

FILIAL PIETY IN CANADA:
A CASE STUDY OF SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG KOREAN IMMIGRANTS.

by

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ABSTRACT

The present study examines change in the tradition of filial piety among Korean immigrants in Calgary. Based on a sample of 85 respondents consisting of both the aged parents and their oldest son or only son/daughter, the study found that the case of Korean-Canadians presents an anomaly in the theories of modernization and inter-ethnic group relations.

There are particular aspects of the Korean-Canadian group, such as its recent history in Canada and the social and structural barriers, which are not considered within the modernization, assimilation, and cultural pluralist models. This study also shows that cultural resources and structural pressures are both significant aspects in fully understanding the Korean-Canadian situation. For example, it is argued that both the family centred culture of Koreans and such structural conditions as discrimination and occupational segregation make the extended form of residence most logical for Korean-Canadians.

One of the predominating characteristics of the Korean-Canadian sample was ethnic attachment and high levels of ethnic association. This is explained as a result of societal barriers that Korean-Canadians experience as a group. Furthermore, the significance of ethnicity was found to be one of the strongest factors in the maintenance of traditional culture of filial piety. Prescriptions and sanctions are explained to be more salient with closer and more frequent contact with one's ethnic community.

DEDICATION

The thesis is dedicated to my parents and to my sisters.

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Chapter One
Theoretical Perspectives

1.1 Introduction

Confucian filial piety is purported to be presently eroding in Korea (Hong and Keith, 1992; Martin, 1990). The erosion of filial piety, or its transformation, as some may argue, is a significant issue in that filial piety has been the fundamental basis of social organization of several Asian societies such as Korea, Japan, and China (Deuchler, 1977; Hsu, 1970; Osgood, 1965). As such, this issue has practical implications at the everyday level since filial piety is also a cultural norm that prescribes responsibilities and obligations of sons and daughters-in-law towards the son's parents (Sung, 1990). Its social significance becomes more evident with the imminent issue of elderly care, created by the drastic increase in the aged population that is being forecast (Martin, 1990; Lee, 1989).

Among immigrant elders from Asian countries, the erosion of filial piety is even a more significant issue since the elderly are heavily dependent on their children for much of their needs. In a foreign world, with which they are not familiar, many elderly immigrants are limited economically, linguistically, and socially (Kim et al., 1991; Kim, 1986). This situation may be compounded by the noted problems of old age such as social isolation and physical debilitation (Lum, 1983).

Despite this imminent predicament, the elderly and their social condition have not been a subject of much research in Canada. Such research has only begun to emerge within the

past decade. This is especially true in the field of ethnic elderly and their social conditions (Driedger and Chappell, 1990).

This study addresses the subject of eroding filial piety among Korean immigrants in Canada. Two theoretical approaches have been chosen: modernization and inter-ethnic group relations in modern societies.

1.2 Tradition of Filial Piety in Asian Societies

Socialization into the basic values of filial piety as respecting and caring for one's parents is evident in stories read in present Korean grade school books.¹ Filial piety as a value system may not be shared by many present-day Koreans, but it is an issue that the oldest or the only son would be aware of due to the social norms and societal expectations. It is also a large concern in Korea since it is mostly the responsibility of the family, not the state, to care for its elders. The societal solution to this has been the complex relationship based on filial piety between the parent and usually the oldest or only son as outlined in Confucian precepts.

Historically, neo-Confucianism had a significant influence on all aspects of life within the Korean society. Neo-Confucianism continues to be an influence in the lives of

¹A common story is of the frog that croaks (cries) at night since his mother's grave floated away. When his mother was alive, the son frog always did the opposite of what the mother asked. The mother frog, knowing this, asked her son to place her grave on the river, thinking that the son will do the opposite and place it on the banks. However, after the mother frog dies the son frog, sad that he did not listen to his mother while alive, decided to listen to his mother the one last time. He placed her grave on the river, which floated away.

Koreans through its values and norms, long after its first introduction into Korea (Choi, 1993; Kim et al., 1991; Sung, 1990; Moon, 1974).

Though Confucian elements may not be as evident in other areas of social life, Confucian precepts are distinctively vital in the "corporate" family organization. This family structure is united with the ethics of filial piety. As Sorensen states:

... filial piety (hyo)—the obligation to respect and obey parents while young, care for them in old age, give them a good funeral, and worship them after death—is the core of Korean ethics. Though modernization has brought modification to traditional ethics, the obligation to care for parents in old age is still written into the civil code and falls especially heavily on the eldest son, because it is he who is supposed to co-reside with his parents and continue the family line (1994:25).

According to the "moral imperatives" of Confucianism, duty and obligation, in accordance to one's social position, govern the proper behaviour in social relation with one's parents, family members and others (Deuchler, 1977:2). One of the specific precepts outlined in the "five relationships"² is the relationship between the father and the son. Hsu (1970:68) outlines the duties and obligations of the son towards his father as follows: obedience, support during the father's lifetime, mourning when the father passes away, burial according to one's social position and economic

²The "five relationships" are the following: 1) the relationship between the king and the subject guided by righteousness; 2) the relationship between the father and the son guided by parental love and authority; 3) the relationship between husband and wife guided by their separate functions; 4) the relationship between an older and a younger brother; and 5) the relationship between friends guided by trust (Osgood, 1965; Griffis, 1904).

ability, and living a life that will bring glory and honour to one's parents.³ Dawson (1915) specifies that the son must also respect his father and do deeds which show that respect. This virtue also extends to one's mother and then to members of the kin group in the order of importance (Hsu, 1970; Dawson, 1915). Imperatives regarding the son's duties and obligations towards his father are paramount to which all other "virtues" are subordinate (Peterson, 1983; Hsu, 1971; Osgood, 1965).

A further duty of a pious son is to assure the continuance of the lineage of past generations through male descent (Kendall and Peterson, 1983; Deuchler, 1977). This takes precedence over private or personal matters such as one's marriage. Therefore a marriage can be dissolved legitimately if a male heir is not born from the union (Solberg, 1966). This link is further ritualized in the institution of ancestor worship which is a continuance of filial duty after the death of the parents (Moon, 1974; Solberg, 1966). In these ceremonies, sons, namely the eldest son, are charged with the responsibilities of conducting the ceremonies (Choi, 1970; Lee, 1970).

Patriarchal notions extend into the duties of a wife also. Their duties, as the daughter-in-law, are apparent in the tasks, among other domestic work, of serving the husband's

³As Hsu explains, filial piety is not a one way relationship only pertaining to the responsibilities of the son to the father. The father, in the virtue of filial piety, has certain responsibilities such as providing for his sons, educating them, finding mates for them, and leaving an ample inheritance (Hsu, 1970:68). For this study only the responsibilities of the son to the parents will be considered since this study is concerned mainly with the children's care of their parents.

parents (Deuchler, 1977). Thus the women's role in filial piety may be "the major source of filial care in the instrumental, hands-on services" (Sung, 1990:615). In her duties, the wife is obligated to care for the husband's parents as much as the husband (Li Chi cited in Sung, 1990). Therefore, change in the women's role in the family may have a great impact on the practical aspects of filial piety.

As discussed so far, it is evident that the family is the primary medium through which Confucian precepts come to be manifested. It is within the structure of the family that the roles are defined for every individual (Deuchler, 1977). With respect to filial piety, the family is the established structural and cultural pattern of intergenerational relationships (Solberg, 1966).

One must recognize the importance of the family as the context within which tradition and its processes can be studied. Especially for elders, the family is the central interactional and sustaining unit (Lum, 1983). Changing familial relations, especially the intergenerational relations, may essentially be the measure of the change in the tradition of filial piety. Additionally, for ethnic groups in Canada, the family is important as a bastion within which culture and ethnicity are transmitted generationally (Isajiw, 1990; Isharwan, 1980). Such transmission may be closely linked to the continuation of Confucian filial piety in a foreign land, in changing times. This change must therefore be understood in the context of both modernization and ethnic relations.

1.3 Modernization and the Family

As a description and a conceptual tool for the analysis of social processes, modernization theory is an attempt by social theorists to explain the broad social and economic changes which have been taking place in the countries throughout the world. Modernization is described as a process which ranges from the global (Giddens, 1990) to the individual level (Lauer, 1982). Some processes which are characteristic of modernization are growth of the economy, diffusion of secularized and rationalized norms, greater geographical mobility, and a transformation in people's personalities enabling them to function in a modern society (Lerner, 1968). However, for different social theorists the principle earmarks of modernization may vary.

Primary to the idea of modernization is that these modernizing changes ramify through the society's social systems in an interconnected and a sequential way which leads to structural, cultural and social psychological changes (Hendricks, 1982; see also Lauer, 1982).

Among structural transformations one apparent change involves the disintegration of extended family forms and the rise of alternative forms (Glick, 1989). With modernization the family is taking a less prominent role in the fulfilment of economic, educational, and religious needs (Barrett, 1989; Hutter, 1989).

These changes in the family structure are claimed by some theorists to be the resultant outcome of or parallel to the forces of modernity, primarily increased urbanization and industrialization (Hong and Keith, 1992; Lee, 1989; Chekki,

1988; Roh and Ireland, 1972; Wong, 1972). For the purpose of this study, urbanization and industrialization will be accepted as the defining processes of modernization.

According to Goode (1963), the world family systems are approaching some variant of the conjugal family⁴ system and all of the world cultures are moving towards industrialization. He maintains that in such conditions of urbanization and industrialization, the social milieu created is congruent with and supportive of the conjugal family form and its ideology.⁵ Goode (1963) argues that the spreading of the conjugal family form is to a large extent independent of industrialization and urbanization. He does not assert a causal relationship and not even a clear relationship for that matter, but only a functional fit between the independent changes.

Moreover, Goode asserts that this social condition created by the ideology of the conjugal family and by industrialization and urbanization is destructive of older traditions since it frees individuals from traditional forms of control and obligations (1982, 1963). Goode argues that with modernization, the traditional extended family loses the power which it commanded in agrarian societies. Various public institutions increasingly come to provide services that

⁴Conjugal families are nuclear families that are "relatively autonomous from extended family ties and when the marital bond is of primary importance, it is referred to as a conjugal family" (Hutter, 1989:87). A nuclear family is a family unit consisting of either the couple or the parent and children.

⁵The conjugal family ideology includes greater emphasis and independence of the nuclear family from kinship ties, geographical and social mobility, the importance of individual rights and freedom over the family, and the greater role of expressivity within the marriage (Goode, 1963).

were once provided by the kinship group or the extended family. Individuals come to be less dependent on the family for economic sustenance, families become disassociated from industry, and employment outside the family domain frees people to assert their individuality. Martin (1990) points out that individuals with greater economic resources may have more options in choosing the form of relations with their kin or family members. Therefore, in such circumstances traditional forms of authority, such as gerontocracy, become increasingly baseless. In the same light, Kim (1990) argues that with urbanization, people are less subject to the sanctions of traditional authority, which leads to the decline of traditional social norms.

Whereas Goode's analysis is mainly on the macro level, Cowgill and Holmes' analysis extends from the macro further into the intra-familial level. Cowgill's (1979) and Cowgill and Holmes' (1972) main thesis, in short, is that modernization leads to the undermining of the elderly's authority and the decline of their status. Cowgill (1979) asserts that the four subsidiary aspects of modernization, which are the most salient societal changes with respect to aging, are technology applied to economic purposes, urbanization, literacy and mass education, and health technology.

It is argued that these changes have led to such outcomes as less participation of elders in social and economic activities, devaluing of their skills and knowledge, weakening of bonds within extended families and weakening of mutual

obligation between the aged parents and their adult children (Cowgill, 1979; Cowgill and Holmes, 1972).

Among the four main subsidiary changes mentioned by Cowgill (1979), it is mainly urbanization which causes the shift in the status and authority of the aged. It is due to urbanization that the following changes have come about. One is the transformation of extended families to a nuclear form.⁶ This leads to social segregation of the aged, which brings about the decline in their status. Contributing to this is the inversion of status between the aged and their children, which is the result of children's social mobility, further brought on by urbanization. In effect, there is increased social distance between the aged and their children and this, coupled with retirement and the aged dependence on children, subsequently leads to a debasement in the status of the aged.

General trends and changes within the family observed in previous studies reflect Cowgill and Holmes' and Goode's assertion that the extended family is shifting towards a conjugal form corresponding with industrialization and urbanization (Lee, 1989; Yu, 1983; Goldstein and Beall, 1981; Wong, 1972). However, their assertion that nuclear families fit functionally with the industrial urban setting is debatable. Several studies note variations of the extended family that persist. Cowgill and Holmes' and Goode's postulates have failed to recognize such persistence (Chekki, 1988; Kumagai, 1986; Rhoads, 1984; Morgan and Hiroshima, 1983; Hyung, 1975).

⁶"Extended" and "nuclear" families are the structural characteristics of the family based on the residence pattern.

Some flaws in Cowgill and Holmes' and Goode's perspective include the overlooking of the context within which modernization takes place and also their inattention to variations in family forms from the expected nuclear form. These flaws indicate possible problems in its general applicability. Rather than having a simple nuclear form, families in some modern countries have become transformed into a variant of the extended form where the extended familial ties are still strong and maintained (Kim, 1990; Chekki, 1988; Kumagai, 1986). For example, Kim (1990) notes that under industrialization, the number of nuclear families in Korea has increased but the extended family bond has not been broken. Rather, Kim observes the prevalence of the new "modified extended family" which consists of series of nuclear families bound together on the bases of the extended family bond.

Similarly, Morgan and Hiroshima (1982) argue that modernization and extended families are not incompatible. They maintain that extended families in Japan form an adoptive strategy within the modern context. Extended families solve some problems common to couples in most modern nations such as the incompatibility of employment with housework and having children. Furthermore, Morgan and Hiroshima (1983) point out the economic constraints to neolocal residence. They explain that high housing costs, inadequate child-care facilities, and meagre extra-familial support services for the aged all make extended family living a logical solution to the exigencies of modernity. Rather than being anachronistic, extended families are observed to aid the furtherance of the industrialization process.

In this case, Goode's and Cowgill's argument, that the status of the aged decreases due to the disintegration of the extended family, cannot be maintained. However, Cowgill's postulate of inversion of status between the aged and the children due to children's social mobility is still affirmable.

Another notable weakness of Cowgill's and Goode's perspective is their disregard of the context within which urbanization and industrialization transpire. The disintegration of extended family structures is one aspect of the modernization process that affects the declining status of the aged. Yet, cultural aspects seem to determine and funnel the outcome of the modernizing processes. As Sokolovsky (1990) argues, depending on the cultural aspects, modernization may have a different impact on the aged in different societies. Distinctive cultural foundations may allow people to respond to the forces of modernity in different ways that do not fit the linearly progressive model. For example, Morgan and Hiroshima (1983) point out that in Japan extended families are more likely to persist since they are an accepted tradition, supported by strong intergenerational ties, an emphasis on duty towards parents, and less emotional spousal interdependence.

Apart from such cultural aspects, some theorists also point to the economic situation and state organizations that may mediate the process and control the effects of modernization (Peil, 1991; Olson, 1990; Cherry and Magnuson-Martinson, 1981). As Kiefer (1990) points out, in Japan the impact of modernization was mediated by the intention of

preserving the traditional culture. Therefore, due to such means as education and the legal codification of the rights and obligations of family members, the prestige and power of the elderly were maintained throughout the industrialization process.

Furthermore, the government through its social policies may allow the elderly to be independent from their children. What was once provided through the family has come to be provided by the government. In such a situation, care from adult children becomes less crucial, allowing for the relaxation of some traditional familial norms (Kalish and Moriwaki, 1979). Olsen (1990) similarly explains that the political and economic policies and programs of the Chinese state benefit the elderly and that they in effect have not suffered a decline of status under the modernization drive.

In summation, though within the literature there seem to be some peculiarities that may have been neglected in modernization theory, this theory has clear relevance to the present study. Despite some inconsistencies, the literature shows that there is a marked shift away from the traditional extended families, which raises some interesting questions about the persistence of traditions associated with the extended family. The extended family, once a sanctioning power sustaining traditional familial norms, has been transformed. This in effect may have led to the deterioration of the elderly's status and authority.

There are other processes that may effect changes in the status and authority of elders. Such processes occur through change of the tradition of filial piety brought about by

inter-ethnic group interactional forces. That is the next topic of discussion.

1.4 Ethnicity and the Family

When examining the progression of cultural heritage and life ways of an ethnic group, ethnicity and ethnic relations are significant issues to be considered. The dynamics of ethnic relations determine such outcomes as the retention of ethnic cultural heritage and life ways or the degree of their loss or modification in the new society.

Particularly, in examining the ethnic familial heritage as pertaining to filial piety, ethnicity can be a salient force. Ethnicity gives uniqueness to the life experiences in family dynamics such as intergenerational relations or aging which may be overlooked (Sokolovsky, 1990; Gelfand and Barresi, 1987; Weeks, 1982).

In this section, theories of assimilation and cultural pluralism are reviewed, including the issue of structural versus cultural explanations.

1.4.1 Assimilation:

The most popular and widely used approach to ethnic relations is that of Gordon's assimilation model. Its basic tenet is that all ethnic groups will eventually be assimilated into the greater society. Gordon is one of the first sociologists who discerned the multidimensionality of the integration process of ethnic groups into the greater society. He believed that the ethnic groups had to go through specific steps. As Gordon explains, "sub-processes" have to be

considered when assessing the degree of integration (1964:70).

Among the different sub-processes, cultural assimilation took place most readily and it was seen as necessary for an effective participation in the greater society. However, structural assimilation was needed in order to attain economic rewards. Once structural assimilation has occurred, other levels of assimilation can easily follow (Gordon, 1964; Driedger and Chappell, 1990).

Also, it is argued that with increasing assimilation into the greater society, one's ethno-cultural aspects are increasingly lost. As Gordon (1964:71) describes it, one's cultural and behavioral aspects "change" to that of the "host society". Similarly, Richmond (1988:53) explains that, "immigration involves some degree of desocialization from the previously learned attitudes, values, and behaviour patterns."

This form of assimilation is most evident within the process of generational succession as noted by Sugiman and Nishio (1983) and Kalish and Moriwaki (1979). Reitz (1980:117) further notes that language, "perhaps the most distinctively ethnic activity," is most quickly lost with generational succession among such other aspects of group cohesion as endogamy, ethnic identification, in-group interaction, and so on.

There are some inherent problems with the notion of assimilation however. Firstly, the basic underlying assumptions of assimilation are idealistic. An example is that of an ideal free market society where race and ethnicity will be irrelevant in its drive for profit (Driedger, 1989). However, it is obvious that racism is widespread even in

capitalist societies where discrimination is often the reason for exploitation of some ethnic groups for low wages (Thompson, 1989).

Due to this idealistic assumption, assimilation is unable to explain the entrenched stratification of ethnic groups particularly in the labour market (Reitz, 1980; Li, 1988). Additionally, aspects of ethnicity such as ethnic identity continue to be salient without signs of decline (Isajiw, 1990).

Furthermore, assimilation presumes a model culture, which is hardly definable, into which all minority ethnic groups are understood to acculturate. In cases where groups appear to be not assimilating, the aberration is understood to lie within the inherent peculiarity of the ethnic group and not in the greater society. However it has been argued that standards of behaviour are impossible to define when indicating conformity or assimilation, and that there is not a single identifiable culture into which immigrants can assimilate (Richmond, 1988; Li, 1988).

1.4.2 Cultural Pluralism:

Opposite to assimilationist theoreticians, cultural pluralists maintain that ethnic group distinctiveness persists, that ethnic groups do not completely lose their identity and culture. Among early theorists to recognize and explore the persistence of ethnic distinctiveness were Glazer and Moynihan (1970). They realized that, though the transported customs and cultural patterns were being lost in some measure, they were being recreated by the experiences in

the new country. What was interesting about these changes was that the newly created customs and cultural patterns were persistently distinct from the surrounding forms.

Glazer and Moynihan found that ethnic groups came together mostly on the basis of religion and race. It was argued that this sameness gave ethnicity meaning and importance in the multi-ethnic social environment. This coming together as a group further served the purpose of realizing the interests of the collectivity and its members.

Glazer and Moynihan (1970) made these observations on several different ethnic groups including Jews, Irish, Afro-Americans, and Puerto Ricans. They noticed that the assimilating forces impacted these groups differently since the groups themselves were different in such aspects as family structure, religion, economic experience and so forth. As a result they observed that some ethnic groups assimilated and others maintained their distinctiveness.

The application of the pluralist model and the assimilation model is apparent in current studies. However, a major critique of cultural pluralism is its overlooking of ethnic and racial discrimination and therefore the effects of ethnic segregation. Plurality and the stratification of the ethnic groups is not examined within the realm of power differences. Rather, inter-group interaction is assumed to be taking place in a condition of equally distributed power among the ethnic groups; equal opportunities for members of any ethnic group regardless of their ethnicity or race; and the distribution of social and economic rewards based on the notion of meritocracy (Kallen, 1995). Such assumptions are

unfounded. For example, it has been noted that the participation of some ethnic groups in the economic institutions (Reitz and Breton, 1994) and political institutions is limited and marginal compared to other groups (Li, 1988). Therefore, plurality must be considered with respect, not only to factors within the ethnic group, but also to factors without that give rise to diversity and segmentation.

The models of intergroup relations discussed above are simplistic unilinear conceptual models. They are "ideal types," as Driedger points out (1989) or as Kallen states, "models for" and not "models of." Kallen explains that such a "'model for' is a prescribed plan of how reality should be" and not a representation of reality based upon empirical observation (1995:167).

By amalgamating the two "ideal types," there have been attempts to build new models of inter-ethnic group relations. Within these attempts, there are improvements in that they address the complex and multi-faceted elements of the ethnic group interaction.

Kallen's model of inter-group relations is a good example of the amalgamation of the two models. As Kallen argues, depending on the relative expressive and/or instrumental strengths of interacting groups, integration would be mainly towards the stronger group. In other words, the collectivity that is able to highly satisfy expressive (socio-emotional) and instrumental (economic) needs and interests, is better able to align its members and others into the collectivity (Kallen, 1995).

Through such mechanisms Kallen (1995) was able to conceptualize the full integration of ethnic groups into the greater society. However, she did not believe that full integration was conceivable. Rather, she believes that ethnic groups are able to maintain their distinctiveness and viability, as she calls it. Therefore, in as much as the collectivity is able to satisfy its members within its own boundaries, the more it is able to maintain its ethnicity and its culture, and retain its distinctiveness (Kallen, 1995; Reitz, 1980).

Therefore, Kallen accepts the possibility of both assimilation and cultural pluralism. However, within Kallen's model, there is a movement of people either towards one's ethnic collectivity or towards the greater society. Implicit here is a zero-sum process which the assimilation and pluralist conceptualization accepts as an underlying process. In the process of assimilation, the more one integrates into the greater society the less one integrates into one's own collectivity. Also, the more one's ethnic collectivity is able to align its members, the less its members will integrate into the greater society.

Conversely, Reitz does not accept the zero-sum process in assimilation. Though Reitz (1980) acknowledges that cultural and structural assimilation of groups occurs, he maintains that even under such conditions ethnic groups can still be maintained as distinct cohesive groups. He goes on to argue that assimilation and group survival are distinct processes which are not directly related (1980:102-3).

Isajiw also does not see one's ethnicity being necessarily lost with assimilation. Even at the level of identity, assimilation into the greater society does not necessarily mean the loss of one's ethnic identity. Isajiw argues that "assimilation into the larger society and the retention of some forms of ethnic identity can and often do take place concomitantly" (1990:35). He argues that such forms of identity are derived from different aspects of one's ethnicity such as ethnic friendship, endogamy, ethnic language, or customs. Depending on the ethnic group, different aspects may be emphasized in maintaining their identity.

Similarly, Driedger (1989:62) explains that people can be identified as a "Broker or Middle Man," those who are able to separate their social lives from their economic lives and retain their separate ethnic identity. For Hurh and Kim (1984), the boundary between the greater society and one's own ethnic collectivity is more distinct. Patterns of "adhesive adaptation" were found among the first generation Korean immigrant sample, where aspects of the new culture and new social relations were added to their "traditional culture and their (ethnic) social networks, without replacing or modifying any significant part of the old" (1984:162). As Hurh and Kim (1984) describe, such form of assimilation is an outcome of both ethnic segregation inherent in the social structure and the ethnic attachment of the Korean immigrants.

Another point of contention is the definition of ethnic culture. Rosenthal (1986) alerts us to the distinction between the transported traditional culture and ethnic

culture. She explains that such distinctions are important since the transported culture will be lost as ethnicity changes and takes on different forms. Therefore, it is possible that one's transported culture is shed while the ethnic culture may be highly maintained.

In the same light, Reitz (1980) warns of interpreting any change or loss of traditional ethnic culture as assimilation. It must be noted that culture will be transformed, therefore transported culture will change into something distinct which is an indication that ethnic culture is being maintained and not an indication of assimilation.

In summation, the assimilation and pluralist models are flawed and too simplistic as analytical tools. In its place there are more current models which attempt to address the inter-group relations more accurately. How useful and accurate these new models are, however, is yet to be seen.

1.4.3 Structural versus Cultural Explanation:

A final issue in inter-ethnic group relations theory addressed in this study is that of structure versus culture. This debate concerns the relative effect of cultural factors versus structural factors on social and economic outcomes among the ethnic groups. Diverse characteristics of ethnic groups that are evident in such occurrences as social stratification, ethnic concentration in labour sectors, persistence of ethnic culture and life ways, and so forth can be interpreted in two ways. The structural explanation infers that differences among the ethnic groups are the outcome of structural factors such as economic forces and discrimination.

