou, "Globalization, or the Logic of

Cultural Hybridization: The Case of the Korean Wave,” *Asian Journal of Communication*, Vol.19, No.2, pp.137-151, 2009.

[18] H. Ju and S. Lee, “The Korean Wave and Asian Americans: The ethnic meanings of transnational Korean pop culture in the USA,” *Continuum*, Vol.29, No.3, pp.323-338, 2015.

[19] J. Park, “Korean American Youth and Transnational Flows of Popular Culture Across the Pacific,” *Amerasia Journal*, Vol.30, No.1, pp.147-169, 2004.

[20] S. Noh, “Unveiling the Korean Wave in the Middle East,” In Do Kyun Kim & Min-Sun Kim (Eds.) *Hallyu: Influence of Korean Popular Culture in Asia and Beyond (331-367)*, Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2011.

[21] C. Marshall and G. Rossman, *Designing qualitative research*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, p.2, 1995.

[22] M. Q. Patton, *Qualitative evaluation methods*, Beverly Hills, p.22, 1980.

[23] C. Marshall and G. Rossman, *Designing qualitative research*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, p.82, 1995.

[24] H. J. Rubin and I. Rubin, *Qualitative interviewing: the art of hearing data (2nd Ed)*, Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, p.67, 2005.

[25] B. Glaser and A. Strauss, “Grounded theory: The discovery of grounded theory,” *Sociology The Journal Of The British Sociological Association*, Vol.12, pp.27-49, 1967.

[26] J. Corbin and A. Strauss, *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory (3rd Ed)*, Los Angeles, CA: Sage, 2008.

[27] C. Lee, “Korean Americans generational socioeconomic status and policy implications,” IOM policy report, No.2016-04, 2016.

[28] Ruggles et al., *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series:: Version 6.0. Minneapolis*, University of Minnesota, 2015.

[29] A. Jang and H. Kim, “Cultural identity, social capital and social control of young Korean Americans: Extending Intercultural Public Relations Theory,” *Journal of Public Relations Research*, Vol.25, pp.225-245, 2013.

저 자 소 개

장 안 리(Ahnlee Jang)

정회원



- 2002년 6월 : 중국 남경대학교(중문과)
- 2005년 6월 : 미국 남가주대학교 (동양어문학과 석사)
- 2012년 6월 : 미국 메릴랜드 대학교(커뮤니케이션박사)
- 2016년 3월 ~ 현재 : 홍익대학교

광고홍보학부 교수

〈관심분야〉 : 국제PR, 공공PR, 재외동포, 다인족/민족연구