The cultural explanation, on the other hand, would interpret these divergences as arising from the unique cultures of the different ethnic groups.

Peter Li, a structuralist, argues that evident differences in the labour market, such as occupational status and income, are the result of social and economic constraints placed on ethnic groups (Li, 1988). In a similar vein, Reitz and Breton (1994) found discrimination as one of the causes, among others, of significant disadvantages in the earnings of some ethnic immigrant groups.

It is argued that even if culture were a significant factor for social outcomes, at present there is no monolithic culture which can have a widespread effect on an ethnic group. Especially in a post colonial era and within post-industrial capitalist societies, the primordial monolithic culture of ethnic groups is a past phenomenon. Ethnicity has come to lose its meaning as a signifier of a unique culture (Thompson, 1989; Richmond, 1988).

As Li (1988) argues, in a capitalist country like Canada, class divisions will overpower any uniformity of ethnic groups based on ethnicity. Ethnic culture is argued to be not so much the cause of the outcome but rather the effect or the ethnic response to the social and economic barriers placed on the group. Phenomena like social cohesion and ethnic communities occur in response to discrimination from the larger society (Richmond, 1988:50).

Thus, one of the main aspects of structural explanations is that they down-play the role of ethnic culture in shaping the unique social patterns. However, while they down-play the

cultural aspects of ethnicity, their weakness is the over-emphasis of structural factors. Their arguments are based mainly on disparities in the labour market and they dismiss differences in other areas of ethnic relations as insignificant. The result is a reductionism in what may be a complex interplay of culture and structure.

Rather than considering culture as the insignificant after-effect of structural constraints, cultural explanations see culture as the main cause of social differences between ethnic groups. Ethnic culture is argued to be the resource that is utilized for adapting to the new social and economic surroundings (Ishwaran, 1980). Thus, ethnicity leads members to specific social patterns that are unique to an ethnic group. For example, Isajiw (1990) found that different ethnic groups identified different aspects of their ethnicity with their identity. Also ethnic groups varied in various social patterns such as degree of cultural retention, family living arrangement, and endogamy.

Furthermore, such differences give rise to institutions which in turn perpetuate these different social patterns. These "group differences" were maintained and progressed through "institutional structures" (Goldscheider and Goldscheider, 1989:192).

In this argument, ethnicity is identified with a unique culture. However, this view is a subject of contention. One of the problems in the present application of ethnicity is the heterogeneity of the culture in the country of origin (Thompson, 1989; Li, 1988). As a result, people from the same country cannot be assumed to be motivated by the same culture

or sharing a common way of life. Also, because the people immigrating come from diverse backgrounds, they may differ in their belief and value systems such as religion and politics (Richmond, 1988:50).

Another criticism is the notion of equating traditional culture with ethnicity and therefore equating preservation of ethnicity to preserving or maintaining some traditional culture (Rosenthal, 1986). For example, Li (1988) argues that the cultural explanation, by emphasizing the importance of socialization, fails to fully explain the labour market stratification of ethnic groups. He explains that such a model does not account for factors such as discrimination and it assumes an ideally competitive labour market. As a result, the cultural model comes to see the ethnic group, its culture, as the reason for disparities in the labour market and ignores the structural factors which impinges on the group.

Both the cultural and structural perspectives are partial explanations due to their constricted approach to analysis. This causes a skewed perspective on what is a complex and a dynamic issue. Both cultural and structural aspects are necessary for a full understanding of ethnicity. Ethnicity is the outcome of the response of an ethnic group with the resources that it possesses, and this must be examined within the given social and economic situation. Through this process of responding, ethnicity is reshaped and persists.

For example, a group's ethnic identity is an outcome of a process involving the group's own definition and the definition by the greater outside group. Furthermore, this self-definition is a situational process in that it is a

response to factors within the greater society - such as restrictions imposed by government policies and public ideologies. Also, what is emphasized and highlighted is dependent on what is perceived to serve a group's purpose, and the range of possibilities will be determined by the resources that the ethnic group possesses, as mentioned above (Kallen, 1995).

Given these structural factors, how successful an ethnic group is in upholding its ethnicity is dependent on its ability to create and maintain a boundary between itself and outside groups. In other words, it is dependent on the ability of an ethnic group to align its members to the group and away from the outer society. Therefore, the "viability" of the ethnic group depends on its ability to satisfy the expressive, organizational, and instrumental needs of the collectivity (Kallen, 1995:87-90). This is what Kallen (1995) describes as the "diachronic dimension" which refers to the ethnic group's ability to align its members in line with the "rules of the game" of the old ethnicity. Thus, the greater the significance of ethnicity, the more traditional culture will be retained.

1.5 Koreans and Korean-Canadians

Korean-Canadians are a relatively new ethnic group, having only recently started to immigrate into Canada. The earliest record of Koreans immigrating into Canada was in 1966, when there was a total of 189 Koreans who immigrated, prior to which time they were hidden in the census category "other Asians".

The earliest study of Korean Canadians was done by S. G. Moon in 1982, who examined the adjustment problems of Korean immigrants (Lehmann and Lee, 1986). With respect to the Korean elderly in Canada, there is no research to date which has concentrated on Korean elders per se. The only information is provided in passing in discussions of Korean ethnic groups in general. Due to the meagre amount of research on Korean immigrants, research in United States and research on other similar ethnic groups in Canada was incorporated as background information.

The modernization process that is observed to have taken place in countries through-out the world has also impacted on the culture and social patterns of Korean immigrants. However, by examining studies which mainly discuss modernization effects in Korea, one is able to get a clear perspective on the effect of modernization on filial piety without the confounding influence of inter-ethnic group forces.

Studies show that with modernization there is a shift in the structure of the family and change in attitudes towards new ideas and values. Roh and Ireland (1972) have traced the modernizing changes in Korea, which started in the 1950's, up to 1970. They found that family size in Korea only decreased slightly from 5.7 persons per household in 1955 to 5.37 persons per household in 1970. They also noted socio-economic status to have the greatest bearing on the family, rather than traditionalism. Reasons were that the high cost of living and economic insecurity would make it difficult for people to form extended families in the city. Roh and Ireland also point out

that changed attitudes towards having less number of children have lowered the population growth rate.

As in other modern countries like the United States and Canada, families were noted to be less stable due to the increase in the divorce rate which is endemic to all modern urban societies. It was noted that the Koreans had become more open to divorce, which is believed to be the effect of mass media. Kinship ties were also found to be weakened in congruence with the impersonal forces inherent in urbanization and industrialization. Roh and Ireland (1972) observed that extended residence or traditional forms of kin relationships are much more difficult to maintain in cities due to the high cost of living and the pressure for space.

Further changes were noted in the attitudes towards many aspects of family life. For example, people were described as more open to marriages based on romantic love, whereas traditionally, marriages were family affairs. Also the preferred qualities of spouses changed from being mostly instrumental to being concerned with personal qualities such as personality and education.

Though Roh and Ireland (1972) have identified industrialization and urbanization as significant factors, they have also marked education, western influences and mass media as other significant causes of the recent changes in Korea. What was pointed out well by Roh and Ireland is the practical limitations or the confines which make extended family structures difficult to realize.

Lee (1989) has generally found similar changes but has also observed slight deviations from the conclusions of Roh

and Ireland (1972). Lee compares three countries: the United States, Japan and Korea by comparing the number of extended families, divorce rates, rates of women's employment, and the proportionate population of the aged. He found Korea to be least modernized among the three countries but also notes the decline in the role of the extended family in Korea with modernization, the shift in the family structure to the nuclear form, and the rise of the divorce rate. In addition, significant attitudinal changes were reported among the young white-collar professionals towards different family forms.

However, it was also found that there was evidence of the continuation of traditional elements. Lee affirms that traditional sex role dichotomy still persisted and traditional culture of elderly care by family members was also retained.

Both Lee (1989) and Roh and Ireland (1972) indicate that Korea is a modernized society with all the social characteristics that are identified with modern societies as discussed. However, as Lee points out, there is evidence of retention of traditional forms in some areas and not a total disintegration of traditional elements of the family.

Hyoung (1975) agrees that the family in Korea has changed greatly as reflected in the patterns of mate selection and increased neo-local residence, which indicate the weakening parental authority. Moreover, neo-local residence has freed women from the strict patriarchal hierarchy. Therefore, females are less subject to roles of deference and with the new bilateral kinship relations, women's prominence has increased. Hyoung also states that change was evident in the fragmentation of the large extended kinship structures into

small units of closely related person and their families. However, Hyoung contends that the extended family and interaction with kin members remains an integral part of family life within the urban setting. In this urban kin network, mutual assistance, which varies from economic help to various kinds of services and advice, was important and a significant part of urban life. The most common forms were arranging marriages, job placement and providing long-term lodging.

Due to the move away from agrarian life, which was based on economic ties through landed property, paternal authority does not have the absolute power that it once had. In the urban setting, inheritance of land through the oldest son has lost much of its significance, yet caring for the aged parents still rests on the oldest or the only son. Though the authority has eroded, the obligation is still preserved.

Hyoung (1975) asserts that although the Korean national data indicate that more nuclear families are being established especially among the young urbanites, the extended family structure seems to be necessary for some features that are characteristic of the Korean culture and society. For example, the incidence of extended familial residence was noted to be high among newly married couples who are unable to set-up their own household, and also among the oldest or the only sons whose parents needed care. Also extended residence was prevalent among those receiving relatives who needed residence and support in the city.

In addition to the persistence of the extended family, one of the strongly maintained traditional elements was the

norm of interpersonal interaction among kin, such as between in-laws or between the daughter or son-in-law and the parents-in-law. Another is the patrilineal emphasis of kinship over matrilineal kinship in the urban family's kinship relations.

Hyoung (1975) contends that kinship relations are reinforced by mutual attachment and assistance in the urban setting. Hyoung's argument, in short, is that the social and cultural framework in Korea brings about a somewhat different outcome than what is observed in many other modern countries.

Even though the ties of the extended family are affirmed to be vital, there is a general trend of the family shrinking in size and the population of the aged increasing with increased industrialization and urbanization. Furthermore, the literature indicates that with industrialization, the elderly are marginalized from the main economic activities.

In the study of social change, and as evident in the literatures reviewed so far, there is disagreement about the relative importance of structural and cultural factors on the outcomes to modernization. Choi's study (1993) attempts to examine the relative importance of the two factors with a sample in Korea by examining the perception of burden by the care-giver of aged parents. The two cultural factors that were examined were congruence of one's role as a care-giver with what is traditionally prescribed and acceptance of care-giver selection norm. Neither were found to be powerful predictors of a care-giver's feeling of burden and they did not outweigh the non-cultural factors, such as the financial factor, care-giving duration time, and care-giver's health status.

Choi (1993) concluded that one cannot continue to rely on the family as the source of long-term care of the elders. Traditional values and norms regarding care-giver selection were noted to be in transition and finance-related factors have come to be important determinants of care-giver burden.

Though this test shows the cultural factor to be less significant than the structural, Choi goes on to point out the limitation in the narrowly focused operational definition. He states that the results may have been different if a wider definition of cultural norms were adopted.

What is important about Choi's finding is the significance of financial and time limitations and other aspects of contemporary life that may have an effect on the behaviour patterns of filial piety. Rather than the usual macro structural factors, Choi points out the micro structural factors which may have a more direct effect on people and therefore may be a better determinant of social change.

The factors that are found to determine the social changes discussed above operate on the fundamental level of societal modernization. When considering similar aspects of social and cultural patterns in the Korean-Canadian community, they provide the general cultural context and social framework from which the people have emigrated to Canada. However, within the lives of Korean immigrants not only must the forces of modernization be considered, but also the intergroup relational factors that are critical determinants of change in tradition.

As argued above, while structural forces of intergroup relations impact on the social systems of the immigrating

group, cultural aspects cannot be overlooked and may even be more significant determinants of immigrant adaptation. This is well illustrated by the experience of East Asian immigrants in general. In her discussion of Japanese immigrants, Osaka (1979), for example, explains how cultural continuity in a setting different from Japan has to a large extent allowed the consensual transition of power from the parent to the child to occur without creating significant strains in the relationship between the two generations.

In a Japanese immigrant's life there is a widening gap between the generations as the younger generation moves up socially and economically. Osaka (1979) contends that the present belief that the Japanese elderly suffer from a sudden loss of status in old age is debateable, given that the Japanese-American elderly rank far below the national average in such indices as divorce, mental illness, suicide, and mortality. On the whole, she claims that the tradition of filial piety allows the elderly to adjust to the state of dependence and reduced authority without losing self-esteem.

Osaka (1979) points out such cultural aspects as permissiveness towards dependence on the children at old age, in contrast to Americans who look down upon dependence as a sign of weakness. Japanese culture regards a degree of dependence as natural and desirable in family relationships. Another cultural aspect emphasizes collective goal achievement, where the parents vicariously experience joy through their children's achievements.

The culture of the Japanese-Americans is described as having originated in the rural villages, since most of the

Japanese immigrants were mainly young men from peasant families. Osaka (1979) explains that the corporate nature of expecting everyone to work, gave it a peculiarity that was different from the filial piety based on Confucianism. With this belief, as older members' contribution declined, their influence and status also diminished. Thus the aged customarily gave up their privileges and authority to the younger generation. Such a relationship departed considerably from the usual Confucian norms.

Osaka also points out that, despite this salience of the traditional culture, there is a difference in culture between the generations of the Japanese-Americans. Among the first generation Japanese, culture is a way of life whereas for the third generation, it may be more of an "object of intellectual curiosity" and thus a source of symbolic ethnic identity (1979:454).

In making her argument, Osaka underlines the importance of historical contexts and social mobility patterns for assessing the full impact of assimilation upon filial relationships. Also, Osaka highlights the intergenerational aspect of change in tradition. It is evident in her work that different belief and value system between the generations are contributing factors to the non-practice of filial piety.

Yu's study (1983) addresses this aspect of social change among Chinese students in United States. One of the evident changes occurs through generations, where the younger generation adopts more readily new ideas and values. Yu demonstrates that there was change in the belief of filial piety among the Chinese sample in America where the older

respondents were willing to accept their parents living with them more than the younger respondents who were born in America. Interestingly, Yu reports that the younger respondents had stronger beliefs but weaker behaviour than the older respondents.

Another drastic deviation from the traditional form of filial piety was that more women had high filial piety behaviour scores than the men among the older respondents. Thus older female children were more involved in taking care of the parent than the older male children even though the females had weaker beliefs. This shows the level of complexity that explanatory models have to address.

Discussed in Osaka's study were mainly cultural factors that effect change to tradition, though she does address some structural forces such as geographical mobility and the employment of women. In a study by Kim (1986), mainly structural factors are discussed, particularly barriers which the Korean and other immigrants must contend with in Canada. However, due to the demographic and cultural background of the Korean-Canadians, they have reacted in a way that makes them distinct and which enhances their distinctiveness.

After immigrating to Canada, many Koreans found that their high professional and high educational background were not recognized. This led many to seek self-employment, usually in a retail business. According to Kim (1986), the decrease of status and the language barrier have led Korean immigrants to find occupations which allowed independence and economic stability. By far the biggest occupational category of Vancouver's Korean-Canadian community today is retail trade

and small business. Up to 300 "corner stores", or small retail establishments, were found to be owned or operated by Koreans (Lehmann and Lee, 1986:61). In other parts of Canada, there were also high percentages of self-employment. In Toronto, the Korean Canadian Association (1983) found 43% of the heads of households were self-employed, and Chung and Stafford found the figure to be 57% in Montreal (cited in Kim, 1986).

It is evident that this high occupational concentration may indicate barriers to structural assimilation into the greater society. This, as Min (1991) points out, leads to higher ethnic solidarity and ethnic attachment. In the case of Korean-Canadians, the barriers are due to both discrimination and the inability to penetrate the greater society because of language difficulties. This distinctive economic situation of the Korean-Canadians may have an impact on their ability to fulfil their duties of filial piety even when acknowledged.

Kim et al. (1991) have observed that among the Korean immigrants in United States, there is a high retention pattern of social and cultural ethnic ties. They have noted that the family of Korean immigrants has moved towards a conjugal form with extensive kinship ties or an "extended conjugal family". This is similar to Hyoung's (1975) description of the interconnection of conjugal families in the urban setting. Despite changes towards the nuclear family, children retain significant features of the traditional extended family system and most are still deeply committed to the normative obligation of filial piety.

Although Kim et al. (1991) accept that one becomes more "Americanized" culturally and socially the longer one's residence period, in the Korean elderly's case they are barely Americanized regardless of residence period. As a result they are seriously handicapped and become more dependent on their children. Kim et al. point out the discrepancy between what the elderly expect and what the living situation allows in the United States, similar to what Osaka (1979) has observed. In the present situation, the elderly are expected to help out by baby-sitting or helping with the children's small business.

Kim et al. (1991) explain that within this new situation, the elderly still cling to the traditional expectation of filial piety. Such expectation may lead to a tense and conflict-ridden relationship between the elderly and their married children and their children's spouses. The elderly, as a result, may wish to establish their own residence. In fact some have moved out, taking advantage of the government subsidized apartments and the government assistance to the aged.

Kim (1986) describes a similar picture of the aged Korean-Canadians. His study shows that the Korean aged to be non-voluntary immigrants who came to Canada to help their children, many of whom operate small businesses. Therefore, the aged spend much time looking after their grandchildren and on occasion helping with the business. These elderly are totally dependent on their children for normal everyday functioning and their social lives are limited to the ethnic pockets. Their children are often too busy to help them to adapt and integrate into Canadian society. The Korean

elderly's desire to live an independent life often means breaking from the traditional form of extended living. Many do choose the independent life by living alone.

This occupational concentration is a unique aspect of the Korean ethnic group that may be a significant determinant of the life experiences of its members in Canada. Lee (1985) found a similar predicament among a sample of Korean immigrant women in Toronto. Other than structural barriers, Lee also emphasizes the social confinement of Korean-Canadians and the resultant primacy of the family in these Korean-Canadian lives.

Lee's (1985) Toronto sample showed indications of occupational confinement and ethnic confinement. Concomitantly, there are indications that the Korean cultural pattern persists. Among those who had young children, 47% of the respondent depended on their family, including their parents, to take care of their children. Though about three-quarters of the respondents had jobs, 80% of them reported that majority of their friends and acquaintances were Koreans and only 10% had some affiliation with non-Korean organization, while 74% had some affiliation with Korean organizations. Furthermore, 44% of the respondents spoke Korean at home while only 3% spoke English and 34% spoke both English and Korean at home.

Of the difficulties that the respondents had, Lee explains that 38% of the respondents report having language problems and 59% reported having experienced discrimination. The top five difficulties experienced include language, loneliness, mental and emotional stress, unemployment, and

underemployment. Together with occupational confinement, discrimination seems to be a stronger factor that may contribute to ethnic isolation. As a result, one can infer from Lee's findings a high level of both ethnic attachment and ethnic isolation.

Further insight into the dynamic of East Asian immigrants is provided by Sugiman and Nishio's (1983) study of Japanese-Canadians. They found that among the second generation there were some elements of Japanese upbringing but that their attitude generally coincided with Anglo-Canadians in perceiving independence as something to be proud of, not seeing themselves becoming dependent on their children, and preferring to live alone. However, Sugiman and Nishio also found that these values were based on self-sacrifice, self-reliance, not wanting to burden their children, and ranking their needs second to those of their children.

The high assimilation of the third generation into the greater society, indicated by social mobility, high rates of intermarriage, and entrance of women into the labour force, makes acceptance of the elderly into their children's home difficult. One of the explanations put forth by Sugiman and Nishio for such high assimilation is the lack of a Japanese community and the dispersal of their residence pattern.

They argue that the traditional values that were based on a feudal agrarian setting are ill-suited to life in a highly industrial capitalist society. Yet some other elements of the Japanese belief system have been retained because they serve a specific purpose and fit the North American context. "Self-sufficiency, hard work, and endurance have great implications

for productivity in industrial capitalist societies" (1983:32-33).

Sugiman and Nishio's (1983) general argument is the inevitable decrease of traditional forms of filial piety, given the desire of the second generation to be independent and their financial ability to do so, unlike the first generation. Also the Canadian social welfare system and its pension allows the aged Japanese to refuse aid from the children and to be independent. Furthermore, the highly assimilated third generation does not hold the traditional values and beliefs of filial piety.

Despite such incongruence between the present situation and traditional values, Sugiman and Nishio (1983) found the family to be cited as being the most important social group to the second-generation Japanese. Thus the relationship between the elders and their families does not necessarily weaken.

When compared to other ethnic groups, Korean-Canadians are a unique ethnic group which may make it difficult to compare with other groups. One of its unique qualities is the high cultural homogeneity. Min (1991) asserts that Koreans only have one language and that more than half of the Koreans come from Seoul, the largest city of Korea. Additionally more than three-quarters come from the five largest Korean cities. Also, the vast majority have received either a high-school and/or college education. Lee (1985) also argues that due to the point system under which they have immigrated, the Korean immigrants were mostly of high academic and professional occupational background.

Another characteristics that is unique about Koreans is the high level of attendance of Korean community churches. Min (1991) argues that the community churches serve to provide fellowship among Koreans and that through the church, traditional culture is maintained, since the Korean language and customs are more strictly observed in the churches, the religious and traditional holidays are celebrated at churches, and the churches provide a language program for children. According to Lee (1985), the church is also a source of comfort and reassurance for the immigrants, where they are able to speak Korean. It is also a place where assistance is obtained in getting a job, finding a place to live, arranging marriages, and dealing with other matters.

Lastly, Min (1991) argues that for Korean immigrants, being concentrated heavily in a limited range of small businesses and otherwise economically segregated from wider society, enhances ethnic solidarity and ethnic attachment. For example, Lee (1985) points out that in Toronto, 35.8% of Korean-Canadians operated convenience stores and a further 8.4% operated other businesses. The Korean immigrants' occupational concentration increased close contact among themselves and lessened their contact with non-Koreans. Also, the concentration of Koreans among a few types of businesses has led to the formation of business associations through which they were able to protect and affirm their common interests. Lastly, Min points out that because of their concentration in small businesses, Korean-Canadians have collectively faced conflict with outside groups, which strengthened internal solidarity.

As discussed in the above, Min outlines the bases of Korean ethnicity. He concludes that in comparison to the Chinese and the Filipinos, Koreans are a much more homogenous group. Furthermore, unlike the Chinese and the Filipinos, Koreans also share a common historical background and lack the subgroups that other groups have, such as language groups.

Thus models that were derived from studies of other ethnic groups may not provide a significant framework for the analysis of the Korean experience. This seems to be the case also with the Japanese-Canadians, even though both countries share similar forms of filial piety based on Confucian precepts. Unlike the Koreans, the Japanese-Canadians are no longer concentrated in a particular occupational category. In its dimensions, Korean-Canadians would seem to be more similar to Chinese-Canadians in the pattern of culture retention, given the similar patterns of occupational confinement. However, according to Min (1991), Korean-Canadians are a more homogenous ethnic group and one should therefore be cautious when applying models which fit the Chinese-Canadians.

From the above discussions, certain patterns can be inferred with respect to the tradition of filial piety among the Korean-Canadians residing in Calgary. With respect to modernization, the forces of modernity, such as industrialization, urbanization and changing family ideals, cause the erosion of tradition, especially through the disintegration of the extended families as the foundation for sustaining certain familial duties and obligations. In addition, the forces of modernity have caused the relational structure, to which these duties and obligations pertain, to

weaken if not to disintegrate and to become less meaningful in the changed social circumstances.

Secondly, given that culture is constantly in process, the inter-ethnic group relations perspective theorizes that ethnic traditions will change and move away from previous conceptions and practices of traditions. At least, the conceptions of traditions held by the younger generations will become incongruent with that of their parents due to the younger generation becoming more assimilated structurally and culturally into the larger society.

Thus, in light of the theories and the background information discussed above, the following hypotheses arise.

HYPOTHESES:

- 1) Within the Korean-Canadian families and among those families that are able to form extended families, the conjugal family form will be most prevalent, more so than the extended family form.
- 2) There will be a relationship between the generation of immigration and the acceptance of the conjugal family ideology such that the children's generation will be more likely than their parents' generation to accept conjugal family ideals.
- 3) Similarly, the parents' generation will be more likely to hold traditional values of filial piety.
- 4) The more a family reflects the characteristics of the conjugal family, the less likely are the adult children to follow the precepts of filial piety in their daily living.

5) The more a family reflects the characteristics of the conjugal family, the more the aged parents of these families are likely to hold low levels of status and authority.

6) Adult children holding conjugal family values and ideals are less likely to accept traditional filial piety precepts as part of their everyday life. Subsequently, they are less likely to be practising filial piety precepts in their relationship with their aged parents.

7) The greater the significance of ethnicity in one's life, the more one's conception of filial piety will be congruent with what are considered to be traditional forms and the more its precepts will be followed by the adult children.

8) The greater the integration into the larger Canadian society, the less significant will be the tradition of filial piety to the Korean-Canadian and the less will it be practised.

9) The longer the residence period in Canada, the more likely that one's conception of filial piety will be less congruent with what are considered to be traditional forms and the less likely that it will be valued by the respondents.

Chapter Two

Methodology

2.1 Research Design

Within the framework of modernization and ethnic relations, the question this study will inquire into is, how do the forces of modernization and ethnic integration effect change on the Korean tradition of filial piety? Furthermore, what are some of the specific processes involved in these changes?

To test these theoretical assertions as outlined in the hypotheses, survey research is the most appropriate method of research. Firstly, it allows for the measurement of many aspects of individuals, such as their beliefs or behaviour pattern, in a short period of time. It is especially appropriate when the responses are translated into measures of variables. Secondly, the questioning and responding form of collecting data in survey research allows quantification of these measures and are therefore easily processed for statistical manipulation. Therefore strengths of statistical relations between variables can be determined (Neuman, 1991:228).

However, a major criticism of the quantitative approach is its attempt to apply abstract laws or some form of structure which may not have any bearing on the personal lives of people. In contrast, qualitative approaches, such as participant observation, produces in-depth qualitative data which are grounded at the interpretive level. However, the disadvantages of the qualitative approach is that its data do

not allow for hypothesis testing and its small sample size discount the generalizability of its findings.

Therefore, to test the hypotheses and to reduce some of the weaknesses of the quantitative approach, open-ended questions were incorporated into the questionnaire. This approach allows the abstract concepts, which are sometimes criticized for not having any bearing on the respondent's life, to be tested by qualitative data. In other words, adding such opened ended questions allows the testing of the hypothesis to have some basis on respondent's interpretations.

For example probe question pb11 asks why the parents are not living with their son or daughter. This question can point to factors such as personal conflict within the family or it may point to factors such as children moving to another city for job related reasons, which the structured questions did not consider.

In one other example, probe questions pb32 and pb33 are designed to probe into the discrimination felt by the respondent. The purpose of these questions is to inquire into discrimination as a factor in the degree of significance of ethnicity or the degree of assimilation of the respondent.

To test the theoretical arguments within the context of the Korean community in a Canadian city, the following concepts have been formulated. In the following, the specifications of the nominal definitions of the main variables are discussed.

Among the structural changes of modernization, one involves the family. For example, it is claimed that the traditional extended family has changed to the modern nuclear family. Other than the structure, the characteristics of the

family has also changed, such as the residence of the children after marriage or the strength of the kinship ties. These two phenomena, the structure and its characteristics, are measured by the first variable "Family Characteristics."

Along with the structural changes of the family is the change in the family ideology. It is measured by the second variable "Conjugal Family Ideology," which is essentially based on individualistic values versus familial values. Some of the assertions of this ideology that make up the measure for this variable reflect such ideas as: the importance of the individual and the equality between the sexes; independence of the individual from the kinship social ties such as independent residence or independent choice of a spouse; and emphasis on expressive aspects of the marriage.

One other relevant issue of modernization is the status and authority of the elders. It is claimed, within modernization theory, that the status and authority of elders are diminished in a new structure of power and authority. This construct is measured by the variable "Status and Authority." It measures the aged parents' power within the family and is indicated by how much input they have over family matters such as when purchasing a house or when naming a grandchild.

The second major theoretical issue addressed is ethnicity. Both the inter-ethnic and the intra-ethnic issues will be addressed. One of the inter-ethnic issues as detailed by Kallen's (1982) different levels of integration into the greater society, are discerned with the variable "Degree of Assimilation."

This is a measure of the extent of integration at three levels - cultural, structural and identificational. The first level, cultural integration, is indicated by the degree of participation in the cultural activities such as the different forms of entertainment, and by the consumption of the cultural products such as mass media products. The second level, structural integration, is discerned into sub-levels the secondary and primary institutions. Integration into the secondary institutions is indicated by the degree of participation in the economic, political, and educational institutions. Integration into the primary institutions is indicated by the degree of participation in the religious, social, marital, and personal institutions. The final level of integration, identificational, is indicated by one's national self identification.

The intra-ethnic issues are addressed by the fifth variable "Significance of Ethnicity." It is a measure of participation in one's own ethnic community and how much of the ethnic elements such as language are a part of their personal lives. This measure is a counterpart of the variable Degree of Assimilation in that it is structured into cultural, structural and the identificational aspects of one's own ethnicity.

The last topic addressed, filial piety, is conceptualized into two parts; the social and the cultural. To develop the definition for this construct, Confucian precepts of filial piety were used. The social aspect of filial piety is a measure of the performance of Confucian filial piety precepts. The variable is labelled "Practice of Filial Piety." It is

indicated by such things as giving respect, support and care to parents.

The cultural aspect of filial piety is generally what the respondent conceives filial piety to be and how it should be expressed. The closer one's conception is to the Confucian precepts, the more traditional the conception is judged to be. This is measured by the variable "Conception of Filial Piety."

One other aspect of filial piety is measured by the variable "Acceptance of Filial Piety." It is a measure of how important the respondent perceives filial piety to be in today's living.

Theoretical assertions, as formally stated in the hypothesis, were examined using the variables described above. To test these assertions for the case of a Korean community in Calgary, data were gathered using cross-sectional survey. Face-to-face interviews were carried out and the responses recorded in a notebook which were translated to statistical data. More details of the survey methods used for this research will be discussed in the "Sample and Target Population" section of this chapter.

Responses to the variables measured in the questionnaire are presented in tabulated forms in Appendix A. It must be noted that the following discussion of questions that make up the measures of variables corresponds to the question numbers in the questionnaire for the aged parents and not the adult children (Appendix B).

2.2 Questionnaire Design

As discussed in the above, this study consists of 8 main variables - 1) Conception of Filial Piety, 2) Conjugal Family

Ideology, 3) Practice of Filial Piety, 4) Degree of Assimilation, 5) Significance of Ethnicity, 6) Family Characteristics, 7) Acceptance of Filial Piety, and 8) Status and Authority. To increase the content validity, the variables were composed of several dimensions. In addition, some dimensions were measured by several questions.

In addition to the main variables, other variables were measured such as length of time in Canada, age, sex and so on. These variables will be introduced into the analysis for possible alternative explanations other than the main relationships outlined in the hypothesis. This will add to a fuller explanation and description of the present situation of the Korean elders and their children in Calgary.

As already mentioned, a semi-structured questionnaire format was used to incorporate the strong points of both forms of collecting data, in effect to realise the benefits of triangulation. The structured part of the questionnaire is comprised of both multiple choice and Likert scaled questions and probing was used in the open ended questions.

From some open-ended questions and multiple choice questions, more than one measure was obtained. In other words, within one question several types of information were gathered. For example probe question pb38 asks whether the respondent's son/daughter or their spouse works. With this question two measures, labelled "son/daughter works" and "daughter/son-in-law works" were obtained. Another example is probe question pb45 which asks about their position in the church that they attend. From this question their position in a Canadian church and their position in a Korean church is determined.

The following are the questions from which more than one measure was obtained: pb8, pb38, pb45, pb57, pb58, and Q32. Measures derived from these questions will be labelled with a subscript "a", "b", or "c". For example, measures derived from question Q32 are labelled 32a and 32b.

2.3 Quantification of Measures

2.3.1 Variables Construction:

In this section measures for the main variables will be discussed. The first variable "Family Characteristics" is comprised of the following measures: living arrangement, perception of importance of familial bond, and strength of kinship ties. Living arrangement measures who the respondent lives with. Perception of importance of familial contact is a measure of whether familial contact is important to the respondent or not. Strength of kinship ties is a measure of the extent of contact of the respondent with the members of kin. Following is the list of questions that measure the dimensions of Family Characteristics:

living arrangement - pb8a;⁷

perceived importance of familial contact - Q15c, Q15f;

and strength of kinship ties - Q13c, Q14c.

As discussed in the above, ideological aspects of the modern family make up the second variable "Conjugal Family Ideology". Some of the assertions of this ideology that make up the measure for this variable are: equality between the sexes; independent choice of spouse; emphasis on expressive

⁷note: pb - stands for open-ended probe questions, Q - stands for close-ended questions.

marital bond; independent residence; low regard for kinship obligations; acceptance of divorce; geographical and social mobility; and importance of the individual over the family. This is measured by having the respondents respond in a scale of strongly agree to strongly disagree to the statements that reflect the listed assertions. These dimensions are measured by the following questions:

equality between the sexes - Q8e, Q8g;

independent choice of spouse - Q1;

emphasis on expressive marital bond - Q8b;

independent residence - Q8a;

low regard for kinship obligations - Q8h;

acceptance of divorce - Q8d;

geographical and social mobility - Q8f, Q8i;

and importance of the individual over the family - Q8c.

The third variable is "Status and Authority" of the elders. This variable is a measure of the extent of the aged parents' involvement in the decision making on the following familial matters: the marriage of their children, the naming of their grand children, and when buying a house, a car, and furniture. These aspects will be measured by the questions Q18, Q19, Q21, Q22, and Q23 respectively.

In the issue of ethnicity, the different levels of integration into the greater society are discerned in the measure of the variable "Degree of Assimilation". Among the different levels, the first level of integration is cultural integration. It is indicated by the level of consumption of mass media products and the extent of in-taking of cultural products, such as the different forms of entertainment and arts of the greater society. Furthermore, cultural

integration is indicated by the ability to speak and write English. These dimensions of cultural integration are measured by the following questions:

consumption of mass media products - Q24, Q25d, Q25f;

consumption of entertainment and arts - Q25b, Q25g, Q25h, Q25i;

and the ability to speak and write English - Q27, Q30 respectively.

The second level of integration, structural integration, is separated into two parts, secondary and primary. The first, degree of participation in major secondary institutions is indicated by occupational status and level of income. It is also indicated by the degree of involvement in organizations concerned with political issues and the level of participation in the educational institution, indicated by the level of education attained. The degree of participation in the major secondary institutions are measured by the following questions:

economic - pb36, Q33;

political - Q36, pb36;

and educational - Q35.

The second part of structural integration, primary integration, is measured by how often does the respondent attend a non-Korean church, the extent of involvement with social organizations outside of the Korean community, the ethnicity of the spouse and the extent of involvement with non-Koreans. The degree of participation in the primary institutions are measured by the following questions:

religious - Q37, Q38a;

social - Q31;

marital - Q41;
and personal - Q40.

The final level of integration, identificational assimilation, is indicated by one's national self identification measured by Q42.

"Significance of Ethnicity", the fifth variable, is divided into 6 dimensions in it's measure. The first dimension is the extent of participation in ethnic⁸ organizations. The second dimension is the degree of involvement with other members of the ethnic group. The third dimension is the extent of use and retention of one's native language, measured by its use at home and by the level of proficiency. The fourth dimension is consumption of ethnic forms of mass media and entertainment such as reading Korean newspaper. The last dimension is the saliency of one's ethnic identity indicated by how significant ethnicity is in their children's marriage.

These dimensions of Significance of Ethnicity are measured by the following questions:

participation in ethnic organizations - Q38b;
involvement with other Koreans - Q39;
use of one's native language and its retention - Q26,
Q28, Q29;
consumption of ethnic forms of mass media and
entertainment - Q25a, Q25c, Q25e;
and the salience of one's ethnic identity - Q43.

As described, the last issue, filial piety, is conceptualized into the social and the cultural. The social

⁸For this variable, ethnic is synonymous with "Korean".

aspect of filial piety is measured by the performance of the following filial piety precepts: showing respect to one's parents; giving instrumental and economic support; and living distance from parents. The composition of these measures make up the variable called "Practice of Filial Piety." These dimensions are measured by the following questions:

respect to one's parents - Q9a, Q9b, Q9c, Q9d, Q9e;
 instrumental - Q16a, Q16b, Q16c, Q16d, Q16e;
 economic support - Q17a, Q17f;
 and living distance - Q10.

The cultural aspect of filial piety is generally what the respondent conceives filial piety to be and how it should be expressed. This measure makes up the variable "Conception of Filial Piety." This variable is operationalized by measuring whether the respondents agree or disagree to the following: owing to one's parents; giving respect; giving support and care; honouring and giving glory to one's parents even after their death; giving respect and worshipping one's deceased parents and ancestors; parent's having authority and power in the family; living with one's parents; taking care of the parents by the oldest daughter-in-law; continuation of patrilineal descent; and sacrificing oneself for the care of one's parent. Following questions will be measures of the above aspects:

owing to one's parents - Q3f, Q3g;
 giving respect to parents - Q3d, Q3e;
 giving care and support to parents - Q3h, Q3i, Q3j;
 honouring and giving glory to one's parents - Q3k, Q3l;
 respecting and worshipping deceased parents and ancestors
 - Q3m, Q3n;

authority and power of parents in the family - Q3a, Q3b;
living arrangement - Q2;
duty of the oldest daughter-in-law - Q6, Q3c;
patrilineal descent - Q5a, Q5b, Q5c, Q5d;
and sacrificing oneself for the care of one's parents -
Q7a, Q7b, Q7c, Q7d, Q8j.

Other aspects of filial piety were also measured which makes up the last variable "Acceptance of Filial Piety." It is a measure of the respondent's perception of the significance of filial piety in today's living. It is measured by question Q4.

2.3.2 Coding:

For the majority of the multiple choice questions the responses ranged on a 5 point scale. Some multiple questions ranged on a 3 point, 4 point or a 6 point scale. Nevertheless, all Likert scaled questions ranged on a 5 point scale, either between very important and not important or between strongly agree and strongly disagree.

Similar to the closed-ended questions, many responses to open-ended questions were also coded so that they could provide a quantified measure of variables. Most of the response to these questions were coded into a simple 3 point scale and some into a 2 point scale. Still, some open-ended questions which were conducive to larger scales, were coded into five point or a six point scale, such as for the open-ended questions pb35, that measure occupation, and pb34, that measured monthly income.

An example of a 3 point scaled question is the open-ended question pb50 which asks about the frequency of contact

between Koreans or non-Koreans. Responses to this question were categorized as 3) more with non-Koreans, 2) same with both non-Koreans and Koreans, and 1) more with Koreans. In another example, the responses to the open-ended question pb12, which asked about their preferred living arrangement, was categorized into 1) separate or alone, 2) with children, 3) with family.

2.3.3 Indices:

The indices for each variable were generated by adding the points from dimension scores and dimension scores were in turn generated by adding values of each question responses.

For example, the index score for Practice of Filial Piety is the summation of the scores of the dimensions - respect towards one's parent, instrumental support, economic support, and living distance from parents. In another example, the index score of the variable Degree of Assimilation, is the summation of the scores from the degree of integration at three levels - cultural, structural (secondary and primary institutions), and identificational levels. In other words, the index score for the variable Degree of Assimilation is the summation of all the scores from the questions that make up the measure for the dimensions of Degree of Assimilation.

The resulting index scores for the variables are used in the statistical manipulation to draw out a pattern between the variables. This will be carried out using the statistical package SPSS. Further discussions of method of statistical analysis will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

2.4 Sample and Target Population

2.4.1 Population of Koreans in Canada

Within Canada, Calgary is noted to be one of the top 5 largest cities in Canada. It has become a major metropolitan city with a population of 710,677 (Canada Statistics Census 1991). The most recent census showed that Calgary had a substantial population whose ethnic origin was Korean. Therefore, findings in Calgary may be useful in that they may be inferable to the Korean population in other metropolitan cities.

To give an idea of the present distribution of the Korean population in Canada Table 2.1 is provided. In 1991, 89.5% of the total Korean population in Canada were residing in the 12 cities listed below. From this total, half (49%) of the Korean population in Canada was concentrated in Toronto. The second largest portion (19%), a substantially less portion than in Toronto, resided in Vancouver. Calgary had the fifth largest portion of the Korean population in Canada (3%) with Edmonton having the fourth largest portion (5%).

Though Table 2.2 does not give the distribution of the Korean elderly population in the Canadian cities this general distribution of the Korean elderly in the provinces may be used to at least get an idea of the distribution of the Korean elders throughout Canadian. It can only be inferred that the proportional population distribution as shown in the two tables may reflect the present proportional population distribution.

Table 2.1 Population of Koreans by Canadian Cities

Cities	Total
Toronto	21,670
Vancouver	8,330
Montreal	2,510
Edmonton	2,195
Calgary	1,325
Winnipeg	880
London	855
Hamilton	825
Ottawa	590
Regina	160
Halifax	100
Saskatoon	20

Source: 1991 Census, Statistics Canada.

Though not available by cities, Statistics Canada did provide a distribution of the population of Koreans by crude age categories and provinces (Table 2.2). The proportionate distribution of the Korean elders by provinces is similar to the proportionate distribution of the Koreans by provinces as shown in Table 2.2.

In 1991 there were 2195 (840 males and 1350 females) Koreans who were 65 years old or over living in Canada. Ontario had the most at 68.6% (1505) of the Korean elders, British Columbia was second with 13.9% (350) of the Korean elders, and Alberta had the third highest at 8.4% (185). These figures give a very rough comparison to the sample of the present research and must be taken as such. Again, Table 2.2 can be used to grasp a general idea of the population distribution of the Korean elderly in Canada.

Table 2.2 Total Population of Koreans and the Population of Korean Elders (65+) by Provinces

	Total (all ages)	Korean Elders (65 or over)
Canada	44,095 (100%)	2,195 (100%)
Ontario	26,795 (60.8%)	1,505 (68.4%)
B.C.	9,055 (20.5%)	305 (13.9%)
Alberta	3,950 (9.0%)	185 (8.4%)
Quebec	2,895 (6.6%)	100 (4.6%)
Manitoba	925 (2.1%)	35 (1.6%)
Saskatchewan	190 (0.4%)	10 (0.5%)
Nova Scotia	155 (0.4%)	10 (0.5%)
New Brunswick	70 (0.2%)	-
Newfoundland	45 (0.1%)	-
P.E.I.	-	-

Source: 1991 Census, Statistics Canada.

Aside from the demographic characteristics of the Koreans in Calgary, the city of Calgary was chosen among other cities because the researcher had been living in Calgary for many years. During such time, the researcher has come in contact with and has come to know many members of the Calgary Korean community. These personal links and social connections have been a great contributing factor in getting access to the target population as described above. Also having a family in Calgary was an asset in keeping the financial costs to a minimum. Field work in other major Canadian cities would have been a risk in terms of feasibility due to the difficulty of accessibility and due to financial burdens.

2.4.2 Sampling Method:

Two methods of sampling were used for this study - purposive sampling and snowball sampling. Using these methods, a total of 56 aged parents, 47 cases from the target group and 9 cases from outside of the target group, and 39 adult children were interviewed. The details of the sample will be discussed more fully in the next subsection.

The Calgary Korean Elder's Association was chosen as the sampling frame for this study, mainly because there were no reliable censuses on the Korean elderly in Calgary. Sampling the whole population of the Korean elderly in Calgary would involve phoning all the members listed in the Calgary Korean Association telephone directory, but given the time and resource limitations, this method of sampling was not feasible. Also such a method would be unreliable due to the current increased influx of Korean immigrants into Calgary and due to such reasons as omission from the telephone directory of those who disassociate themselves from the Korean community.

Additional to purposive sampling, snowball sampling was used throughout the study. Snowball sampling was initially proposed mainly to access the Korean elders who were outside the target group for the purpose of attaining a comparison sample to the target group. It was realized that the response rate would be higher if the researcher was introduced to prospective respondents by other elderly persons rather than the researcher making cold calls asking for interviews. Therefore at the end of an interview, the respondent was asked if they could introduce anyone for the study.

The field work was undertaken by firstly pretesting the questionnaire. After the questionnaire was ready, the researcher then contacted Mr. Kim, the president of the elders association at that time. This was done to introduce to Mr. Kim the researcher himself and the study that the researcher was doing and furthermore to solicit help to gain access to the members of the association. The result of the meeting with Mr. Kim was very favourable, resulting in an invitation to an association gathering and an interview with Mr. Kim.

At this gathering and on other gatherings, the researcher was introduced to the attending members. At that time the researcher explained to the members about the research project and participation in interviews was requested from the members in the future. During these gatherings members were also personally solicited for interviews by the researcher. Such opportunities, given by the elders' association, increased the legitimacy of the research and the familiarity of the researcher amongst the members. This contributed to the response rate and allowed rapport to be easily built during the interviews.

At the start of the field work, members who were well respected or those who were well known within the association, such as past presidents, were solicited for interviews. At the end of the interviews the researcher requested help in being introduced to or contacting other possible respondents such as their friends. This provided the initial starting point for the snowball effect.

Throughout the field work snowball sampling was an important and an effective method of sampling for both the target population and those people outside of the target

population. Additionally, the 1993 Calgary Korean Elders Association telephone directory was used to refer to members of the association that were contacted through the snowball sampling. Unfortunately a telephone directory for the elders' association had not been made for the year 1994.

When contacting perspective respondents, the subjects were called initially on the phone for interviews. The time and the location were chosen by the subject. The interviews were mostly done at the respondent's own home, however interviews were also done at the respondent's work place or such place as a donut shop.

2.4.3 Sample and Sample Frame:

The sampling frame for this study included all the members of the Calgary Korean Elderly Association who were 55 years old or over and the principle care-giver, which usually meant the oldest or the only son or the only daughter. In cases where the eldest son was not living in Calgary any other adult child identified as the care giver by the aged parent was included in the target group. Among the elderly who had spouses, only one spouse was interviewed, not both spouses. Thus, the unit of analysis for this research is defined as a person from a dyadic couple or a single person without a spouse.

From the elders' association there were a total of 72 cases that were counted for this study. This total was calculated by adding the number of members in the 1993 elders' association telephone directory with the number of cases who reported themselves to be members of the elders' association but were not listed in the association telephone directory.

The total number of interviewed cases from the aged parent group was 54, consisting of 45 cases from the Calgary Elders' Association and 9 cases which were not members of the association. Out of the 45 cases, 7 cases were members of the association who were not listed in the telephone directory.

Among the cases within the Elders' Association who were not interviewed, 5 cases were refusals and 3 people could not be interviewed due to physical impediments resulting from old age. For 3 other cases, the phone number listed in the directory was the wrong number. One last case was the researcher's parents. An additional 14 cases from the target group were discounted from the sample frame since they were not active members for the following reasons: 6 cases had moved away; 3 discontinued their phone; no one answered the phone for one case; and lastly, 4 were deceased.

Furthermore, five interviewed cases from the target group were not included in the final sample. For two of these, the respondent did not fully understand the scaled responses and so did not answer the questions using all the possible choices. For the third case, the respondent had difficulties fully answering the questions so the interview was terminated. The fourth person did not want to continue the interview half way through the schedule. For the fifth case, it was felt that the respondent was not giving honest answers.

Summing up, the numerical value for the sample frame came to 58 cases (72 less 14) and the sample size was 40 from the target group (Korean Elders' Association). Also, 9 cases came from outside of the target group. As a result the response rate came to 69% (40 out of 58).

For those who have refused the interviews among the aged parent group, the person either did not want to be bothered due to having an exhausting job or due to the inconvenience of having a visitor. Another reason for refusing the interview was that there was an unsettling family problem, as indicated by the person over the phone, and the subjects therefore did not want to be interviewed.

For this study, the sample consists of 27 males and 22 females which translates into a sex ratio of 1.0 : 0.8 respectively. Comparing the sample sex ratio of the Korean elderly population in Canada (1 male:1.6 female - 1991 Census, Statistics Canada), the research sample has twice as many males for each female. The age distribution for the aged parent group was bimodal with the ranges 65 - 69 (22.4%) and 75 - 79 (28.6%) as the two modes. Half of the sample were in the age range of 70 years or above where 80 years and older made up 12.2% of the sample. The distribution of the number of years the respondents have spent in Canada ranges from one year to 32 years with an even spread in between. Bimodal clustering of cases were in the 20 years and 21 years of residence in Canada (12.2% and 10.2% respectively). The corresponding years of immigration are 1975 and 1974 respectively. The earliest and the latest years of immigration were 1963 and 1994 respectively.

Finally, among the aged parent respondents, 32.7% (16) were either widowed (14) or widowers (2), 67.4% (8 females and 25 males) were married, and 4.1% (1 female and 1 male) were remarried.

From the sons and daughters group, 36 people were interviewed. All 36 cases were the children of the parents

who had been interviewed except 2 cases whose parents were not interviewed. Among the sons and daughters of the parents from the target group, 31 people were interviewed. Out of those who were not interviewed, yet whose parents have been interviewed, 4 cases were refusals, 3 people were not interviewed due to their parent not wanting their adult children interviewed, 2 people could not be contacted, 3 people had been interviewed for the pretest, and 2 other people were not residing in Calgary at the time (for both people not residing in Calgary no other siblings were residing in Calgary).

Of the sons and daughters whose parents were not members of the elders' association, 5 people were interviewed out of the 9 possible cases. Of those who were not interviewed, the parent did not want their son interviewed for one case. For two other cases they were too young, and one last case was not residing in Calgary.

From the adult children group, reasons for refusing the interview were that the person did not want to be troubled, or the person had a very busy schedule and could not fit an interview into their schedule. For those whose parents disagreed with their children being interviewed, the adult children were not in a comfortable economic situation. The parents have stated that their sons had to work hard at their place of business and that they would not have chance to be interviewed. In the parent's disagreeing, there is also an element of trying to limit the probing of their personal lives, partially due to the their children's situation and in effect their own.

This sample from the adult children group is made up of 30 males and 6 females. One respondent was widowed and one other respondent was single. The unmarried respondent was taken out of the sample for that very reason and also because the respondent was not in the position to support his parents. The rest of the 34 respondents were married. The age of the adult children respondents ranged from 29 years to 58 years. The majority (58%) of the respondent were 39 years old or younger. 27% were below the age of 34 years. The number of years residing in Canada was similar to the aged parents, the average number of years in Canada being 17 years. More adult children arrived in the year 1975 than any other years as in the case of the aged parents.

2.5 Pretest and Administration of Questionnaire

2.5.1 Results of the Pretest:

For the pretest, people of Korean descent who were able to read and understand English were solicited for interviews. As a result, three males between the ages of 55 and 65 and four males between the ages of 31 and 51 were interviewed. The first and the second groups were interviewed for the pretest of the questionnaire designed for the aged parents and the adult children respectively. The interviews took about an average of 1 hour and 45 minutes. Throughout the interviews, both English and Korean were used. After the interviews the respondents were asked if they thought anything was left out or if there were anything confusing about the questionnaire.

Changes necessary to improve the questionnaire and those which the respondents pointed out, were made. The main

problem of the initial questionnaire design was its length. Therefore, the majority of the initial changes were mainly to shorten the length of the questionnaire while also making the questionnaire more precise and easier for the respondents to understand.

To shorten the questionnaire several means were used. Among them one was to reconstruct multiple choice questions into Likert scaled questions (Q3a, Q3b and Q8j). This also made the questions easier to understand and simpler to respond to. Particularly, the long multiple choice responses made the questions hard to understand, so the respondents took longer to comprehend the question and therefore to answer them.

Another measure used was to delete redundant questions. Some questions were unnecessarily detailed given the wide scope of the questionnaire topics and the time restraint. As a result questions such as those which measured the duration of a visit by the children, other things the children did for their parents, or anything else in addition to the newspaper, magazines and books that the respondent read were deleted.

Similarly, if there were two questions that were indicators of a single dimension, one question was deleted. For example, the measure of "sacrificing the advancement of oneself to better care for one's parents" was reduced to one question from two questions. The same steps were taken for the dimension "the importance of the family versus the importance of the individual." In all, ten questions were deleted from the questionnaire for the aged parents and nine questions were deleted from questionnaire for the adult children.

A third method used to reduce the length of the questionnaire, was to collapse two questions into one question. This was done if two questions were related to a single topic and if they could be asked one after the other in a coherent way. For example, asking about sports activities and asking about outdoor activities were combined into one question (Q25i). Also, asking about the benefits of belonging to an organization was asked together with the question "what organization they belonged to" (pb44).

To refine the questionnaire further, questions which were felt to be necessary were added. As a result, seven questions were added to the questionnaire for the aged parents and eight questions to the questionnaire for the adult children.

For example a set of Likert scaled questions was introduced by the question "What should you do to make sure that the lineage will continue?" This question assumed that the importance of continuing the lineage was accepted and it did not measure how the respondent felt about continuing the lineage. Therefore, a separate question (Q5a) was added which asked if the respondent saw the continuation of the lineage as important.

Another question regarding the significance of ethnicity, was added. If members of an ethnic group were to see their ethnicity as significant, economic benefits of being part of that ethnic group could be an important aspect. Therefore, benefits attained by dealing with Koreans were asked about. This question was found to be significant since many respondents, especially from the adult children group, who were in the sales profession, had Koreans as clients.

Another example is the respondents' investments which was not included in the original questionnaire design. Having investments such as a business investment would be a significant aspect in the amount of income and security one possessed. Also, in the original questionnaire design, the obligation of the daughter-in-law to care for the parents-in-law was not included. To cover the omissions given in the last two examples respectively, questions Q32e and Q3c were added.

Other than the above changes, minor wording changes were made on 11 questions in both questionnaires in order to make the questions clear and accurate. One example is the alteration on the hyphenated term Korean-Canadian/Canadian-Korean when asking which ethnic identity the respondent identified themselves as. More specifically, not all respondents interpreted the term Korean/Canadian as describing being Korean as more salient than being Canadian. Therefore, these hyphenated terms were changed to "first Korean and second Canadian" and vice versa.

Furthermore, words were added and questions were moved within the questionnaire so as to ask appropriate questions and to make the questionnaire flow smoothly from one topic to another. For example, at the start of the section "Practice of Filial Piety", the marriage status of the adult children was asked when interviewing aged parents. This was to exclude questions about the adult children's family if the adult child was not married. Also if the adult child was not married the word "if" was added to question Q22 so the question would read "'if' you were married?". The same conditional word was added

for question Q23 just in case the respondent did not have any kids.

Generally the pretest interviews were administered without any further problems aside from those discussed above. Therefore the interviews were carried out with the above changes made in the questionnaire.

2.5.2 Administration of the Questionnaire:

In the main interview schedule, aged parents were interviewed separately from their sons/daughters and their daughters/sons-in-law so that they would be able to respond freely to such questions as "Do you like how your son/daughter behaves towards you?" or "How should the daughter-in-law care for her parents-in-law?" This was done by requesting the interview at times when the son or the daughter-in-law were not at home. If the son or the daughter-in-law were at home, the researcher suggested a private place in the house away from the respondent's children or their spouses to do the interview.

After several interviews, more changes were made on the questionnaire due to problems realized during the interviews. For example, respondents were having trouble agreeing or disagreeing to a negative statement (Q9e) "son/daughter does not talk back." This was changed to "son/daughter does talk back." This change is also made in the questionnaire for the adult children.

For the several respondents who were interviewed with the initial form of the question, their responses will be coded so that if someone answered #1 strongly agree then it will be switched to #5 strongly disagree and vice versa.

Another change was a wording change made on questions Q39 and Q40 from just "friends" to "close friends". This was done because some respondents answered the question by saying that their friends consisted of the whole church congregation. This new form of questioning would not be much different from the initial form because the initial form of the question had to be qualified with a comment "those you can call a friend" when the respondent gave an enormous number for the number of friends. Thus the effect of the change on the reliability of the question would be very small. This will be discussed after the data has been statistically processed.

Another wording change was made in the questionnaire for the adult children. The responses "a" and "b" for the multiple choice question Q21 were changed so that it would not be double barrelled. Thus response "a" in question Q21 was changed to "I go to my parents" from "I go to my parents and they would give me advice and help me in resolving the problem." Similarly response "b" was changed to "I usually go to my parents" from "I usually go to my parents, but they would only give their advice." In the questionnaire for the aged parents the same question has been deleted because too many people have been interviewed in the double-barrelled form undermining the validity of the responses to this question.

Also deleted from the questionnaire for the aged parents was probe question pb52 because most people did not understand the question. This was due to the difficulty of translating the word "identity" to be able to ask about who they identified themselves with. The translated form was different from the English form.

One last question which asked about the respondent's social class within the Korean class system was deleted from the questionnaire designs for both the aged parent and the adult children. It was observed that some respondents were uncomfortable answering this question and a respondent even remarked that it was rude to ask such a question. In addition to this there was an over-representation of the yungbun class among the respondents. This over-representation had been anticipated because within the small close knit Korean community in Calgary the people are sensitive about the social class of their ancestry. Lower classes within this categorization are imbued with negative social labels. This led the researcher to consider that this question would not be reliably answered.

Finally, including the changes described above, changes on a total of 7 questions on the questionnaire for the aged parents and 9 questions on the questionnaire for the adult children had been made after the start of the interview schedule. On the questionnaire for the aged parents there were wording changes or alterations in five questions and a deletion of two questions. In the questionnaire for the adult children the same changes were made but alterations on two more questions were made.

Even with the measures to shorten the length of the questionnaire, as described above, the average time of the interviewing was about 1 hour and 45 minutes for the aged parents and 1 hour and 15 minutes for the adult children. Particularly among the aged parents group, the respondents elaborated on their responses or digressed into other topics which had lengthened some interviews to more than two hours.

Other interviews continued into conversations afterwards about the issue of the filial piety in Canada and about other areas of their lives. Some aged parents even invited the researcher for dinner after the interview and even before the interview.

One point to note about the questionnaire is the avoidance of the respondents to talk negatively about their sons or daughters. Particularly, when asked whether the respondents like or dislike their son or daughter's behaviour towards them, some parents did not explicitly express their negative feelings about their sons/daughters. From the choice of words such as "he is okey" or from the manner in which they responded, it could be inferred that they may not be very satisfied. This will be taken into consideration when interpreting the data.

Over all, other than the questions that have been either deleted or modified, the questions were well understood by the respondents and answered without problem. Also throughout the interviews there was a good rapport between the researcher and the respondents.

Because the researcher has lived in Calgary for many years, many of the respondents knew the researcher either personally or through other means, such as through the researcher's relatives or through word of mouth. This "social connection" was an indispensable factor to the high response rate and the ready acceptance of the researcher by the respondents. Due to these relationships and due to the researcher having attended several of the association's gatherings, most of the respondents were able to trust the researcher. Therefore rapport was easily and quickly attained in the interviews. In most cases there were no hesitations in

answering any of the questions candidly because of the familiarity and the trust given to the researcher.

Many of the respondents were interested and involved in the interview since the issue of filial piety was a significant matter to them. The interview was a chance for these respondents to express their thoughts on the matter.

Reliability of the test will be discussed when statistically analyzing the data. However, the full cooperation of the respondents and the positive rapport attained in the interviews leads the researcher to have high confidence in the reliability of the interviews.

2.6 Method of Analysis

Prior to hypothesis testing, two hypotheses were found to be problematic, thus they will not be formally tested. Hypothesis #1, which hypothesized that more conjugal families will be prevalent than extended families, will not be tested. Results from testing the hypothesis showing one form of the family being more prevalent than the other, cannot be used to support or disclaim theoretical assertions. In other words, the proportion of conjugal families in relation to extended families that exist in a modern societies, is not normatively established. Rather, it would be more perceptive and substantial to discuss this hypothesis by examining the proportion of the families that are a conjugal family form as opposed to the extended form and compare this with the Canadian national figure. Therefore, this alternative will be carried out rather than a formal hypothesis testing.

The next hypothesis found to be problematic is the fourth hypothesis. It is regarding the relationship between the

characteristic of the family and practising of filial piety precepts by the adult children. These two variables do not meet the requirement of independence. One aspect of filial piety is living with one's parents and this form of living arrangement also defines the family structure. Because of this connection, the test would be invalid, thus this hypothesis will be deleted.

2.6.1 Quantitative Statistical Analysis:

After the data were collected and coded, a computer statistical program SPSS PC+ 5.0 was used to input the data into the computer and to carry out statistical operations for hypothesis testing. These statistical tests are briefly discussed below. Depending on the hypothesis, data were sometimes separated into the aged parents' responses and the adult children's responses and tests carried out on these separate data.

For those hypotheses that involve comparing two groups, a paired Student's t-test was carried out as a test of the hypotheses. These hypotheses include #2 and #3 which are regarding the comparison of the parent and the adult children with respect to their conception of Conjugal Family Ideology and Conception of Filial Piety, respectively.

A paired Student's t-test was feasible since both the parents and their identified care-givers, their children, were interviewed. Advantages to using the paired tests are that the effect of other factors are minimized such as random variations between respondents (Norusis, 1988:218). Also, factors such as socio-economic class or family size are controlled by matching the parents with their children.

Other hypotheses that relate two or more variables of the sample will be tested using the Pearsonian correlational measure (r). Pearson correlation is a summary measure of how closely the relationship between two variables fit a linear relationship. In addition to indicating the strength of the linear association, the squared value of the correlation coefficient indicates the percentage of the variance between cases of the variable that is explained by its association with the other variable. This measure and its significance will be used to test hypotheses #5, #6, #7, #8, and #9.

Other than the variables outlined in the hypotheses, additional variables will be tested for their effect on the outlined relationships. For example socio-economic status will be tested for its effect on some variables including Conception of Filial Piety and Practice of Filial Piety.

2.6.2 Qualitative analysis:

Qualitative interpretations will use supplementary probe data to enrich the findings in the Discussion of Results section. As stated above, probe questions were quantified for the purpose of descriptive analysis such as through frequency distribution or simple cross-tabulations. The advantage to this is that the findings of the result can be enhanced or delimited which will add clarity to the relationships that are outlined in the hypothesis.

Chapter THREE

Results

3.1 General Profile of the Sample

3.1.1 Changes in the Initial Analysis:

After the initial analysis of the data, further changes were made. Some questions proved inapplicable to all respondents. Responses to these questions were deleted.

Within the sample of aged parents, there are two groups clearly distinguishable by their residence characteristics. One group lived with their married children (42.9%)⁹ and the other group either lived with other family members other than their children, or with their spouses, or by themselves (49%) (Table 3.1.18). Due to this division, questions related to the residence pattern were found to be inapplicable to both groups equally. Therefore, those data were deleted from the statistical analysis.

Another set of data deleted is regarding the frequency of visit and calling over the phone by the identified care-giver and their spouses (Q11a, Q11b, Q12a, Q12b respectively). For about half of the parent respondents who lived with their care-giver (42.9%), these questions are not applicable.

Similarly, in the adult children's data, 40.0% of the respondents and their spouses lived with their parents and 60.1% of the respondents were not living with their parents

⁹The difference of 10.2% or 4 respondents was not included since the sons they were living with were not married. These cases were not included in this discussion because children living in such arrangement are not included in the category of care-givers for this study.

(Table 3.1.23). Consequently, questions about the respondent's and spouse's frequency of visit and calling (Q12a, Q12b, Q13a, Q13b respectively) are inapplicable. Data from these questions were, therefore, also not included in the analysis.

Other questions not applicable, due to the above division, are questions about the care-giver's support and assistance by paying rent (Q17e) and by fixing around the apartment (Q16f). Similar to the above, these questions would not be applicable to those who live with their care-givers. Thus, data from these questions were deleted from both the parent's and children's data.

Also, questions about paying of house mortgage, property taxes, and utility were not applicable to all respondents since those who lived in apartments would most likely not have these expenses. In addition, these questions may not be reliable among parents who lived with their children since some parents would not know about financial payments related to houses. Both reasons would have contributed to the high number of missing data: 17 (34.7%) missing responses for the paying of property tax and 10 (20.4%) missing for paying the house mortgage (Table 3.1.1, Table 3.1.2 respectively).

The responses from the same questions were deleted from the adult children's data also. In the adult children's data, 40% of the respondents were living with their parents. Therefore these questions would not apply to these cases.

Another division of the aged parent sample, into two major groups, was characterized by either having or not having a sibling, cousin, or a distant relative. Therefore questions

related to having kin relationship would not be equally applicable to all respondents.

In many cases the respondents did not have a cousin and/or a sibling. Therefore it would not make sense to ask about the frequency of either meeting or talking to their cousins and/or their siblings. The percentages of the respondents not having cousins and not having siblings were 44.9% and 28.6% respectively (Table 3.1.3, Table 3.1.4). Therefore responses to questions 13a, 13b, 14a, and 14b - meeting and talking to siblings and cousins respectively - were deleted.

Furthermore, questions (Q15d, Q15e) asking about the importance of keeping in touch with their cousins and siblings respectively would be irrelevant. Therefore, data from these questions were deleted.

There was also a high percentage of respondents who did not have distant relatives (18.4%). Despite this high figure, data related to distant relatives were kept in the analysis in order to have some measure of kin contact.

3.1.2 Educational Profile:

Among the aged parents, the education level attained in Korea was moderately high. 49% of the respondents had education at the high school level or higher while from the Canadian national census,¹⁰ 55.1% of the same age group (55 years old and older) had the same level of education (Table 3.1.5, Table 3.1.8). However, 14.3% of the respondents in the

¹⁰Source: 1991 Census, Statistics Canada.

Korean parent group had university education, compared to the national figure of 5.4%.

In contrast, just about all (95.9%) of the respondents from the Korean aged parents group had no North American education; one person had a college level education and one other person had a university level education (Table 3.1.6).

Comparatively, the educational level of Korean adult children were higher than their aged parents'. 80% of the adult children had a Korean education at a level of high school or higher and 37.1% respondents had Korean university level education (Table 3.1.7).

The North American education attained by the adult children is relatively low in comparison to their Korean education. Half (51.4%) of the Korean adult children sample had a North American educational level of high school or higher and 31.4% of the sample had university level education (Table 3.1.7). However, 42.9% of the adult children had no North American education. This is a very high percentage compared to 5.7% of the same sample with no Korean education.

Even though 42.9% of the Korean adult children group had no North American education, there was a higher percentage who had university level education compared to the Canadian national percentage (12.1%) in similar age group¹¹ (Table 3.1.8).

After examining the educational level of the respondents and from the above discussion, it is evident that age may be related to education acquired after immigrating to Canada. In fact, in the adult children's data, a relationship between the

¹¹Note that in the national sample the age ranges from 25 to 54 whereas the age for the study sample ranges from 29 to 58.

age at the time of immigration and the level of education attained is apparent. Table 3.1.9 shows a distinct split in age of immigration between those with and those without a North American university education. Those with the North American university education were between the ages of 2 to 22 at the time of immigration and those without were 23 years old and older.

There may be many determining factors in the acquisition of education after immigrating to Canada. Among these factors, a significant one would be the difficulty of starting from the rudimentary basics of learning English. This difficult task may be one of the biggest barriers to higher education. It would be especially onerous under economic constraints, especially if one had to support one's family. Such may be the case for many mid-aged and older Koreans immigrating to Canada as reflected in the relationship between age at time of immigration and education.¹²

The lack of uniformity of educational level among the aged parent respondents may lead one to infer a diversity in the conception of filial piety. Among the adult children, in contrast, there is a higher percentage of those with a secondary or higher level of Korean education within the sample. Interestingly, those with low levels of Korean education, have high North American education (Table 3.1.7). This polarization into two distinct groups within adult children group, will most likely lead to a polarization in the conception of filial piety and possibly the practice of filial

¹²This is apparent in that the biggest problem that the adult children group experienced was language problem and the second biggest problem was making a living (Table 4.6).

piety. It follows from theory that those with higher North American education will score low in the conception and in the practice of filial piety.

3.1.3 Occupational Profile:

With respect to the occupational level in Korea, 65.3% of the respondents in the aged parents group were either skilled workers or higher on the occupational status scale. Among those with lower occupational status, 24.5% of the respondents did not have a job; all of these respondents were women (Table 3.1.10).

Conversely in Canada, 73.5% of the aged parent respondents either never worked or were retired and were holding or held a non-skilled job (Table 3.1.11).

In the adult children's group, 48.6% did not work in Korea and only 42.9% were in the skilled labour occupational category or higher (Table 3.1.12). In Canada on the other hand, 91.4% of the adult children had either skilled labour jobs or higher occupational status jobs (Table 3.1.13). It is worth noting that 60% of the adult children were in the skilled labour category. The high percentage in this category reflects the large number of Koreans who are proprietors of small businesses.¹³

This high percentage may indicate the concentration in an economic niche or an occupational segregation. This may indicate one's distance from the greater society, not

¹³ Among the adult children sample, 11 respondents were classified as small business proprietors (7 convenience stores, 3 food services, and 1 product retail store) and 4 medium sized business proprietors (1 video rental and 3 food services). This comes to 15 respondents or 42.9% of the adult children sample who are in the proprietor category.

necessarily integrated either at the cultural or the structural level. It could be assumed in such cases, that one's ethnicity is better retained and more salient.

3.1.4 Financial Profile:

Most of the aged parent respondents were not working (87.8%) at the time of the interview. Only 6 respondents were working and out of these respondents, 4 did not receive any government assistance nor any financial assistance from their children (Table 3.1.14). It is most likely that these people do not need the support since they are financially stable.

Many of the aged parent respondents (51%) received retirement pension or government assistance (Table 3.1.14). Also, the majority (65%) of the respondents did not receive financial help from their children. A moderate 34.7% of the respondents received financial support either through a regular allowance or an allowance for helping at their children's business or by babysitting and by asking for money from their children. From this group, 28.5% reported that support from their children was their only source of income (Table 3.1.15).

Reflective of their economic situation, the majority of the aged parents' incomes were low. Because most of the respondents were not working, the main source of income varied from government assistance, children's support, investments, or a combination of these.

From these secondary sources, 73.9% (34 cases) of the respondents had income lower than \$1000 per month, which translates to less than \$12,000 per year and 23.4% (11 cases)

had income less than half of this, - \$500 per month (Table 3.1.16).¹⁴

The adult children, on the other hand, were in a much better financial situation. More than half (58.8%) of the children sample had an income level of 40 thousand dollars or higher. The majority (67.7%) were in the 20-39 thousand and 40-59 thousand dollars ranges (Table 3.1.17).

The fact that most parents were not supported by their children is perhaps an indication of the non-practice of filial piety. From the moderate level of income, it may be difficult to argue financial difficulty as a possible reason for the low level of support for the parents. Rather, government assistance may allow for the parents to be self-sufficient and not be a burden on their children. Also, parents may not want support from their children and may want to assert their independence by living separately, especially among those with a spouses.¹⁵ This may show the practical adjustment on the part of the parents within the given situation in Canada.

3.1.5 Living arrangement:

As discussed in the above, both the aged parents and their children samples can be categorized into two distinct groups according to their living arrangement. One group consisting of those who are living with their married children

¹⁴Not recorded are the supplementary forms of income mainly gifts on special occasions such as birthdays or when travelling to Korea. This would not raise the income level by any significant amount since they occur occasionally.

¹⁵There is an a high proportion of respondents who prefer to live alone particularly among those who are living with their spouses (Table 4.20).

(42.9%) and the other group consisting of those who are living with either their spouses or alone (47.9%) (Table 3.1.18).¹⁶ The majority of these respondents (58.60%), living separately from their children, were collecting government assistance (Table 3.1.19). Without such source of income, aged parents may not be able to afford to live in a separate dwelling.

In the 1991 Canadian national enumeration of 2.9 million seniors in private households¹⁷, 28% lived alone while 59% lived with a spouse. About 5% lived in a household with either married or divorced children. Also, the average size of the senior's family was 2.2 persons.¹⁸

In comparison, the Korean parents living alone or with a spouse is somewhat less than the National senior sample. Of the same age category,¹⁹ 16.7% (6/36) lived alone while 36.1% (13/36) lived with a spouse. A significantly larger proportion of Korean parents lived with their married children (41.7%, 15 cases) (Table 3.1.20).

Among those who were living alone or with their spouses or with other family members (24 cases) in the entire aged parent sample, two reported that none of their children were living in Calgary. However, the majority (14 cases, 28.6%) of

¹⁶There were 4 parent respondents (8.2%) living with their "unmarried" children. These cases were not included in this discussion because children living in such arrangement are not included in the category of care-givers for this study.

¹⁷Source: 1991 Census, Statistics Canada. "Seniors" are defined as those who are 65 years old or older. A household is defined by Statistics Canada as a person or group occupying the same dwelling.

¹⁸Source: 1991 Census, Statistics Canada.

¹⁹Within the aged parents sample, there are a total of 36 out of 49 people who are 65 years old and older (Table 4.23).

the respondents lived between 15 and 30 minutes away from their children by car (Table 3.1.21).

The other group who lived with their married children, most lived with their married sons (19 cases, 38.8%); only one respondent lived with their married daughter. 12 cases or 63.2% (12/19) of this group were living with their oldest or the only son or daughter (Table 3.1.18).

Interestingly, both aged parents and adult children seem to be living in the arrangement they prefer, either together in the same dwelling or in separate dwellings. Table 3.1.22 and Table 3.1.23 show that parents' living arrangements are more in agreement with their preferred living arrangement than their children's.²⁰

Compared to the aged parents, a higher percentage of the adult children sample was not living in the way they preferred. These people numbered 12 out of 33 valid cases or 36.4%, whereas in the parent group it was 10 out of 47 valid cases or 21.3%.²¹

²⁰In the children group, a missing case and a response that did not fit into neither "with the parents" nor "separate from parents" were not included in the analysis. One additional response not included is "together when needed." Similarly in the parent sample, a response did not fit into either "with children" or "separately from children" and for one other respondent, an unmarried child was still living at home. In another case, the respondent's grandson was residing with the respondent. These cases were excluded from the "valid" sample group in the analysis of the preferred living arrangement of respondents.

²¹These cases include those whose living arrangement preference is not congruent with their residence arrangement, for example those who want to live separately but are living with their married children.

For those living as they prefer, there were a total of 37 out of 47 (78.7%) in the parent group and a total of 21 out of 33 (63.6%) in the adult children group.²²

Apart from this difference, the preference of living arrangement is similar between the parents and their children. This is evident in the equal split in the two samples between those that prefer to live together and those who prefer to live separately. In the parent's data the division between those that prefer to live separately and those that prefer to live together are 51% and 46.9% respectively, and 50% and 47.1% respectively in the children group.

In comparison to the national sample of the aged, a significantly larger percentage of Korean parents was living with their children. Nevertheless, there are more parents living alone or with a spouse than those living with their married children in the study sample. This can be viewed as not living in accordance to the Korean heritage by both the parents and their children.

However, in the cases where the parents are living with their married children, practice of filial piety can be inferred from the high proportion of the parents who were living with their sons, in particular the oldest sons (Table 3.1.24). From this observation, it may be inferred that the samples are divided into two groups situated at opposite ends with respect to the social aspect of filial piety.

Furthermore, the equal proportions between the parents and children who prefer to live apart and live together,

²²These cases include those whose living arrangement preference is congruent with their then residence arrangement, for example those who want to live separately and are living either alone or with a spouse.

indicate that there may be more similarities than expected between the generations. There may be consensus between the generations with respect to practical expectations, such as living arrangements.

From the discussed profiles of the respondents, there doesn't seem to be clear indications of how the profiles may give light to the conception and the practice of filial piety. The aged parents' present demographic profile is fairly homogenous - most parents are not working, most parents have low income and almost all of the parents do not have North American education. Yet, there are clear divisions in living arrangements and preference of living arrangements. Therefore, the characteristics of the living arrangement may be dependent more on other factors such as on children's characteristics than the parents'.

In the children sample, the educational polarization and the large number of adult children in the proprietor occupation may have the same effect. Those with high North American education will likely be highly integrated into the greater society whereas those with low North American education would adopt to occupations which do not require being integrated into the greater society. Though this reasoning does not seem to be pointed out in Table 3.1.13, there is a large number (13 cases) of respondents with no North American education in the clerical category. The occupational category may have to be more distinguishing for a perceptive analysis.

However, the high level of Korean education among the adult children group indicates that most were socialized in Korea. This implies that many may have difficulties adjusting

to a different way of life in Canada. As described by Hurh and Kim (1984), there may be a high level of ethnic attachment in this case.

So far education does not seem to be a significant factor in reflecting the social and cultural aspects of filial piety. Also, occupation, in general, does not seem to be a significant factor either in determining the living arrangement aspect of filial piety (Table 3.1.25). Furthermore, the generational gap may not be a strong indicator of the decline of filial piety as many theorist expect. This is evident in the preference of living arrangement, which is basically the same between the two generations.

However, external factors such as government assistance may have a great impact on the social aspects of inter-generational relationships. With the parent's financial independence, there may be less practical obligations on the children's part, other than possibly emotional support. Thus, filial piety may take on different forms than what has been defined by the cultural heritage or traditional ideas. Other than cultural heritage, the immediate practical aspects of life may possibly be the most salient factor in the practice of filial piety.

Table 3.1.1 Paying of Property Tax by Parents with Children (N=49)

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
we pay for all	17	34.7
we pay most	0	0.0
we share the cost	0	0.0
we contribute a little	0	0.0
children pay all	15	30.6
Missing	17	34.7

Table 3.1.2 Paying of House Mortgage by Parents with children (N=49)

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
we pay all	20	40.8
we pay most	0	0.0
we share the cost	1	2.0
we contribute a little	0	0.0
children pay all	18	36.7
Missing	10	20.4

Table 3.1.3 Talking to Cousins on the Phone (N=49)

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
once a year or less	16	32.7
several times a year	8	16.3
several times a month	0	0.0
several times per week	2	4.1
daily or almost daily	1	2.0
Missing	22	44.9

Table 3.1.4 Talking with Siblings on the Phone (N=49)

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
once a year or less	11	22.4
several times a year	14	28.6
several times a month	6	12.2
several times per week	4	8.2
daily or almost daily	0	0.0
Missing	14	28.6

Table 3.1.5 Parents' Korean Education (N=49)

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
none	6	12.2
elementary	12	24.5
junior high	7	14.3
high school	12	24.5
community collage	5	10.2
university/graduate	7	14.3

Table 3.1.6 Parents' North American Education (N=49)

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
none	47	95.9
junior high	0	0.0
high school	0	0.0
community collage	1	2.0
university/graduate	1	2.0

Table 3.1.7 Adult Children's North American and Korean Education (N=35)

North America	Korean Education					Total (%)
	none	elemen- tary	junior high	high school	univer- sity/ graduate	
none	-	-	4	2	9	15 (42.9)
elementary	-	-	1	-	-	1 (2.9)
junior high	-	-	1	-	-	1 (2.9)
high school	-	1	-	1	1	3 (8.7)
community collage	-	-	4	-	-	4 (11.4)
university/ graduate	2	4	2	-	3	11 (31.4)

Table 3.1.8 Canadian National Educational Level by Age

Educational Level	Age	
	25 - 54	55 -
less than grade 9	56,015 (47.4%)	3,951,960 (74.3%)
grade 9 - grade 13	4,240,870 (34.9%)	1,881,340 (35.4%)
non-university education	3,268,140 (26.9%)	760,400 (14.3%)
university	1,472,765 (12.1%)	287,095 (5.4%)
total	12,154,360 (100%)	5,317,555 (100%)

Source: Census 1991, Statistics Canada.

Table 3.1.9 Adult Children's Age at Time of Immigration and Their Education (N=35)

N. American Education	Immigration Age (years)					Total (%)
	0-14	15-22	23-30	31-38	39-up	
none	-	1	8	3	3	15 (42.9)
elementary	-	-	1	-	-	1 (2.9)
junior high	-	1	-	-	-	1 (2.9)
high school	1	1	1	-	-	3 (8.6)
community collage	1	3	-	-	-	4 (11.4)
university/ graduate	5	4	1	-	1	11 (31.4)
Total	7 20.0%	10 28.6%	11 31.4%	3 8.6%	4 11.4%	35 100.0%

Table 3.1.10 Parents Sex and Their Occupation in Korea (N=49)

Occupation in Korea	Sex		Total
	female	male	
no job	12	-	12 (24.5)
blue collar	2	3	5 (10.2)
clerical/ skilled	2	10	12 (24.5)
intermediate professional	5	11	16 (32.7)
professional	1	3	4 (8.2)

Table 3.1.11 Parents' Occupation in Canada (N=49)

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
no job	23	46.9
blue collar	13	26.5
clerical/clerical	11	22.4
intermediate professional	1	2.0
professional	1	2.0

Table 3.1.12 Adult Children's Occupation in Korea (N=35)

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
no job	17	48.6
blue collar	3	8.6
clerical	5	14.3
intermediate professional	7	20.0
professional	3	8.6

Table 3.1.13 Adult Children's Education and Occupation (N=35)

N. American Education	Occupation in Canada				
	no job	blue collar	clerical	inter- mediate professional	profes- sional
none	-	-	13	4	1
elementary	-	1	-	-	-
junior high	-	-	1	-	-
high school	-	-	3	-	-
community collage	-	1	-	-	-
university/ graduate	1	-	4	5	1
Total	1 2.9%	2 5.7%	21 60.0%	9 25.7%	2 5.7%

Table 3.1.14 Parents' Secondary Income (N=49)

Secondary Income Sources	Yearly Work Income (x 1,000)					Total
	no income	\$19 or less	\$20 - \$39	\$40 - \$59	\$80 - up	
ask children	1	-	-	-	-	1 2.0%
helping children	5	-	-	-	-	5 10.2%
allowance from children	7	1	-	-	-	8 16.3%
government assistance	24	-	-	1	-	25 51.0%
none of the above	6	1	2	-	1	10 20.4%
Total	43 87.8%	2 4.1%	2 4.1%	1 2.0%	1 2.0%	49 100.0%

Table 3.1.15 Parents' Secondary Income and Children's Financial Help (N=49)

Secondary Income Source	Children's financial help			Total
	none	help children	regular allowance	
ask children	1	-	-	1 2.0%
helping children	-	5	-	5 10.2%
allowance from children	-	-	8	8 16.3%
government assistance	21	2	2	25 51.0%
none of the above	10	-	-	10 20.4%
Total	32 65.3%	7 14.3%	10 20.4%	49 100.0%

Table 3.1.16 Parents' Monthly Income from Secondary Sources (N=46)

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
\$0 - \$499	11	23.9
\$500 - \$999	23	50.0
\$1000 - \$1499	6	13.0
\$1500 - \$1999	2	4.3
\$2000 - \$2499	2	4.3
\$2500 - up	2	4.3

Table 3.1.17 Adult children's Yearly Income (N=35)

Value Label	Frequency	Percent
no income	1	2.9
\$19,000 or less	2	5.7
\$20,000 - \$39,000	11	31.4
\$40,000 - \$59,000	12	34.3
\$60,000 - \$79,000	5	14.3
\$80,000 or higher	3	8.6

Table 3.1.18 Aged Parents' Living Arrangement and the Adult Child Living with the Parent (N=48)

Living Arrangement	Living with children				Total
	not with with child	daught- er	son	oldest or only son/ dau	
alone	6	-	-	-	6 12.5%
with spouse	17	-	-	-	17 35.4%
family member	1	-	-	-	1 2.1%
unwed child	-	1	2	1	4 8.3%
married child	-	-	-	2	2 4.2%
with children's family	-	1	7	10	18 37.5%
Total	24 50.0%	2 4.2%	9 18.8%	13 27.1%	48 100.0%

Table 3.1.19 Parents Secondary Income Source and Living Arrangement (N=49)

Secondary Income Source	Living Arrangement					
	alone	with spouse	other family member	un- married child	married child- ren	child's family
ask children	-	-	-	-	-	1
helping children	-	2	-	1	-	2
allowance from children	-	4	-	-	-	4
government assistance	5	8	1	-	-	11
none of the above	1	3	-	3	2	1
Total	6 12.2%	17 34.7%	1 2.0%	4 8.2%	2 4.1%	19 38.8%

Table 3.1.20 Parents' Living Arrangement and Their Age (N=49)

Living Arrangement	Age					
	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80-up
alone	-	-	1	2	2	1
with spouse	1	3	5	2	6	-
family member	-	-	-	-	1	-
unwed child	1	2	1	-	-	-
married child	-	1	1	-	-	-
children's family	1	4	3	1	5	5
Total	3 6.1%	10 20.4%	11 22.4%	5 10.2%	14 28.6%	6 12.2%

Table 3.1.21 Parents' Living Arrangement and the Living Distance of the Care-giver not Living with the Parent (N=49)

Living Arrangement	Living Distance					
	another city	30-60 by car	15-30 by car	15 min by car	walking distance	living together
alone	-	1	4	1	-	-
with spouse	2	-	9	4	2	-
family member	-	-	-	1	-	-
unwed child	-	-	1	-	-	3
married child	-	-	-	-	-	2
children's family	-	-	-	-	-	19
Total	2 4.1%	1 2.0%	14 28.6%	6 12.2%	2 4.1%	24 49.0%

Table 3.1.22 Parents' Living Arrangement and Their Preference

Living Arrangement	Preferred Arrangement			Total
	separately	with children	with family	
alone	6	-	-	6
with spouse	12	5	-	17
family member	1	-	-	1
unwed child	1	3	-	4
married child	1	1	-	2
with children's family	4	4	1	9
Total	25 51.0%	23 46.9%	1 2.0%	49 100.0%

Table 3.1.23 Adult Children's Living Arrangement and Their Preference (N=34)

Living Arrangement	Preferred Arrangement		
	separately	together when need help	with parent
alone	1	-	-
with spouse	1	-	-
spouse and kids	10	1	7
spouse and parents	-	-	-
family and parents	5	-	9
Total	17 50.0%	1 2.9%	16 47.1%

Table 3.1.24 Parents' Living Arrangement and Sex of Care-giver's (N=42)

Living Arrangement	Sex of Care-giver		Total
	female	male	
not with children	8	14	22
with daughter	1	0	1
with son	1	7	8
oldest son only son/daughter	0	11	11
Total	10 23.8%	32 76.2%	42 100.0%

Table 3.1.25 Adult Children's Living Arrangement and Their Occupation (N=35)

Living Arrangement	Occupation				
	no job	blue collar	clerical	inter-mediate professional	profes-sional
alone	-	1	-	-	-
with spouse	-	-	-	1	-
spouse and kids	1	1	12	3	2
spouse and parents	-	-	-	-	-
family and parents	-	-	9	5	-
Total	1 2.9%	2 5.7%	21 60.9%	9 25.7%	2 5.7%

3.2 Cultural and Social Dimension of Filial Piety

3.2.1 Responses to the Attitudinal Measures:

Table 3.2.1 shows frequencies of responses to filial piety items arranged in the order from those with which most number of respondents agreed to those with which the least number of respondents agreed. For example, on the first item, 92.8% of the respondents either strongly agreed or agreed while only 2.4% disagreed and 4.8% somewhat agreed; no one strongly disagreed. On the last item, on the other hand, only 7.1% agreed while none strongly agreed, 7.1% somewhat agreed, and 85.7% disagreed or strongly disagreed.

Generally, for the first 17 items, more people strongly agreed or agreed than strongly disagreed or disagreed while for the following 7 items, more people disagreed than agreed. The last two items are not integrated into the table because the responses were not in a Likert scale form that ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Further, the coded scale ranged on a four point scale not a five point scale on which the rest of the items were based.

For further analysis, the items are grouped into 5 major categories by collapsing either side of the scale to form a simple 3 point scale. Therefore, "strongly disagree" and "disagree" are collapsed into "disagree," "somewhat agree" is considered "neutral," and "strongly agree" and "agree" are collapsed into "agree."

Using this simplified scale, the first cluster of items includes those at the bottom of the table with which the majority of the respondents disagreed and very few agreed. For example, 85.7% of the respondents disagreed and only 7.1%

agreed that a male person should marry another wife if there were no children from the marriage. In another item, 83.3% of the respondents disagreed and 6.0% agreed that one should adopt the son-in-law in case one did not have a son. One might add that there is consensus with respect to this imperative.

Also included in this category is the imperative that parents should have control over the money earned by all family members. Here a substantial 61.9% disagreed while 11.9% agreed.

In the second category, items with which a moderate number of people disagreed rather than agreed, were included. The items include placing comfort and happiness of parents before wife and kids and forgoing a more prestigious job in order to better care for one's parents. Respectively, 39.3% and 41.7% of the respondents disagreed while 19.1% and 17.9% agreed.

The third cluster includes those items where the difference in the percentage of people between those who agreed and those who disagreed, is small. For example, giving credit to parents even after their death was agreed with by 38.1% of the respondents and disagreed with by 33.4%. The second imperative in this cluster, obeying parents even if one disagrees, was agreed with by 26.2% and disagreed with by 32.2%. On this item, more (41.7%) respondents were ambivalent while in the previous item the ambivalent group was slightly less (28.6%) in number than those who either agreed or disagreed.

In this category also belongs the last item in the table, which is concerned with the people with which the parents

should live. Most of the respondents (32.5%) believed that the parents should live with the oldest or the only son. The next largest number of respondent (30.1%) answered that the parents should live with any family member. This was more than those who believed that parents should live with any of the children, which was 19.3%, and 18.1% of the respondents believed that parents should live alone.

Items that were agreed with by a moderate number of respondents make up the fourth cluster. The percentage of people agreeing ranged from a substantial 56.0% to a moderate 36.9%. The corresponding item with which most agreed was the imperative to support parents financially. The least agreed with item, on the other hand, was the imperative of continuing one's lineage by attempting to have a son. Respectively, a small 7.2% and a moderate 19.1% of the respondents disagreed.

Items in the mid section of this cluster represent precepts that may be considered more traditional than other items. One such imperative is the caring of the parents as the daughter-in-law's duty with which 57.1% of the respondents agreed and only 15.5% disagreed. The next item, owing parents for having been raised by them was agreed with by a slightly smaller percentage of 53.6% and disagreed with by 16.7% of the respondents. Owing the parents for one's body was another traditionalistic imperative with which a narrow minority of 52.4% of the respondents agreed and an increasing percentage of 21.5% disagreed. Living a life that gives glory and honour to parents was agreed with by a still significant majority percentage of 44.0% and disagreed with by a slightly greater percentage of 23.8%. Finally the imperative of performing ancestor worship, was agreed with by a very significant 54.8%

of the respondents, but an increased percentage of 26.1% also disagreed with it.

The next and last category consists of items with which 73% or more of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed and not more than 11% disagreed. The imperative of respecting parents was agreed with by almost all of the respondents (92.8%) and disagreed with by only 2.4% of the respondents. Two other imperatives in this category were caring for parents' physical well-being and emotional well-being with which 81.0% and 78.6% respectively agreed. A minuscule percentage of 2.4% and 3.6% respectively disagreed.

The next two items in this category, the imperative of continuing one's lineage and giving care physically to parents when necessary, are reflective of the more traditional aspects of Confucian precepts. They were agreed with by 72.7% and 73.8% of the respondents and disagreed with by 2.4% and 9.6% of the respondents respectively. Also in this category is the imperative to mourn after the death of parents with 73.8% agreeing and 10.7% disagreeing.

From the general result of Table 3.2.1, some patterns may be inferred. Not all aspects of filial piety precepts were given equal weight by the respondents and this suggests the existence of unique particular patterns rather than a broad and general one.

Firstly, the practicalities of the urban post-industrial setting may be a significant aspect, determining the contemporary relevance of values that have their bases in a rural agricultural setting. Furthermore the cultural aspect may add to heightening the incongruity between these foreign

conceptualizations and the pervasive values of the general social environment.

Items in the category that were discussed first may be an example of this incongruity in that marrying another wife or adopting one's son-in-law in case there were no sons from the marriage, were disagreed with by most respondents. These two items, in addition to being socially unacceptable, would also be very difficult if not impossible to do in the present situation in Canada. Possibly due to this incongruity, there was consensus among the people in their disagreement with this precept.

Another example where the values of the respondents reflect the social norms of the present situation is the valuing of independence of individuals from parents as indicated in the items "obey parents," "live together," and "control over money." Particularly, the high level of disagreement with parental control over money earned by all family members, shows the distance of the present conception from what is considered traditional, and is indicative of a conception possibly more reflective of the economic situation at hand.

Further, unaccepted aspects of the Confucian filial piety precepts are indicated by the second category of items discussed. The high level of disagreement with the imperatives may be indicative of practical limits to filial piety within the present situation. Imperatives such as sacrificing one's career and one's family to better take care of one's parents were not seen by many as part of filial piety. At least on the normative level, piety at the expense of one's family and one's future may be beyond what most are

willing to do. Though sacrificing for the care of parents was accepted to some extent, it may be inferred that this was restricted to situations when parents are in dire need of care.

Imperatives that may be considered to be congruent with the given social environment were agreed with by the highest number of respondents. Such imperatives include respecting parents and the caring for one's parents' physical and emotional well being. These are what one may consider imperative of giving basic care to parents.

Finally, the last inference that may be made concerns the upholding and the maintenance of the more traditional aspects of filial piety. Despite some significant level of disagreement with some Confucian imperatives, there were more items with which the respondents agreed.

For example, responses to caring for parents even by physically lifting them or by cleaning their body indicates the level of sacrifice with which a significant number of respondents agreed. Additionally, the high rate of agreement for continuing one's lineage reflects the traditional Confucian precepts that persist as part of respondents' conception of filial piety.

Other items that refer to the obligation to pay parents back for one's body and for being raised, and items such as worshipping ancestors and giving glory and honour to parents through one's living, are ideas clearly indicative of traditional aspects of Confucian precepts. High levels of agreement on such items are an indication of traditional conception of filial piety that the respondents continue to hold.

The next table to be discussed, Table 3.2.2, is the summary of responses to conjugal family ideology. Summarized in this table are values that are described in theory as reflective of modern urban societies. More specifically, it is also claimed that people's traditional values will change to reflect such value systems in a modern urban setting. The previously discussed Table 3.2.1, gives an indication of how much of the Confucian precepts are part of the respondents' value system, but Table 3.2.2 measures to what extent "modern" values are also part of their value system. With further examination, as discussed in the following chapter, the results of these tables may provide insight into how the value system of Koreans in Canada may be shifting.

As was seen in Table 3.2.1, Table 3.2.2 also shows that there is consensus on some items but overall also a substantial amount of variance in the degree of acceptance of other items. The tables do not indicate that the sample is either very traditional or overly oriented towards the conjugal family ideology. Rather, the pattern shows that some aspects of Confucian precepts are accepted, not all, and the same pattern is evident for the conjugal family ideology.

Table 3.2.2 shows the response distribution of items that measure agreement within the conjugal family ideology along several dimensions. A high score indicates a response that is more reflective of conjugal family ideology and vice versa for a low score. By collapsing the categories on either end of the scale, a simple scale of low, moderate, and high can be created. For discussion purposes, codes 1 and 2 are collapsed into the category "low," code 3 is treated as an ambiguous response, and codes 4 and 5 into category "high." Using this

scale, the items of the conjugal family ideology were arranged in the order of items on which a large number of people scored high to those that a small number of people scored high.

At the top of the table, the item regarding spousal relationship being more important than kinship relationship was scored high by the largest (82.2%) number of respondents and scored low by a small number of respondents (3.6%). The last item in the table regarding harmony of the family being more important than individuals' happiness, was scored high by only 9.5% of the respondents and scored low by a high percentage of 67.8%. Other than the last two items, all other items had more respondents that scored high, than low.

On the second item regarding the freedom to divorce in an unhappy marriage, the second highest percentage of 67.8% scored high and only 10.7% of the respondents scored low. Also regarding marriage, about half (52.4%) supported the independent choosing of a spouse by the individual compared to 7.2% who supported parents' active involvement in the process.

The third item in the table deals with women having the same freedom as their husbands to work. 57.1% believed that women should be free to work whereas 22.1% were opposed to this idea. Conversely, a substantial percentage of (48.8%) people supported the idea that women should take care of children even if it meant quitting her job, whereas only 21.4% were opposed.

On the next item, 57.2% of respondents scored high and 16.7% scored low with respect to moving to another city to get a job without the hinderance of kinship duties. On the following item, 41.7% scored high whereas an increased

percentage of 33.4% scored low with respect to being free from kinship ties to live the lifestyle one wants.

With respect to sons receiving most of the inheritance rather than daughters, there was no significant difference in the number of respondents between those that scored high (40.4%) and those that scored low (35.7%). The next item, regarding the oldest son living with the parents after marriage, is similar in that there was a same difference of 4.7% between the two end scores. Those who scored high were slightly greater in number (34.5%) than those that scored low (29.8%). However, there is a slight skewed distribution of these two items, indicating that somewhat more people held conjugal family values.

Finally, on the item regarding parents' say in children's marriage, very few (7.2%) scored high whereas a substantial 52.4% scored low.

Within Table 3.2.2, there are generally more items that had more people score high than low. Furthermore, particular patterns within the table are discernable.

Firstly, the table results show high level of acceptance of the importance of spousal bond over kinship relationship and the freedom of divorce in an unhappy marriage. Spousal bond and marriage based on expressivity are the central aspects of social relationships on which the conjugal family ideology is based. From this, one can infer that the majority of respondents' conception of these issues corresponds with a fundamental aspect of the conjugal family ideology.

Despite the high level of acceptance of these conjugal family ideology items, the emphasized residence form was, however, not the nuclear form. Rather there was a division

into three somewhat equal groups of those who accepted the nuclear form, those who accepted the extended form, and those who were ambivalent. This may be evidence of extend family values that are held among the respondents equally as much as those that hold conjugal family ideology.

A further implication of the table is the emphasis of the individual over kinship. A significant proportion of the sample agreed that duties to relatives should not hinder geographical mobility. Here it may be inferred that to many respondents, career advancement is highly valued, more so than kinship duties. Also, respondents accepted the idea, though in more moderate numbers, that individuals should be free from kinship ties to live as they wish. These response patterns are a distinct indication of acceptance of conjugal family ideology where the emphasis is more on the individual than one's kin.

This conclusion must nevertheless be moderated since a significant portion of the respondents did not believe in the freedom from kinship ties to live as one wishes. There seems to be an acceptance of the idea that individuals should not be totally free from their duties, that certain aspects of the family are more important than the individual. This is most evident in the acceptance of individual happiness as not being more important than the well-being of the family, as indicated by the last item in the table.

The final implication of the table is acceptance of women working outside the home. Again, this high level of acceptance was mitigated by the high support for the idea of women taking care of the child even if it meant quitting her job. Within this acceptance of freedom of women there is

present a Confucian conception of gender roles. This apparent contradictory result can be interpreted to reflect an acceptance of women having to work, a possible reflection of the present economic situation, whereas raising a child is still accepted as more the women's job in comparison to outside work. This may be the result of a shift of values or the adjustment of values to present conditions but not a total shift.

In summation, the table shows that the values of the respondents do reflect strong elements of conjugal family ideology, yet it is not totally accepted. Also, distinct extended family values are not entirely relinquished either. As in Table 3.2.1, there does not exist a simple pattern. Rather there seem to be a complex intermingling of values from both the Confucian precepts and conjugal family ideology. Such values seem to be those that has meaning to the respondents within the social setting and those that are congruent with the present social environment.

As evident in the Tables 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, the responses to the items are skewed but distinct patterns are not easily discernable. Considering that the study sample consists of two principal groups, those of the parents' and those of the adult children's generations, clear patterns may unfold if generations were controlled for in the analysis. The parent's generational group consists of aged parents over the age of 55 and the adult children's generational group includes the adult children between the ages of 29 and 58. Thus, the next analysis will examine the possible differences between these

two generations and the formal testing of the hypotheses will follow these discussions.

3.2.2 Reliability of the Attitudinal Measures:

Before examining the possible generational differences, the reliability of the index construction for the variables Conception of Filial Piety (CFP) and Conjugal Family Ideology (CFI) will be examined. As discussed in the Index Construction section of methodology, CFP index and the CFI index are generated by summing up the scores from the 25 items listed in Table 3.2.1 and 10 items listed in Table 3.2.2 respectively.

The reliability of the two measures can be determined with the Cronbach's reliability coefficient, alpha. This is a measure of the consistency of the results that the indicators yield as whole; in other words the "internal consistency" of the measures. Cronbach's alpha is based on the average correlation between items of the measure. Its value varies on a scale from zero to one and it can also be interpreted as a correlation coefficient (Norusis, 1990:190-191).

Reported in Table 3.2.4 are the correlational values between items and in Table 3.2.5 and Table 3.2.6 are reported the measure of fit between individual items and the scale using correlational measures. With respect to the measure Conception of Filial Piety, the average correlation between items is 0.20 with a range from a negative -0.29 to a high 0.81. Further, the correlation between individual items and

the scale ranges from 0.14 for the item regarding marrying another wife in case no children were born from the marriage to 0.65 for the item regarding the obligation owed to parents for raising them. From the squared multiple correlation values of Table 3.2.5, the percentage of the variability in the item that is explained by other items can be determined. Here, 30% of the variability in item "live together" is explained by other items and a high percentage of 82% of the variability for item "care for physical" can also be explained by other items. The last column of Table 3.2.5 shows how an individual item affects the reliability of the scale. It shows that eliminating any item from the scale causes little change in alpha.

The same data for the measure Conjugal Family Ideology are presented in Table 3.2.4 and 3.2.6. Presented in Table 3.2.4, the mean of the correlations between individual items is a low value of 0.07; the highest correlation is 0.50 and the lowest is -0.30. In Table 3.2.6, the correlations between individual items and the scale, range from -0.10 for the item "spousal vs. kinship bond" to 0.35 for item "inheritance mostly to son." The percentage of variability explained by other items ranged from the least amount of 0.15% for the item "free to divorce" to a moderate amount of 47% for "inheritance mostly to son." Furthermore, the reliability of the scale would be highest if the item "spousal vs. kinship bond" was eliminated. In other words, this item is least consistent with the rest of the items in the scale.

Summarized in Table 3.2.3 are the Cronbach's reliability coefficients for the measures CFP and CFI for the entire sample and for the separate parent and adult children group.

Cronbach's alpha for the measure CFP for the entire sample is significantly high at a value of 0.86, but for the measure CFI, alpha has a moderate value of 0.45. In the case of the separate parent group, Cronbach alpha for CFP slightly increased, from the entire sample value, to a high value of 0.89, while for CFI, the value dropped to a very low value of 0.13.

For the separate adult children group, Cronbach alpha of CFP decreased somewhat but stayed at a high value of 0.77 and for CFI, alpha increased significantly to a high value of 0.63.

For both the parent and the adult children group, the CFP index had a significantly high Cronbach's alpha indicating that this measure has a very high equivalence reliability or a very high internal consistency. However, when considered separately, alpha for the parent's data increased while in the adult children's case, alpha decreased a small amount. This indicates that there is a slightly greater uniformity within the parents' responses with respect to the conception of filial piety. In other words, this measure makes more sense within the parent group, more so than within the adult children group.

For the CFI index on the other hand, alpha decreased to an unacceptably low level for the parent group while it increased to a significant value for the adult children group.

This indicates that Conjugal Family Ideology index for the parent group is a very poor measure while for the children group it has moderate reliability. The implication of these differences will be discussed in the following chapter.

By testing the reliability of the two attitudinal measures just as much is revealed about the differences between the two groups as the internal consistencies of the measures. Cronbach alpha is the measure of reliability of the index in its application to a particular group. Therefore, a reliable measure for one group may also be a poor measure for another group. In this sense, the reliability test of a measure for different groups may indicate some differences between the groups.

For both the parent and children group, Conception of Filial Piety index had a significantly high Cronbach's alpha indicating that this measure has a very high construct validity. However, for the separate parents' responses, Cronbach's alpha increased while in the children's case, alpha decreased a small amount. This indicates that there is greater uniformity within the parents' responses with respect to the conception of filial piety. In other words, this measure makes more sense within the parent group.

For the Conjugal Family Ideology index, alpha decreased to an unacceptable low for the parents group while it increased to a high value for the children group. This difference indicates that Conjugal Family Ideology for the parent group is a very poor measure while for the children group, it has moderate reliability. This may be an indication

that intergenerational relationships are conceptualized in the form of conjugal familial values among the children's generation but not among the aged parents' generation. Conversely, among the parent group, intergenerational relationships can be inferred to be conceptualized according to the values and ideas of Confucian filial piety more so than the children. Still, the high alpha for the Conception of Filial Piety index for the children responses indicate that they too conceptualized intergenerational relationships according to Confucian filial piety precepts.

Osaka (1979) explains that for the first generation, traditional Japanese culture is a way of life whereas for the second generation, it is acknowledged but not part of their internalized value system. Thus, even among the Korean sample, the difference of conceptualization between the generations is apparent in the case to the conception of filial piety and conjugal family ideology.

3.2.3 Summary of Attitudinal Responses:

As discussed in section 3.2.1, there were no outright patterns in the sample's response to conception of filial piety or conjugal family ideology items. Rather several sub-patterns were noted. One is the generally positive response to the Confucian precepts of filial piety indicating traditional elements in the conception of filial piety. Particularly obvious were respecting and caring for parents. Moreover, other more traditional aspects were evident in the high acceptance of continuance of lineage, owing for being

raised, and ancestor worship. There were, nevertheless, also indications of deviations from the Confucian values such in the case of not subordinating oneself. It was noticed that one's career and one's immediate family, as such, came before one's fulfilment of filial duties. Also evident were individual's orientation towards independence and the separation of the family and parents from some aspects of one's life.

Such changes point to the direction of the shift of the conception of filial piety. They also point out the possible forces of change involved in the shift. It was found that Confucian ideas that are negatively responded to are those that are incongruent with the given structural conditions as the economic conditions. Also, ideas and values that are against those of the present Canadian society were negatively responded to. Thus the ideas and values are reshaped to fit the given social conditions. Additionally, judging from those ideas and values that had strong consensus, it can be inferred that the present economic situation and the present social norms may be strong factors that may be the determinant of change from the traditional ideas.

In a study by Sugiman and Nishio (1983), both the economic and social environments were factors in the change of filial piety. It was found that changes were due to traditional values not coinciding with the social context and also due to the economic inability to carry out filial duties. In another study by Moon (1974), attitudinal changes regarding ancestor worship were found to be mainly related to the social

environment such as newly adopted values or government social interventions as opposed to chiefly economic restraints. This is clearly the case in the present sample as well.

As in the measure of conception of filial piety, there was diversity in the responses to the conjugal family ideology measure, showing again the heterogeneity within the sample. Yet, different facets of the response pattern were noted. One evident pattern of Table 3.2.2 coincided with the findings of Table 3.2.1 in that they both point to the given conditions as the significant factor that determine the level of acceptance and rejection of tradition or new ideas and values.

It was also found from the results of Table 3.2.2 that the acceptance pattern corresponds to the fundamental bases of conjugal family ideology - the importance of spousal bond and the expressivity within the spousal relationship. Also evident is the emphasis of individual over kin and family, particularly in the career advancement of individuals. However, responses also indicated that individuals were accepted as still subordinate to the family. Even within the present social environment, conjugal family ideology does not show to be totally accepted. Evidences of both the conjugal family ideology elements and Confucian filial piety elements are present. For example, the acceptance of women working outside the home was high, while at the same time raising children was mainly accepted as women's job.

The Confucian element in the attitudinal measure may be due to majority of the respondents being born in Korea and the high average age of about 43 years at time of immigration. It

can be safely inferred that the sample would have been socialized mostly in Korea.

In summary, it would be erroneous to infer homogeneity of conceptualization within the sample, given the range of responses. Yet, the discernable facets of the response pattern lead one to infer a situation of balance of the traditional with the contemporary values and norms. This pattern can be interpreted with the criterion of meaningfulness of the values and norms within the present situation. Therefore, depending on one's situation and one's ethnicity, traditional elements may provide meaning and therefore be relevant within the present setting.

Table 3.2.1 Response Distribution for Filial Piety Items
(N=84)

Filial Piety Items	Degree of Agreement									
	strongly disagree		disagree		somewhat agree		agree		strongly agree	
-respect parents	0		2	2.4%	4	4.8%	37	44.0%	41	48.8%
-care for physical	1	1.2%	1	1.2%	14	16.7%	47	56.0%	21	25.0%
-care for emotional	1	1.2%	2	2.4%	15	17.9%	40	47.6%	26	31.0%
-continuance of lineage	0		2	2.4%	21	25.0%	35	41.7%	26	31.0%
-give care physically	3	3.6%	5	6.0%	14	16.7%	43	51.2%	19	22.6%
-mourning after death	2	2.4%	7	8.3%	13	15.5%	42	50.0%	20	23.8%
-support financially	1	1.2%	5	6.0%	31	36.9%	36	42.9%	11	13.1%
-duty of daughter/law	1	1.2%	12	14.3%	23	27.4%	32	38.1%	16	19.0%
-owe for raising	2	2.4%	12	14.3%	25	29.8%	33	39.3%	12	14.3%
-less time with friends	1	1.2%	9	10.7%	30	35.7%	34	40.5%	10	11.9%
-owe for body	3	3.6%	15	17.9%	22	26.2%	30	35.7%	14	16.7%
-give glory and honour	0		20	23.8%	27	32.1%	29	34.5%	8	9.5%
-ancestor worship	6	7.1%	16	19.0%	16	19.0%	32	38.1%	14	16.7%
-say in all matters	3	3.6%	6	7.1%	42	50.0%	24	28.6%	9	10.7%
-spend money on parents	2	2.4%	19	22.6%	27	32.1%	31	36.9%	5	6.9%
-attempt to have a son*	2	2.4%	14	16.7%	36	42.9%	21	25.0%	10	11.9%
-credit after death	2	2.4%	26	31.0%	24	28.6%	23	27.4%	9	10.7%
-obey parents	3	3.6%	24	28.6%	35	41.7%	17	20.2%	5	6.0%
-parent before wife and kids	0		33	39.3%	35	41.7%	13	15.5%	3	3.6%
-forgo better job*	2	2.4%	33	39.3%	33	39.3%	14	16.7%	1	1.2%
-control over money	8	9.5%	44	52.4%	22	26.7%	9	10.7%	1	1.2%
-adopt son-in-law	21	25.0%	49	58.3%	9	10.7%	4	6.0%	0	
-marry another wife	33	39.3%	39	46.4%	6	7.1%	6	7.1%	0	
-care by daughter/law++	2	2.4%	4	4.8%	33	39.3%	45	53.6%	-	-
-live together*++	15	18.1%	25	30.1%	16	19.3%	27	32.5%	-	-

*missing 1 case ++responses to these items did not range from strongly
agree to strongly disagree and the scales ranged from 1 to 4 not 1 to 5.

Table 3.2.2 Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Conjugal Family Ideology Items (N=84)

Items	Coding Score									
	1		2		3		4		5	
spousal vs kinship bond	0		3	3.6%	12	14.3%	47	56.0%	22	26.2%
free to divorce	1	1.2%	8	9.5%	18	21.4%	48	57.1%	9	10.7%
women free to work	2	2.4%	9	19.7%	25	29.8%	40	47.6%	8	9.5%
moving to another city	1	1.2%	13	15.5%	22	26.2%	43	51.2%	5	6.0%
say in marriage*	1	1.2%	5	6.0%	33	39.3%	40	47.6%	4	4.8%
free life style	2	2.4%	26	31.0%	21	25.0%	31	36.9%	4	4.8%
inheritance	6	7.1%	24	28.6%	20	23.8%	27	32.1%	7	8.3%
mostly to son with parents	5	6.0%	20	23.8%	30	35.7%	27	32.1%	2	2.4%
after married women take care of child	4	4.8%	37	44.0%	25	29.8%	16	19.0%	2	2.4%
family vs individual	18	21.4%	39	46.4%	19	22.6%	7	8.3%	1	1.2%

*missing 1 case

Table 3.2.3 Cronbach Alpha for the Measures Conception of Filial Piety and Conjugal Family Ideology

Measures	Combined sample (N=84)	Parents (N=49)	Children (N=35)
Conception of filial piety	0.86*	0.89*	0.77*
Conjugal Family Ideology	0.45	0.13	0.63

* The standardized alphas are reported for this measure since two items in this measure were on a four point scale not a five point scale.

Table 3.2.4 Inter-Item Correlations for the Attitudinal Indices N=84

Indices	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Range
Conception of Filial Piety	.1963	-.29805	.8149	1.1054
Conjugal Family Ideology	.0675	-.3026	.5027	.8053

Table 3.2.5 Correlations and Alpha Between Items and Scale for Conception of Filial Piety (N=84)

Measure Items	Item-scale Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
say in all matters	.2406	.3738	.8575
control over money	.3144	.4863	.8552
live together	.3406	.3030	.8555
obey parents	.4354	.6307	.8514
respect parents	.3506	.5345	.8542
owe for raising	.6519	.7509	.8437
owe for body	.5800	.5852	.8459
care for emotional	.5740	.7476	.8475
care for physical	.5499	.8199	.8487
support financially	.5236	.6824	.8490
give glory and honour	.5000	.5569	.8493
credit after death	.4372	.6413	.8514
mourning after death	.4673	.5412	.8503
ancestor worship	.2547	.3987	.8591
duty of daughter/law	.4212	.5064	.8519
care by daughter/law	.3337	.3972	.8546
give care physically	.4312	.5953	.8516
forgo better job	.2172	.3530	.8580
spend money on parents	.4232	.6155	.8518
less time with friends	.4341	.6086	.8515
parents before wife/kids	.4725	.4960	.8506
continuance of lineage	.4658	.5041	.8508
attempt to have a son	.4388	.5860	.8513
adopt son-in-law	.2674	.4376	.8563
marry another wife	.1386	.4408	.8603

Table 3.2.6 Correlations and Alpha Between Item and Measure for Conjugal Family Ideology (N=84)

Measure Items	Item-Scale Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
say in marriage	-.0576	.2362	.4886
with parents after marriage	.2735	.1760	.3859
spousal vs kinship bond	-.0954	.1953	.4978
family vs individual	.1307	.2671	.4391
free to divorce	.2846	.1508	.3867
women free to work	.3274	.2515	.3678
women take care of child	.2188	.3238	.4075
inheritance mostly to son	.3497	.4747	.3447
free life style	.0802	.2148	.4593
moving to another city	.2370	.2075	.4020

3.3.4 Results of Hypotheses Testing:

It is assumed that the family structure of the Korean-Canadian population, being exposed to modern conditions, will come to reflect structure of the Canadian families. In following this assumption, the first hypothesis, is stated as follows:

H.1) Within urban Korean-Canadian families and among those families that are able to form extended families, the conjugal family form would be more prevalent than the extended family form.

As discussed in the Methods of Analysis section the first hypothesis is not formally tested but discussed in comparison to the national figures. Using parents' data²³ from Table 3.1.20, there were 46.9% of the parent respondents who were living either alone or with a spouse. This indicates that there were at least 46.9% of possible extended families that were nuclear families.²⁴ In the table, the extended family grouping includes those in the categories "other family members" (2.0%), "married children" (4.1%) and "children's family" (38.8%). Thus the extended family makes-up 44.9% of all the families that could have been extended. Therefore, among those families that were able to be an extended form,

²³Using the children's data will be inaccurate since the parents are needed to form an extended family. If children's data were used then the number of "possible" extended families will equal the number of children whereas in fact the number of possible extended families will be one per family of the aged parents and their married children. It follows from this reasoning that a lone parent indicates that the children are not living with the parents in an extended family whereas a child's family may be a nuclear because another sibling is living with parents.

²⁴On the reasoning that conjugal families are an antithesis to the extended family form, a single person not married will be included into the conjugal family category.

more families are the nuclear form, which supports the hypothesis.

However, comparing the figures for the Korean-Canadian elders with the national figure, 46.9% of the Korean parents were either living alone or living with a spouse. Conversely, 44.9% lived in an extended family form. In the national sample of those living in private households, 87% of the elders in the same aged category were living either alone or with a spouse. "About 5% were non-family seniors living in family households" (Norland, 1991:35). The majority in this category are single parents living with their married child and their spouse, an extended family.²⁵

In comparison to the Canadian national elders population, a significantly larger number, 40% more, of Korean-Canadian elderly families were extended families. Additionally, the percentage of conjugal family forms among the Korean elder sample, were significantly less when compared to the Canada's figure, a difference of 40.1%.

There are two significant results from testing hypothesis H.1 that will be addressed. The first is that there are more nuclear families than extended families among the Korean-Canadian sample. The second is that there are much greater number of extended families and also much less number of nuclear families when comparing the Korean-Canadian sample to the Canadian national figures.

Considering that out of the total possible extended families, a figure of 46.9% nuclear families indicates that

²⁵The incidence of senior couples living with their married child and the child's spouse would mostly likely be smaller than 5% since the majority of seniors lived in a dual spousal household (Norland, 1991).

there must be significant factors for this large number. It can be inferred as indicating the modernizing effect on the Korean-Canadian families, but when compared to the Canadian national figure, it is proportionally much less. A possible interpretation is that the Korean-Canadian family system is lagging in its "progress" towards a modern family in comparison to their Canadian counterpart.

Another approach is to focus on the larger number of extended families. An interpretation of this is that particular aspects of the Korean-Canadians have led them to more extended living than was expected. This significant divergence from the Canadian national figures may have significant theoretical implications, discussed later on.

The following two hypotheses tested were concerning the notion of generational differences in the acceptance of new values and the loss of the old values. Literature indicates that main differences appeared between generations, where the younger generation accepted new values more readily than the older generation and the older generation retained older values compared to the young (Lee, 1989; Lauer, 1982). Therefore, the second hypothesis states the following:

H.2) There will be a relationship between the generation of immigration and the acceptance of the conjugal family ideology such that the children's generation will be more likely than their parents' generation to accept conjugal family ideals.

This was tested by carrying out a paired student's T-test (one-tailed) with the Conjugal Family Ideology (CFI) index between the two groups belonging to the parent and adult children generation of immigration. Items included as

measures of the CFI are discussed extensively in section 3.2.1. Generally, it consists of items that emphasized such values as the good of the individual over the extended family, the expressive marital bond, equality between the sexes, and neolocal residence.

The null hypothesis is that there is no difference in the mean value of CFI between the parental and their children's generation. The alternative hypothesis is that there are significant differences between the two generations in their response pattern to CFI items, where those in the children's generation of immigration will have a higher score.

Table 3.2.7 Generational Differences by Parent-Children Pairs (Pairs=30)

	Parent mean score	Children mean score	Mean differ- ence	t-score	One-tail signifi- cance
Conjugal family ideology	30.1	32.6	-2.50	-2.32	0.014
Conception of filial piety	83.6	78.7	4.80	2.22	0.018

As summarized in Table 3.2.7, the difference in the mean score of CFI of the two generation (-2.5) has a significance value of 0.014 which is past the critical value of 0.05. The value, 0.014 indicates that the means difference of -2.5 is so unusual that it occurs by chance only 1.4 times out of every 100 times. Therefore, it is more likely that the mean difference is due to the different means of the two groups. The positive one-tailed significance values signifies that the

negative value of the mean difference, that the children's score was higher, is correctly indicating the relative difference between the two groups.

Though the difference is significant, it is only a small -8.3% difference in relation to the parents' mean score (-2.5/30.1). This implies that there is only a slight difference which warrants the acceptance of the null hypothesis, that there is really no difference in the Conjugal Family Ideology score between the two generations.

This shows that the children's and the parents' generations accept generally the same level of conjugal family ideals such as less familial and kinship ties and the emphasis of the individual over the collectivity of the family. One of the reasons for this may be that the two generational groups are born in Korea, unlike the generations of most immigrant and ethnic studies. Yet, one would expect that there would be some difference due the difference of age at the time of emigration, indicative of different socializing environment.

As in the second hypothesis, the third hypothesis was tested with the paired Student's t-test. This hypothesis tests the counter part to the second hypothesis H.2, the retention of traditional values. This is done with the measure Conception of Filial Piety, which consists of imperatives towards one's parents such as giving respect, obedience, honouring and glorifying, giving support and care, sacrificing oneself, and respecting the past lineage. Using this measure, it is hypothesized as follows:

H.3) The parents' generation will be more likely to hold traditional values of filial piety.

In other words, the parent group is hypothesized to score higher on the conception of filial piety (CFP) index compared to the adult children group. Therefore the null hypothesis is that the two mean scores for CFP between the two generations are the same. The alternative hypothesis is that the parents' score of conception of filial piety is higher. Presented in Table 3.2.7, the results show that the difference was 4.80 between the parents' mean score and the children's mean score for conception of filial piety. The t-value, 2.22, of the difference in the mean scores was past the critical point of 0.05 at 0.018. Though the result was significant, the difference of 4.80, a difference of 6.2%, is too small to infer a meaningful substantive difference. Therefore, this leads to the acceptance of the null hypothesis that there is no difference in the values and ideas of Confucian precepts between the two generations. As in the case of the conjugal family ideology, there are no meaningful differences in the level of acceptance of Confucian filial piety values between the parent and the adult children generation.

The division of the two generations is based on the respondent's status as a parent who is over the age of 55 years and as an adult child, between the ages of 29 and 58. One may question this division since there is an overlap. However, the results are consistently insignificant even when the generation is divided between those who are under the age of 20 years, the second generation, and those who are over the age of 20, the first generation (Table 3.2.8). Results show that the differences are statistically significant, however, they are too small (8.3% and 5.1% differences) to infer any meaningful difference between the two generations.

Table 3.2.8 Attitudinal Difference Between Generations Distinguished by their Age

Attitudinal Measures	gen 2 (20+)	gen 1 (less 19)	mean diff	t-values (one-tail)	p-values
Conjugal Family Ideology	32.7**	30.2***	2.56 (8.3%)	3.27	0.001
Conception of Filial Piety	79.9*	84.0***	-4.10 (5.1%)	-1.80	0.038

* - 33 cases, ** - 35 cases, *** - 48 cases

The remaining five hypotheses were tested using the Pearson's correlational measure. It is a summary measure of how well the relationship between two variables fit a linear model. The correlational coefficient (r) varies from -1 to +1 where zero indicates that there is no linear relationship. A negative value indicates that the relationship is inverse, meaning that one of the variables increases as the other variable decreases and vice-versa for a positive correlation.

Goode's (1982, 1963) longitudinal argument of the decline of the economic resources of the extended family and the corresponding decline of authority of the aged, cannot be tested because almost all the adult children respondents have sources of income independent from the extended family. However, Cowgill (1979) makes specific connections with the social segregation of parents from the family and inversion of economic status between the aged and the children with the decline of the status of the elders. Since the data only concern the structure of the family and the status of the parents, the fifth hypothesis examines only the effect of

social segregation of the aged on their level of authority. It is asserted that,

H.5) The more a family reflects the characteristics of the conjugal family, the more the aged parents of these families are likely to hold low levels of status and authority.

To test this hypothesis, data only from the parent group were used since the results will be duplicated if their children's responses were also used. The variable used in this test, Family Characteristics, is a combination of the living arrangement, the extent of kin contact, and the perceived level of importance of kin contact. The other variable used is Status and Authority. It is a measure of the level of involvement in the decision making process of family matters such as the marriage of children, naming of the children's baby, and buying a house or a car.

The null hypothesis states that Family Characteristics (FC) are not related linearly to the parents' Status and Authority. The alternative hypothesis on the other hand is that these aged parents will hold low scores in the Status and Authority (SA) index. To test this, characteristics of the conjugal family are measured by the variable Family Characteristics (FC). This variable is made up of the following measures: living arrangement of the parents, how often they meet and talk to their relatives, and how important it is to keep in touch with their children and relatives. The other variable, Status and Authority, is comprised of the measure the degree of involvement of the parents in the following: children's marriage, naming of the grandchildren, and when buying children's house, car, and furniture.

Table 3.2.9 shows that the correlation coefficient between the variables Family Characteristics (FC) and parents' SA index has a moderate value of 0.34 with a significance level of 0.018. Using the 0.05 level of significance, the null hypothesis is rejected. The alternative hypothesis is accepted, which means that as families reflect conjugal family characteristics more, the parents hold less status and authority. Furthermore, as much as the parents lose their status and authority, the correlation is an indication that in an extended family the status and authority of parents will increase.

The moderate correlation indicates that the linear relationship is a weak one. Also the r-squared value indicates that only 12% of the variance of SA is explained by the characteristics of the family as measured by FC.

Even though the characteristics of the family are not strongly related to SA of the parents, FC accounts for a large enough portion of the variance of SA to indicate that there is some connection between status and authority of the parents with whether the family reflects more the conjugal family or the extended family form. In other words, greater social segregation of the aged from children and kin members is related to parents having less say in the decision making regarding the affairs of the children and the family.

This result also indicates that as the family reflects the extended family more or the parents keep close links with the children or kin members, the parents' status and authority increases. With less involvement of the parents within the affairs of the children, the less the parents are involved in the decision making process of the family.

The next hypothesis H.6 concerns the initial stages of the social change, similar to hypotheses H.2 and H.3, where change of values is the first step followed by change in behaviour. For Goode (1963) and other theorist, acceptance of new values and norms are destructive of traditional values and practices. In testing this postulate, the sixth hypothesis asserts the following two related points,

H.6.a) Adult children holding conjugal family values and ideals are less likely to accept traditional filial piety precepts as part of everyday life.

H.6.b) Adult children holding conjugal family values are less likely to practise filial piety precepts in their relationship with their parents.

For the first sub-hypothesis, the null hypothesis is that the adult children's score on Conjugal Family Ideology (CFI) has no linear relationship with the level of Acceptance of Filial Piety (AFP). The alternative hypothesis is that those with high CFI scores will score low on AFP. The variable AFP is measured simply by asking how important the Confucian precepts are in modern life.

Presented on the second row of Table 3.2.9, the results show that the r-measure is a moderate -0.38 with a significance value of 0.025 . This leads to the rejection of the null hypothesis and the acceptance of the alternative hypothesis that adult children who score high on CFI will have a low acceptance of traditional filial piety as an important part of daily life. Furthermore, the r-squared value tell us that 14 percent of the variance of AFP is explained by the variable CFI.

This shows that with greater acceptance of "modern" familial values and ideas, traditional precepts of filial piety will be seen as not important in modern life. Thus, it will be most likely that traditional familial values will be rejected and filial piety not practised.

In the second part of the hypothesis, the null hypothesis is that there are no linear relationship between one's score on CFI and one's score on Practice of Filial Piety (PFP).²⁶ Conversely, the alternative hypothesis is that there is a negative linear relationship between the two variables. The variable PFP is comprised of the four measures, degree of respect such as using of respectful language or bowing to parents; amount of practical help such as when buying groceries or giving parents ride to different places; degree of economic support as in paying for the groceries or the phone bill; and living distance of children from the parents.

The results to the second part of the hypothesis are again presented in Table 3.2.9. The significance level of 0.114 leads to the rejection of the alternative hypothesis and the acceptance of the null hypothesis that there is no linear relationship between Conjugal Family Ideology and one's Practice of Filial Piety. The correlational measure is negative as expected, however the low r-value of -0.27 supports the acceptance of the null hypothesis.

Opposite from what was expected from the above, this result shows that acceptance of conjugal family ideology does

²⁶ Only one sample must be used when the hypothesis testing involves the variable Practice of Filial Piety. This is because the responses from both the parents and their children are a measure of the behavioural aspect of the same adult child. Thus, in theory, the parents will give the same response as their adult children when each are asked about the same adult children's behaviour, duplicating the same response.

not necessarily lead to the decreased practice of filial piety towards one's parents. In other words, acceptance of "modern" familial values and ideas does not imply shedding of filial piety practices. So it may be envisioned that a person who highly accepts the conjugal family ideology may also display high levels of filial piety. This shows that values change does not necessarily lead to change in behaviour patterns as expected.

Though Goode's postulate is partly correct, it cannot be postulated that acceptance of new values will be destructive of tradition. It must be postulated specifically that the acceptance of new values only leads to a rejection of traditional norms and values as unimportant in present living and not necessarily the behaviours that express such norms and values.

This shows the limitations of only considering factors that are indicated in the modernization theory of social change. Particularly, for an ethnic group in Canada, there are other significant variables that need to be addressed for a more complete understanding of change of tradition. The next section of hypotheses address these factors.

Hypothesis H.7 adopts Kallen's (1995:87-89) notion of ethnic viability and its measure which consists of expressive, organizational, and instrumental dimensions. The variable Significance of Ethnicity in this test, is the measure of the expressive and the instrumental aspect of one's ethnicity. It was, in essence, to test the dynamics of how the cultural and the social aspects of Korean tradition were maintained. It was expected that a high significance of ethnicity would be

related to the retention of traditional conception of filial piety and the enactment of parental care.

The seventh hypothesis, consists of two parts. It is stated as follows:

H.7.a) The greater the significance of ethnicity in one's life, the more one's conception of filial piety will be congruent with what is considered to be traditional forms.

H.7.b) The greater the significance of ethnicity, the more its precepts will be followed by the adult children.

The first part of the hypothesis states that those with high scores on Significance of Ethnicity (SE) will have high scores on the Conception of Filial Piety (CFP) among both the adult children and the aged parent sample. This is the alternative hypothesis. Conversely, the null hypothesis is that one's score on SE will not be linearly related to one's score on CFP.

The variable SE is comprised of the following five dimensions: degree of participation in ethnic media; level of proficiency and amount of use of the Korean language; involvement in the Korean church; social contact with Koreans; and lastly the saliency of Koreanness measured by the ethnicity of the spouse.

Since this hypothesis applies to both groups, the results are shown on Table 3.2.10 where the correlational measures for the entire sample are presented. Here, the r-value between CFP and SE is a weak 0.16 with a significance still acceptable at the 0.05 level. The alternative hypothesis is rejected and

the null hypothesis is accepted that CFP is not linearly related to SE since the correlational value is too small.

The low correlation indicates that significance of one's ethnicity is not related to one's conceptualization of filial piety. This shows that one's way of life with respect to how much one's ethnicity is part of their life is not related to one's conceptualization of filial piety. This indicates that ethnicity may be significant; however, it is not a factor in the acceptance of traditional forms of filial piety.

The second part of the hypothesis is tested using only the adult children data. The null hypothesis states that adult children's score on SE will not be linearly related with their score on PFP. The alternative hypothesis states that adult children with high scores on SE will also score high on the PFP.

The results are presented on the fourth row in Table 3.2.9. The significance value of 0.048 leads to the rejection of the null hypothesis and the acceptance of the alternative hypothesis that adult children who score high on SE will also score high on PFP. This relationship has a moderate correlational value of 0.34 with only 11% of the variance in PFP explained by SE.

Unlike the first part of the hypothesis, the result of the second part of the hypothesis indicates that the significance of ethnicity will lead to the practice of filial piety. However, this relationship is moderate but strong enough to denote that there is some connection between one's ethnic life style and one's practice of filial piety.

Results show that significance of one's ethnicity is positively related to the practice of filial piety, but not

related to one's traditional cultural orientation on the conceptual level. One would conversely expect that with greater significance and involvement with one's ethnic community, both the behavioral aspect and the conceptual aspect would coincide with traditional ethnic culture. The result indicates that this is not taking place. Rather, the results seem to reflect the effect of the level of involvement within one's ethnic community and the social pressure to conform to certain behavioral patterns.

Obviously, what a person may believe will not be under the same social pressure or control than his or her behaviour. Particularly with respect to parental care, the tightly knit Korean community could assert great social pressure if the person is highly involved in its institutions, such as the community church or the community associations.

In the testing of the eighth hypothesis, some of the effects of assimilation are examined. Once again, there are two parts in the eighth hypothesis. The first part applies to the entire sample and the second part is tested using only the adult children responses. This hypothesis makes the following assertion:

H.8.a) The greater the integration into the larger Canadian society, the less significant will be the tradition of filial piety to the Korean-Canadian, and

H.8.b) the less will it be practised.

To test this hypothesis, integration into the larger Canadian society is measured by the variable Degree of Assimilation (DA). It is a measure of assimilation on four different levels, cultural, structural, private, and

identificational into the greater society. The correlational value between DA and AFP given in Table 3.2.10, shows that the first part of the null hypothesis, that one's score on DA is not linearly related to the score on AFP, is accepted. The minuscule r-value of -0.05 supports this null assertion. The alternative hypothesis, that one's level of integration will be positively related to the significance of Filial Piety in one's daily life, is rejected on the 0.05 level of significance.

For the second part of the hypothesis, the results presented in the last row of table 3.2.9 show that the alternative hypothesis, which states that one's level of assimilation will be negatively related to PFP scores, is rejected on a 0.05 level of significance. Additionally, the weak r-value of -0.05 supports the decision to reject. Therefore the null hypothesis, that one's score on the variable DA is not linearly related to the score on PFP, is accepted.

Once again, the findings show that behavioural patterns are a poor indicator of beliefs and values. Also, degree of assimilation does not lead to the rejection of the relevance of filial piety in modern life.

Though one's behavioural patterns, which indicated one's involvement within one's ethnic community, were an indicator of the level of filial piety practices, the findings in this test show unexpected results. The degree of assimilation does not lead to decreased practice of filial piety. Conversely, one may be highly integrated into the greater society and maintain filial piety practices at a high level. This may indicate that the variables SE and DA are not on the opposite

ends of the same scale where when one increases the other decrease, thus providing evidence that sample respondents are able to move equally in both cultures.

In addition to the two tests that were outlined in the hypothesis, it was discovered with additional post hoc testing that one's level of assimilation was related to the loss of traditional values and ideas and also with the adoption of conjugal family ideas and values. The results for the post hoc testing are exhibited in Table 3.2.10.

The correlation coefficient of -0.38 between Degree of Assimilation and CFP with a significance level of 0.001 shows a significant relationship with moderate strength. This indicates that the traditionality of the ideas and values regarding filial piety are moderately, but inversely, related to how much a person is assimilated into the greater society.

In the test between Degree of a Assimilation and Conjugal Family Ideology, the correlation is slightly higher at 0.41 with a significance of 0.0001 . The r-squared value of 0.17 denote that 17% of the variance of CFI is explained by the variable DA (Table 3.2.10). Therefore, as the level of assimilation increases, the more the modern conjugal family values and ideas are accepted.

This pattern exhibited by the two variables CFP and CFI support the zero-sum postulate which presumes that with assimilation, one loses one's ethnic culture. When variables CFP and CFI were tested for a linear relation, it showed a direct relationship with a correlational coefficient of -0.36 and a significance value of 0.001 sustaining the above postulate.

Assimilation into the greater society did not, however, affect one's behavioral patterns of filial piety or parental care. However, it is clear that traditional values and beliefs are lost with assimilation while new "modern" conjugal family beliefs and values are accepted. Gordon describes, "cultural or behavioral assimilation" as the "change of cultural patterns to those of host society" (1964;71). Here, Gordon's model is only supported on the conceptual level and not at the behavioral level.

On the behavioral level, the findings reveal a different pattern. As mentioned above, Degree of Assimilation is a factor in the behavioural pattern. Also when the Degree of Assimilation was correlated directly with the Significance of Ethnicity, the coefficient was a weak -0.29 with a significance of 0.004 (Table 3.2.10). Though the result is significant, the r-value is not strong enough to support the claim that the relationship will be salient at all times.

To summarize, the findings for this test demonstrate that the level of assimilation is not related to the social aspect of filial piety, nor its perceived relevance. However, both measures, conception of filial piety and conjugal family ideology, were moderately correlated with the Degree of Assimilation. Therefore, it is possible that even among highly assimilated Koreans, traditional forms of filial piety may be perceived as important to present living and highly practised. This finding does not support the assimilation model.

Finally, the ninth hypothesis is related to the second and third hypotheses in that it is testing the temporal effect on the conceptualization and the practice of filial piety.

There are two assertions in this hypothesis. They both apply to the entire sample and they are stated as follows:

H.9.a) The longer the residence period in Canada, the more likely that one's conception of filial piety will be less congruent with what is considered to be traditional forms, and

H.9.b) the less likely that it will be valued by the respondents.

Therefore, the null hypotheses states that the number of years in Canada (YR) is not related to either one's Conception of Filial Piety or to the Acceptance of Filial Piety. Here, valuation of traditional forms of filial piety is measured by the variable AFP.

The results in Table 3.2.10 lead to the rejection of the first null hypothesis. In turn, the alternative hypothesis, that with greater number of years in Canada, one's score on the Conception of Filial Piety index is lower, is accepted at a 0.001 significance level. Furthermore, this linear relationship is strongly supported with one of the highest r-value of -0.44, where 21% of the variance of CFP is explained by years of residence in Canada. This is a noteworthy finding which demonstrates that years of residence is related to the increasing loss of traditional beliefs and values of filial piety.

Also presented in Table 3.2.10, the result leads to the acceptance of the second null hypothesis that there is no relationship between the number of years in Canada and one's Acceptance of Filial Piety. The alternative hypothesis that AFP is negatively related to YR is rejected due to the low r-value of -0.21, even though the correlational value was

significant at the 0.05 value. This implies that the importance of filial piety to a person is not related to one's length of residence in Canada.

In this hypothesis testing, it is demonstrated that the length of residence is a significant factor in the erosion of traditional values and ideas. Despite this strong relation, post hoc testing shows that length of residence is not related to the acceptance of conjugal family values and beliefs. Results presented in Table 3.2.10 show that the correlation between YR and CFI was a low 0.20 with a significance of 0.07, which is contrary to what is expected.

One other significant variable which may be related to the period of residence is Practice of Filial Piety. One would assume that with longer periods in Canada there would also be a shift of practice of filial piety as in the shift of Conception of Filial piety. Results of post hoc testing of this hypothesis are presented in Table 3.2.9 in the last row. The correlational coefficient is a low -0.29 with a significance of 0.09 which does not pass the 0.05 level. This indicates that the length of residence is not a significant factor in the practice of filial piety.

In summary, results show that even though traditional ideas and values are shed with longer periods of residence, the practice of filial piety and the acceptance of new values in place of the old ones are not related with the length of residence. Also traditional values and ideas of filial piety were not perceived as unimportant in modern life. In other words, traditional forms of filial piety may be accepted as important to people who have lived in Canada for a long period of time. Such theorists as Shils (1981) and Fine (1989) would

agree stating that things defined as traditional will change, but its perceived contemporary relevance will not necessarily decrease.

This, once again, leads to questioning of the conceptualization of assimilation. Acquiring and shedding does not seem to be a simultaneous process. Rather, there is evidence of shedding of traditional conception of filial piety but not the acceptance of new modern values and beliefs. This is inferred from the results that show that there is a relationship between the length of residence and loss of traditional conception of filial piety but no relationship with the acceptance of conjugal family ideology.

Table 3.2.9 Correlations Using Data from Separately Generations

Relationship of Variables	Correlation (r)	r-Squared	1-tailed Significance
Family Structure and Parents' Status and Authority (N=47) *	0.34	0.12	0.018
Conjugal Family Ideology and Acceptance of Filial Piety (N=35)	-0.38	0.14	0.025
Conjugal Family Ideology and Practice of Filial Piety (N=35)	-0.27	0.07	0.114
Significance of Ethnicity and Practice of Filial Piety (N=35)	0.34	0.11	0.048
Degree of Assimilation and Practice of Filial Piety (N=34)	-0.15	0.02	0.394
Years of Residence and Practice of Filial Piety (N=35)	0.29	0.09	0.046

* correlational measures using only the parents' data while the rest are correlations using only the adult children's data

Table 3.2.10 Correlational Matrix for the Entire Sample (N=84)

Variables						
	CFP	AFP	SE	DA	YR	CFI
CFP	1.00	0.39 ^Y (0.15) p=0.001	0.16 ^Y (0.04)	-0.38 ^X (0.15) p=0.001	-0.44 ^Y (0.21) p=0.001	-0.359 ^X (0.13) p=0.001
AFP	————	1.00	0.28 (0.08) p=0.01	-0.05 ^Z (0.00)	-0.21 (0.05) p=0.05	-0.185 ^Z (0.03) p=0.047
SE	—————	—————	1.00	-0.29 ^Z (0.09) p=0.01	-0.25 (0.08)	-0.274 ^Z (0.08) p=0.006
DA	—————	—————	—————	1.00	0.55 ^Z (0.30) p=0.001	0.406 ^W (0.16) p=0.0001

significance: one-tailed

sample sizes: X N=80 Y N=81 W N=82 Z N=83

() indicates the r-squared value

CFP - Conception of Filial Piety

CFI - Conjugal Family Ideology

AFP - Acceptance of Filial Piety

SE - Significance of Ethnicity

DA - Degree of Assimilation

YR - Period of Residence

Chapter Four

Theoretical Implications of Findings

4.1 Modernization

Among the study sample, there were 8% more respondents living in nuclear families than extended. When compared to the Canadian figure, the Korean sample figures of extended and nuclear families show a significant degree of divergence. The reviewed literature shows that the proportion of Korean extended families in Korea is higher than other countries such as the United States and Japan (Martin, 1990; Lee, 1989; Hyoungh, 1975; Roh and Ireland, 1972). However, with more exposure to modern conditions of urbanization and industrialization of the Canadian cities, it was assumed that the proportion of the nuclear families in the Korean-Canadian population will come to be the same as the Canadian national population. This obviously did not take place. Furthermore, the extremely weak correlation between the length of residence (YR) and family characteristics (FC) in the post hoc test indicates that even with longer exposure to the modern conditions, families of the Korean sample will not change (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Family Characteristics of the Sample (N=34)

Correlation between Year of Residence and Family Characteristics

$r = -0.0896$ $p = 0.614$

An explanation put forth by the modernization theory is the change of people's attitudes towards what Goode (1963) calls "conjugal family ideology." Such change in attitudes have been also noted in the reviewed studies (Martin, 1990; Lee, 1989; Hyung, 1975; Roh and Ireland, 1972), where people in Korea have become open to marriage based on romantic love, choosing spouses based on more personal criteria rather than on instrumental ones, an open attitude towards divorce, and neolocal residence.

Findings from the attitudinal measure in this study show a mixed pattern. With respect to residence after marriage (Q8a), parents' responses show that 29.8% agreed that children should live with the parents after marriage and 34.5% disagreed.²⁷ The figures were 36.8% and 32.7% respectively for the adult children respondents (Table 3.2.2). This indicates that attitude changes would not be a significant factor in the neolocal residence. One would have expected the children's responses to be less in favour of residing together but the results show the opposite.

What seems to provide a more plausible explanation are the structural constraints, social and economic barriers and the economic benefit to living in an extended family. Morgan and Hiroshima (1982) affirm that extended families in Japan were adaptive strategies to modernizing forces. In the case of the Korean-Canadian sample, extended residence for the Korean-Canadians may be an adaptation to the exigencies of an immigrant life and only partially to the exigencies of modernity.

²⁷The remaining difference of 35.7% were ambivalent responses.

Among some Korean respondents, extended families were also an adaptive form to the occupational concentration in the small retail businesses. Findings point out that a high percentage (42.9%) of the Korean adult children sample were proprietors. Similar to the findings of Kim et al. (1991) and Kim (1986), aged parents are a trustworthy source of baby-sitters for young children, and some parents even worked at their children's business. With the aged parents at home, it allowed both the adult child and the spouse to have alternate shifts and avoid the cost of hiring help. In an example, both the parent and his son worked at their retail business while the spouse of the son did most of the house work. In another example, having raised the two grandchildren, the mother (grandmother) did the cooking and other housework while the son and his spouse worked at their convenience store. In yet another example, the aged parent came to Canada to help one of her sons who with his spouse operated a fast food business. The grandchildren having all grown up, the aged parent did the cooking and some house work such as cleaning and laundry. Finally, another aged respondent, who had a similar experience of coming to Canada to take care of the grandchildren, conveyed to the interviewer that since her grandchildren have grown up she might be going back to Korea to reside with her oldest son.

It must be noted that the quantitative analysis of the parental aid to the adult children is incomplete and a conservative one since help received by the children was not specifically measured for, but derived from other measures. Responses from the aged parent indicate a low percentage (14.3%) of the parents whose income was from helping their

children either in their children's business or by taking care of the grandchildren (Table 3.1.15). An additional 6.1% reported to the interviewer that they took care of the grandchildren. From this 20.4% of parent sample who helped their children, 70.1% (or 14.3% of the aged parent sample) were residing with their children.

Furthermore, aged parents with grandchildren 5 years or younger, at the time of the interview, made up 35% of the parent sample. Another 53.4% of the aged parent sample had a youngest grandchild who was 6 years or older and 18.4% did not have a grandchild. The average age among the youngest grandchild was 10.9 years. The present measure of care of grandchildren by the aged parent (grandparent) would be an underestimate compared to 10 years before. At present, most of the grandchildren are at the age where they would be attending preschool or higher level of schooling and the majority of the grandchildren are past the age when care is needed.

This interpretation, other than a structural interpretation, is also reflective of Korean cultural elements in that the duty of the parents to help their children has contributed to the formation of the extended family. The last two examples show that the aged parents came to Canada to help take care of the young grandchildren. Furthermore, the belief and the emphasis on the collective goal achievement, as noted by Osaka (1979), may be the impetus for the parents to be willing to help their children. The parents may accept helping their children as contributing or sacrificing for the success of their children and as building a firm base for their grandchildren's future. Morgan and Hiroshima (1983)

explain that in Japan, an extended family is an accepted tradition supported by strong intergenerational ties and emphasis of duty towards the parents and vice versa. This also seems to be the case for Korean-Canadians.

Another cultural factor is the norm of taking care of one's parents, which it is the duty of the Korean oldest or only son to fulfil. For Korean adult children to allow their aged parents to live alone or in a retirement home is an embarrassment indicating that the children are not taking care of their parents well (Kim et al., 1991).

So far the discussion has been concerned with the residence pattern of the Korean-Canadians and determining whether it is reflective of traditional or conjugal family forms. This method of determining the nature of the family structure is problematic since the interaction between two conjugal families can be reflective of an extended family without coresidence. For example, a parent respondent had her grandchildren dropped off at her apartment every weekday while the adult child and her spouse went to work at their business. In another example, the aged father travelled to her daughter's home to baby-sit her two children while the daughter went to work. In these cases the residence pattern was not reflective of the traditional extended family yet there was a strong inter-dependence between the generations that is indeed reflective of the traditional family form.

Therefore, theories such as Goode's and Cowgill's may not be sensitive to family forms that do not fit their definition of the family which is based only on the residence pattern of either the extended or the nuclear form.

The next issue of change with respect to modernizing process is the adoption of new values and the disintegration of the old ones.

From the two hypothesis H.2 and H.3, which were concerned with the generational difference in the attitudinal measures of conjugal family ideology and conception of filial piety respectively, the findings do not indicate any significant attitudinal differences between the parent and children generation. Generational distinctions did not make a difference in the attitudinal scores.

Though studies show generational differences in attitudes (Lee, 1989; Sugiman and Nishio, 1983; Yu, 1983; Osaka, 1979), the sample in this study is different from the samples in the reviewed studies in that the second generation for this study consisted of those who were offsprings of the first generation but still born in Korea.²⁸ Even with a further test which separated those who, at the time of immigration, were less than 20 years of age and those who were 20 and over, the results consistently show very little difference between the generations.

However, recalling the differences in the reliability scores of the two attitudinal measures between the two generations, the findings so far denote that differences may not be on the conceptual level but arise from the levels of internalization or from separate extraneous variables that affect each generation differently.

²⁸One adult child respondent was born outside of Korea.

Table 4.2 Attitudinal Measures With Varying Age at the Time of Emigration

	children		parent	
	CFP	CFI	CFP	CFI
Age at emigration	-.022 (.402)	-.431 (.005)	.480 (.0005)	-.186 (.103)

() - one-tailed significance

With post hoc testing, age at the time of emigration was noted to have a different effect on the two attitudinal measures for each generational group, presented in Table 4.2. This may be the reason why there were no significant differences between the two generations. For the parent population, age at the time of emigration was an important factor for the Conception of Filial Piety measure but not for Conjugal Family Ideology. Thus within the aged parent group, those who were older when emigrating to Canada were likely to hold to more traditional conceptions of filial piety. For the same group, their attitudes towards ideas of the conjugal family, such as the emphasis on individual freedom over the well-being of the family, are not influenced by whether they were younger or older at the time of emigration. Conversely, age at the time of emigration was a significant factor for the measure Conjugal Family Ideology but not for Conception of Filial Piety for the adult children group. Therefore, someone who is younger when emigrating to Canada is now likely to hold stronger conjugal family values than someone who was older. On the other hand, one's conception of traditional filial piety is not related to how old a person is when emigrating.

There are obviously other factors that are determining this attitudinal variable.

Osaka (1979) calls attention to the necessary historical contextualization to fully assess the present situation. Though she was referring to the historical context of the Japanese in Canada, the Korean respondents' history in Korea may lead to an insightful analysis of their present situation.

The difference between the two generations may be partially explained by the historical background from within which the Korean-Canadians came. The industrialization and urbanization in Korea started in the mid-1950's (Kim, 1990; Roh and Ireland, 1972). Therefore, all of the parent population would have been born before this time and would not have been raised during a time of great social change.²⁹ The children population, on the other hand, were mostly born during or after the modernizing changes. It can be inferred from this that the parents' and the children's population were socialized in drastically different settings. Therefore, it can be inferred that for the older generation, Confucian norms and values have become deeply accepted, whereas the younger generation, born during or after the modernizing changes, was socialized within a time when conjugal family values were relatively more accepted. Although this historical account gives a partial explanation for the difference between the two generations, it does not explain why CFP varies with age at

²⁹The parent group include people who are 55 years and older, but almost all (95.9%) were 60 years old or older. This means that 95.9% of the parent sample were born in 1935 or before. The adult children population include those who were born in 1937 or later, however, 74.3% were born in 1950 or later.

the time of emigration for one generation and not for the other generation and vice versa for CFI.

The results of the post hoc tests are initially puzzling since the two generations show different patterns of acceptance for each attitudinal measure. Sugiman and Nishio (1983) explain that among the second generations, some acknowledge the traditional Japanese age norms and many even behave in a traditional manner towards their parents. They also assert that the second generation is acknowledging filial norms but has not internalized them.

Different levels of acceptance of values or norms, where one level is acknowledgement and the other is internalization, may provide an explanation. The adult children sample in this study have not internalized the traditional values of filial piety, thus it is not related to the age of emigration but to some extraneous factor. The conjugal familial values, on the other hand, are internalized values, thus younger age of emigration is related to high acceptance of conjugal familial values. Inversely, traditional values of filial piety are internalized among the aged parents while conjugal familial values are acknowledged. The parent sample as a whole seems to have reached a state of inability to accept new values. It may be that the values that are not internalized are more dependent on situational conditions and therefore are not related to the present socialization process.

This pattern of attitudinal measure between the generations is similar to that discussed by Kim et al. (1991). They point out that Korean elders are barely Americanized regardless of length of residence in Canada while the children become more "Americanized" with longer residence periods.

Yu's (1983) findings, on the other hand, are contrary to what was expected. It was found that increasing age was not related to high filial belief but rather, the younger age group (26-35) had higher filial belief than the older groups (36-55 and 56-up). Yu explains this with the fact that many of the younger respondents tended to be more idealistic whereas the older respondents, having experienced living with older parents, were less idealistic about filial piety.

As noted among the Korean sample, there are experiential differences between the generations, such as different socialization settings. Furthermore it is inferred from the pattern that there are different processes that take place between the older generation and the younger generation, as the post hoc testing has shown. It is not a simple model of increased integration with greater residences period for all values and norms. Furthermore, there seem to be different levels of acceptance of values. This is discussed in more detail in the following section.

Goode (1982) asserts that in every society, the ideology of the conjugal family is destructive of older tradition, implying that the two are incongruent. Therefore, with the acceptance of conjugal family values one will accept less the traditional values. This new ideology asserts the rights and the freedom of the individual from family, traditional norms and duties. Individuals will be free to choose where they will live, their own spouses, and which kin obligation to accept. The attitudinal test of hypothesis H.6, which hypothesized about conjugal family values and their effect on traditional values, supports this postulate, indicating that higher acceptance of conjugal family values was related to the

rejection of traditional filial piety values as unimportant in modern life. Despite its effect on the traditional values, the greater acceptance of conjugal family values is not related to the decline in the practice of filial piety by the adult children. As described by Sugiman and Nishio (1983), the second generation may behave in the traditional manner or, in other words, perform filial duties that are expected of them even though they do not accept traditional filial piety values as such.

This same pattern is indicated in Table 4.3 among the Korean adult children sample. It shows that among those who do not expect care from their own children, 42.9% are currently living with their parents and 46.4% have indicated that they will take care of their parents in the future when their parents cannot live by themselves or when their parents need help.

Table 4.3 Expect Care When Old

Expect care when old	Take care of parents in future			percent
	when they want*	when they cannot live alone	no/I do want to	
no	12	13	3	(80.0)
when needed in future	4	-	-	(11.4)
yes	1	2	-	(8.6)

*this category includes those who are presently living with their parents

Though there are indications of attitudinal changes regarding traditional filial piety values, this does not translate into less practising of filial piety. In other words, the ideology of the conjugal family is destructive of older traditional familial values but not of the behavioural aspect of traditional filial piety. Therefore, contrary to Goode's postulate, the ideology of the conjugal family is not destructive of tradition.

Though there is evidence of changes in values, this does not simply lead to the change in actions. There are intervening variables which, as in the case of Sugiman and Nishio's (1983) study, were manifested in traditional behaviour patterns. Knowing what is expected of oneself and the constraint of social norms may lead to actions which are not necessarily congruent with one's own internalized values.

From this finding, one may infer that the status and the authority of the aged would not be effected by the prevalence of conjugal familial values among the children. Status and authority may be more related to the level of retention of traditional culture and the present structural factors that may be impinging on the Korean-Canadians.

Cowgill's (1972:11) theory of ageing and modernization states that the status of the aged is lower and ambiguous where the household unit is the nuclear family. Similarly, Goode (1982:177) states that with the rise of jobs outside of the family domain, such as in the city or in a factory, the kinship group is not depended upon for economic survival by its members. Therefore, the family elders' power over its members loses its economic foundation.

Cowgill (1979) explains that urbanization leads to the shift from extended families to nuclear families. This leads to the social segregation of the aged which brings about the decline in their authority. It may be interpreted as the greater the social distancing of families and kin members the less the people are under the sanction of the elder's authority. This is postulated to be caused by the dispersing effect of urbanization. As Kim (1990) explains, with urbanization, people are less under the sanctions of traditional authority which leads to the decline of traditional social norms.

The findings from testing of hypothesis H.5 which postulates about the characteristics of the family and the status of the aged parents, indicate that in families that reflect the extended familial form, parents have higher levels of authority and status in the family. Conversely, decreased kin interaction being a characteristic of a conjugal family form, and authority and status of the parents being a measure of their role in the family decision making process, parents have less say in family matters the more they are socially distant from their children and kin members. Put in other words, if the parents are involved in an intense kinship interaction even when they are not living in an extended family, they will score high in their authority and status.

Therefore in the case of "extended conjugal families" in the terminology of Kim et al. (1991) or the "modified extended families" as described by Kim (1990) or Morgan and Hiroshima (1983), where within the urban kin network there are intense kin interaction, the aged may retain their status. It, however, will not be at the same level as in an agrarian

setting where most means of livelihood would be owned and controlled by the elders. The point to note is that the status and authority of the Korean aged will not be drastically decreased within the industrial urbanized setting, as Cowgill's theory infers. Cowgill has not addressed such particular possibilities in his theory of modernization and ageing, which weakens its explanatory power and its generalizability to other cultures.

As asserted by Cowgill (1979), a further decline in the status of the aged is brought about by the inversion of status between the aged and their children, which is the result of children's social mobility further brought on by industrialization and urbanization. In effect, there is increased social distance between the aged and their children and this, coupled with retirement and the dependence on the aged on children, subsequently leads to the decrease in the status of the aged.

In the study sample the dependence of the parents on children may be intensified due to their inability to function alone without the help of their children. Kim et al. (1991) describe the relationship as "tense and conflict-ridden". This is what some theorists, like Sokolovsky (1990) and Hendricks (1982), point out as an example of how some ethnic elders can have different experiences as immigrants.

The study sample of the aged parents may be distinguished into two groups, the first group consisting of those who are dependent on the children and the second group consisting of those who are independent. The majority seems to be generally

independent³⁰ in such activities as grocery shopping (61.2%), going to church (63.8%), going to social gatherings (68.8%) (Appendix Table A.1). Respectively, the percentage of those who are dependent in these areas are 28.5%, 34.1%, and 20.9% respectively. For seeing the doctor there is a smaller percentage of 43.8% that are independent and a similar proportion of 43.7% who are dependent. Nevertheless, there is a small but a substantial proportion of aged parents, about one-third, who seem to be dependent on their children for the above activities.

With respect to speaking English, 51% of the parents reported that they can only greet people in English and not more than that. The other 49% responded that they can speak broken English or better. Lastly, 51% of the parent respondents reported that their source of income was either their pension or government assistance. Furthermore, 65% of the respondents in the aged parents sample reported that they did not receive financial help from their children (Table 3.1.15). This indicates that more than half of the parent sample are able to be independent, financially and with respect to activities requiring the ability to speak English.

Though Cowgill's theory postulates that the inversion of status between the children and the elders leads to the decline in their status, this may not entirely apply to the Korean aged parent sample. Firstly, the majority of the aged parents are independent financially from their children either through holding a job or through pension or government

³⁰Independence in the measures are indicated by the responses "seldom" and "never" rely on their children for the activities. Dependence, on the other hand, is indicated by the responses "always" or "often".

assistance. Therefore the bases for Cowgill's postulate do not hold for Korean elders. Secondly, considering that just about all of the respondents (93.9%) in the aged parent group are 60 years old or older, the aged parents seem to be fairly independent. Unlike the studies which show the ethnic elders to be in desperate situations in a foreign country, at least half of the Korean elder sample seem, for the most part, not in a position of total dependence on their children. Government assistance appears to be a significant intervening variable that allows the aged parents to be independent. This is indicated by the fact that majority of those who are living separately from their children are receiving government assistance (Table 3.1.19).

4.2 Ethnicity

Theoretically, an ethnic group that is able to highly satisfy the expressive and instrumental needs of its members will generate a greater integration of its members into its collectivity. An outcome of this is the retention of the "original ethnic collectivity" (Kaolin, 1995:161). This would be an instance of what Kaolin refers to as the diachronic dimension where the ethnic group is able to align its members in line with the "rules of the game" of the old ethnicity. Therefore, greater significance of ethnicity will lead to the retention of traditional culture.

The results of the first part of hypothesis H.7 indicate that no matter how significant one's ethnicity, one's conception of filial piety is not affected. Different from Kaolin's assertion, acceptance of the "rules of the game" of

Confucian filial piety is not related to the level of significance of one's ethnicity.

From Rosenthal's (1986) perspective, the variable Conception of Filial Piety would be a measure of the transplanted traditional culture which will disappear with change. Despite the loss of the traditionality in the conception of filial piety, it does not mean the disintegration of filial piety. It will take on a new form adding to a new ethnicity sustaining its saliency.

This presents a weakness in Kaolin's theoretical model of ethnicity. She defines ethnicity as consisting of three components - common ancestry, shared ancestral heritage, and attachment to an ancestral homeland. Kaolin explains that ethnicity is constructed on the basis of any one or any combination of the three components. Such conceptualization of ethnicity is insensitive to the changing nature of ethnicity which may take forms that deviate from the components as outlined by Kaolin. Kaolin expects that traditional forms of culture will be retained, however, the test results show that the conception of traditional filial piety has not been retained.

The second result of hypothesis H.7, which indicates that the practice of filial piety is related to the level of significance of one's ethnicity, is more in line with Kaolin's model of ethnicity. She asserts that an ethnic group that is able to satisfy its members' expressive and instrumental needs is also able to lead its members to shift their "identification" and "allegiance" towards the collectivity. This involves the diachronic dimension or the aligning of members to the ethnic collectivity. Thus members become

enculturated, which means they will come to accept the values, norms, customs and behaviour patterns of old ethnicity rather than that of the greater collectivity. Therefore, the data affirm the argument that greater significance of ethnicity will lead to the retention of traditional behaviour patterns.

Though the data are consistent with Kaolin's model, the model does not explain why one's identification and allegiance to the group leads to specific behaviour patterns. It is implicitly accepted that positive identification and allegiance leads one to behave according to the rules of the group. It can be further questioned why one comes to behave according to the norms of the collectivity if the collectivity is able to highly satisfy one's needs. No explanation is put forth as to why one's behaviour comes to be consistent with the group's traditional values and norms.

An alternative explanation is conceivable. Significance of Ethnicity can also be interpreted as the level of involvement within one's collectivity. As mentioned above, a collectivity that is able to satisfy the expressive and instrumental needs of its members leads to greater integration of its members into the collectivity.

Therefore with greater interaction, there would be social pressure to conform to a norms that may create social stigma by inconformity. This would be particularly true for a collectivity that is closely knit, such as the Korean Canadians, where the majority is involved in the community church or the community association.³¹ Obviously, a person's

³¹ Among the adult children, 65.7% were member of the Korean business organization, 60% attended a Korean community church several times per month or more, 62.9% were members of a Korean social organization, and 71.4% had either more or equal amount of

internal values and beliefs will not be under the same social pressure as one's behaviour, which in effect may allow more inconsistency with respect to beliefs and values. Thus, high involvement in one's ethnic collectivity is a factor in the behaviour patterns according to the group's norms.

The eighth hypothesis is a test of the effects of assimilation into the greater society, which is measured by the extent of involvement in the cultural, structural, and primary institutions outside of the ethnic community.

As can be recalled from results, the level of assimilation is not related to the behavioral aspects of filial piety, nor its perceived relevance. Therefore, even among highly assimilated Koreans, traditional forms of filial piety may be perceived as important to the present living and the practice of filial piety be therefore highly maintained.

The theory of assimilation, however, claims that there is a change of cultural and behavioral aspects with increased assimilation into the greater society (Gordon, 1964). Here, the results do not completely fit the assimilation model. Results indicate that the level of assimilation is a factor in the loss of traditionality in filial piety conceptions, but not in the practice of filial piety. Being assimilated into the greater society does not lead to the loss of one's ethnic behaviour patterns of filial piety.

Furthermore, Gordon's assimilation model is undermined by the weak correlation between the variables Degree of Assimilation and Significance of Ethnicity. It affirms that the level of assimilation into the greater society does not

personal contact with Koreans compared to non-Koreans.

necessarily indicate the level of association within one's ethnic collectivity or vice versa. This is clearly contradictory to the assimilation model, particularly the notion of zero-sum that is accepted as the underlying process occurring in assimilation. Put differently, zero-sum implies that assimilation and ethnic association are mutually exclusive. Data indicate that both processes are not related in a such a simple manner. This is indicated by the different patterns of acceptance, retention and change of familial values between the two generations. The subjective nature of ethnicity does not follow a linear progressive model.

For example, among the adult children sample, there is a high level of structural assimilation, indicated by the high level of education and occupational status jobs.³² Furthermore, 65.7% of the children sample reported having 3 or more non-Korean friends and 28.6% reported having more than 8 non-Korean friends. Another measure indicates that 28.6% had more contact with non-Koreans than Koreans and 8.6% had equal amount of contact between the two groups. A measure of cultural assimilation, ability to speak English, measured high at 85.7% being able to speak at a conversational level or better and 65.7% being able to speak at a level higher than conversational level.

Despite this substantial level of assimilation, there were also high levels of association with one's ethnic community. For instance, a high 60% of the adult children

³² Discussed in Educational Profile section 5.2a, 51.4% of the adult children sample have attended high school or higher and 31.4% had attended university. Furthermore, 91.4% of the adult children sample were in skilled occupations or higher occupational status jobs and 31.4% were in white collar intermediate professional occupations. Discounting those in small businesses, 60% were in the skilled occupations or higher occupational status jobs.

sample attended Korean community churches several times per month or more. Another measure indicated that 54.3% of the adult children attended Korean social gatherings at least once a year. Still, another measure indicated that 85.7% of the adult children sample had 3 or more Korean friends. Furthermore, 74.3% reported that they kept in touch with people in Korea. Lastly, language loss, which is purported to occur most quickly with generational succession, was not substantiated in the adult children sample. A very high 97.1% of the adult children respondents reported being able to speak at a conversational level or better and a high 88.6% reported being able to speak at a level better than a conversational level.

Hurh and Kim (1984) argue that one's ethnic aspects are not lost with assimilation. They argue that the new culture and new social relations are added on to one's traditional culture and social network without replacing or modifying any significant part of the old.

However, this model is problematic in its conceptualization of ethnic culture. Hurh and Kim equate ethnic culture with transported culture and, to confuse matters more, they call it traditional culture. The findings of this study indicate that traditional Confucian beliefs and values of filial piety are lost with assimilation. Hurh and Kim, on the other hand, did not incorporate the transforming aspect of culture into their study, which creates a weakness in their model.

As pointed out by Rosenthal (1986), one of the problems of the assimilation model is the insensitivity to different forms of ethnic culture - transplanted culture and modified

ethnic culture. This problem is also present in Hurh and Kim's conceptualization of ethnicity, which is rigidly formulated from fixed components as Gordon's. However, Hurh and Kim's model is an improvement from the assimilation model in that it recognizes ethnic identity and culture as existing separately from the new identity and culture adopted from the host society. As indicated by the weak relationship between Degree of Assimilation and Significance of Ethnicity, this is true for the sample in this study.

Finally, the last series of tests were regarding the temporal effect on the conceptualization, the practice, and perceived importance of filial piety. The results are generally the same as those from examining assimilation and its effects, as in the above.

From the assimilationist perspective, there should be a general shift from one's own ethnicity towards the greater collectivity with increased period of residence. The loss of traditional beliefs and values of filial piety with greater residence period as denoted in the findings, fits this postulate. Also evidenced in the post hoc test, the level of assimilation into the greater society was highly related to years of residence. This finding supports the basic postulate of the assimilation model that a shift in the membership of an ethnic group into the greater society will occur with time.

This undermines the pluralist notion of continued distinctiveness. According to the pluralists' perspective, Koreans are a minority ethnic group with a distinct culture different from the greater collectivity, therefore assimilation should not be likely.

Despite evidences of assimilation, other parts of the results challenge the assimilation model. For instance, period of residence was not related to respondents perceiving Confucian filial piety precepts as important in modern life. In other words traditional forms of filial piety may be accepted as important even after having lived in Canada for a long period of time. Furthermore, the practice of filial piety may persist even with periods of residence, which further discounts the assimilation model. Different from the assimilationist interpretation, decreased acceptance of traditional conception of filial piety may be evidence of change of filial piety conception to other forms, but its perceived contemporary relevance did not necessarily decrease. This is in accord with the cultural pluralists' interpretation where culture changes but is relevant in the maintenance of the group's distinctiveness.

One may infer from this finding that filial piety must have a high significance within the Korean culture. At present, filial piety is still purported to be the core element of the Korean ethics (Sorensen, 1994). The above findings show filial piety values to be deeply seated core values for the Korean-Canadians also. In the measure of Conception of Filial piety, this core feature of filial piety is apparent in the high percentage of agreement to such precepts as respect for the parents, continence of lineage, an idea of owing or the duty aspect of filial piety (Table 3.2.1). As Hurh and Kim maintain, "ethnic attachment" are high for the immigrant generation, especially older immigrants. The high level of socialization within Korea is apparent in the high level of education of the adult children

group. Though the method of filial care may change with time among the adult children population, the core values of filial piety seem resilient and resistant to change.

In these findings, there does not appear to be any outright pattern of assimilation nor cultural pluralism. Generally the results indicate that, though one is assimilated into the greater society with time, one's conception of tradition changes but this does not hinder the behavioral aspect and the perceived importance of filial piety, indicating its centrality in the Korean culture. From the previous discussion, the practice of filial piety is shown to be mostly a factor of significance of one's ethnicity, implying that it is independent from the degree of assimilation. Similar to the findings of Hurh and Kim (1984), assimilation is taking place separately independent of the level of involvement in one's own ethnic collectivity and one's practice of filial piety. They argue that this is mainly caused by the high level of alienation from the greater society, so one's ethnicity becomes a refuge. This is evident in the findings of the probe questions that measured the level of comfort felt when dealing with non-Korean Canadians, the reasons for feeling uncomfortable, and the difficulties experienced after immigrating to Canada.³³

As presented in Table 4.4 at the end of this chapter, the responses show that many respondents were comfortable all the time (34.3%) or seldom uncomfortable (54.3%). However when

³³For this discussion, only the data from the adult children were used since adult children are presently working and so would have been exposed to social or structural barriers if any. The majority of the parents on the other hand are not working and many have not worked after coming to Canada, so they would not have been exposed to greater society either on social interactional or social structural level.

asked in situations when they did feel uncomfortable, what were the reasons, 40.0% percent of the respondents answered either racism/discrimination or feeling social distance, which were involuntary forms of social distancing on the respondent's part (Table. 4.5). Including other forms of social barriers, 67.7% of the respondents felt a social barrier at some point, which shows a large number who may in effect feel social alienation.

Furthermore, when asked about the difficulties felt after immigrating to Canada, most respondents (60.0%) answered that language was their first biggest difficulty and only 5.7% responded that making a living was their first biggest difficulty (Table 4.6). The second biggest difficulty experienced consisted of 22.9% of the respondents who answered that it was making a living and another 22.9% percent of the respondents who reported difficulties involving discrimination, social distance, and different culture or customs.

The second biggest barrier being difficulty in making a living signifies structural barriers as perceived by the respondents. Also, Table 4.6 denotes that social barriers, other than due to language difficulties, were significant barriers perceived by the respondents. From these findings it is apparent that social barriers were perceived by most of the Korean immigrants and that structural barriers were perceived by a smaller but still a significant number of respondents. The manifestation of structural barriers is evidenced in the high level of Korean education, particularly the university educated (37.1%), and a significant percentage (42.9%) in the proprietor category of occupation among the adult children sample.

It follows that such barriers create ethnic segregation which would also lead to feelings of alienation among the Korean-Canadian. As a result, the Korean ethnic culture and community become a refuge. Hurh and Kim (1984) refers to this as a process leading to "ethnic attachment" where inherent societal barriers in United States have led the Korean-Americans to retreat into their ethnic collectivity and their ethnicity.

Kim (1986) points out the psychological effects of the inability to penetrate into the Canadian society. He explains that this inability to enter into the greater society leads to high levels of stress and feelings of marginality. As a result, Korean-Canadians pursue active participation in Korean organizations. He states that,

"Ambivalent feelings of wanting to participate in the larger society, and yet not having the linguistic and social skill necessary to penetrate the larger society, or being rejected by forms of prejudice and discrimination, may be the cause. Thus, they may psychologically attempt to return to the traditional Korean culture and lifestyle that have previously provided them with security, comfort, and self-respect" (1986:215-216).

Kim (1986) explains nicely the relationship between the structural factors as significant determinants of the social conditions and the cultural factors as a tool used to cope and adopt to the situation. The initial structural conditions evident in ethnic group interaction, as pointed out in Hurh and Kim's "adhesive adaptation", is missing in the assimilation and cultural pluralist models. Failure to address these barriers to assimilation point out the idealistic conceptualizations of the assimilation and cultural pluralism model.

The findings challenge the simplicity and the idealistic assumptions of the assimilation and pluralist models. The two models were found to be inadequate in the analysis of the Korean sample data since both processes of assimilation and cultural retention were evident in the data. One assumption that is challenged by the two separate processes evident in the Korean sample is the mechanistic notion of zero-sum. Furthermore, ethnicity did not fit the notion of zero-sum due to the subjective aspect of ethnicity.

Other than the concomitant processes of retention and assimilation, the effects of social and structural barriers to full participation in the greater society presented a non-ideal situation that was overlooked in the two models of ethnic group interaction. Particularly, social and structural barriers, as discussed, present the strongest critique of the assimilation model. Furthermore, the pluralist assertion that culture is the main driving force of diversity is challenged by the discussed barriers that are just as much a factor in creating the existing segmentation and diverse characteristics among other ethnic groups as they are in the example of the Korean-Canadian sample.

The other two models, those of Kaolin and Hurh and Kim, are also found to be problematic, even though they were improvements over the assimilation and the pluralist models. Both Kaolin's and Hurh and Kim's models suffer from the weakness of rigid conceptualization of ethnicity. Ethnicity was essentially defined as combinations of set components which were incompatible with the fluid and dynamic nature of ethnicity. Though ethnicity originally consists of transported culture among other elements, such as the notion

of a home land and ancestry, it comes to be redefined and recreated through time and interaction with other groups. Different elements come to be adopted or shed and ethnic culture may come to be different from its original form. It may not even retain its distinctiveness or its importance. Isajiw's (1990) study illustrates how objects or certain behaviour or food can come to be defining elements of one's ethnicity.

Despite the shortcoming of Hurh and Kim's model, its application in the analysis of the current data provides much insight into aspects that have great effect on the Korean-Canadian situation. What is particularly insightful is the dual worlds of the immigrants between which they move. It is similar to what Driedger (1989) explained as the "middle man" phenomenon where members of an ethnic group are able to separate their social life between the ethnic collectivity and the economic life in the greater society. Though Hurh and Kim do not distinctly separate the two worlds along social and economic lines, "ethnic attachment" was mainly to satisfy primary group needs and to preserve their collective identity. As Hurh and Kim state, adhesive adaptation is a survival strategy particularly for first generation immigrants, as in the case of the sample in this study.

Kaolin's model allows for the integration into two worlds but she describes the general trend as either towards one's ethnic collectivity or towards the greater society. Kaolin's perspectives is concentrated more on the structural level of intergroup interaction and less at the level of interpersonal interactions. This reduces the applicability to the Korean sample, particularly since Korean-Canadians are a more recent

ethnic group that is not well organized nor large enough to be a political power. Therefore, much of the interaction would be at the interpersonal level and not at the intergroup level.

Table 4.4 Comfortable Dealing with Canadians (N=35)

	Frequency of response	Percent
Uncomfortable always	1	2.9
Most of the time	0	0.0
Sometimes	3	8.6
Seldom	19	54.3
Comfortable at all times	12	34.3

Table 4.5 Reasons for Being Uncomfortable (N=35)

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Racism/Discrimination	8	22.9
Feel social Distance	6	17.1
Different Culture/Custom	6	17.1
Language problem	3	8.6
Not applicable	8	22.9
Other	4	11.4

Table 4.6 Difficulty Experienced in Canada (N=35)

Type of Difficulty	First biggest difficulty		Second biggest difficulty	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Discrimination	3	8.6	2	5.7
Not fitting socially	2	5.7	1	2.9
Different Culture/Custom	1	2.9	5	14.3
Making a living	2	5.7	8	22.9
Language problem	21	60.0	3	8.6
Other	5	14.3	8	22.9
Not applicable	0	0.0	8	22.9

Chapter Five

Conclusions

Within the model of modernization, where the western nuclear family is accepted as the normative form, Korean-Canadian families present an anomaly which questions the model. There are extraneous factors which are not considered within modernization theory from which the resulting weakness is apparent in the anomalies even mentioned by Goode (1982).³⁴ Similarly, for assimilation and cultural pluralist models, the Korean-Canadian situation presents aberrations for which the two models cannot account. This study further shows that both cultural resources and structural pressures are significant aspects that need to be considered in attempting to understand the Korean-Canadian situation. For example, this study shows that both cultural aspects and structural conditions make the extended form of residence more advantageous than the nuclear form for the Korean-Canadian sample.

Mainly the societal barriers that the Korean-Canadian ethnic group experiences play a large role in the situation of the Korean-Canadians. The fact that the significance of ethnicity is one of the strongest factors in the maintenance of traditional culture in this study is reflective of the situation of the Korean-Canadians within the Canadian society in general. These structural and social barriers are apparent in the occupational concentration, discrimination,

³⁴Goode mentions that women's involvement in the work force and the extended family pattern among the wealthy families, are patterns that do not fit into the modernization model. He does not explain such anomalies but only acknowledges their existence in modern societies.

and social distance between the greater society and the Korean-Canadians. It is due to such barriers that there are high levels of cultural retention and high levels of association with one's ethnic collectivity. Chin (1991) asserts that in a culturally alienating society, ethnicity is a shelter into which the Korean immigrants are able to withdraw, especially the immigrant generation which has been socialized in a very different setting.

Due to social and structural barriers, high ethnic attachment among the Korean-Canadians is the predominating pattern, therefore other processes, mainly the assimilative, have become less significant. In effect, the assimilation and cultural pluralism models provide incomplete analytical insight into the situation of the Korean-Canadians. One of the biggest weaknesses of the two models is the result of not taking into consideration barriers as significant aspects of inter-ethnic group interaction.

Occupational concentration in small businesses is a typical and characteristic response among the Korean-Canadians. Examination of this occurrence provides a perceptive analysis of the Korean-Canadian situation. Though it may be argued that occupational concentration in small businesses is mainly a structural factor, it is also due to the people's cultural receptivity to extended families, which has contributed to the success of this arrangement. The situation is that of mutual reinforcement, where the strongly family oriented Korean culture fits the needs of the families that run small businesses.

Hyoung (1975) points out that there are advantages in living in an extended residence. Particularly, among the

Korean-Canadians, the extended form of the family provides advantages with their situation of dual spousal employment, especially when they are constrained to small businesses with a tight profit margin. Extended family residence is further consistent with their cultural norm of filial duty, which is not easily ignored in a tight ethnic community where everyone knows each other and where gossip is common. Furthermore, while one may not hold values of extended family, other forms of residence may not be optional when one's parents are aged and need care, especially in a foreign country where the parents may be more dependent on their children.

The analysis of this often occurring situation questions the postulate of the modernization theory, that nuclear families functionally fit best the urbanized and industrial setting. Particularly among Koreans with a family centred culture which emphasizes familial bonds and interdependence, the outcome is not completely consistent with the modernization theory. Even recent trends in the family, such as the increase of one-parent household, increased cohabitation, and the rise of the divorce rate, are not totally consistent with the modern hyper-industrial society (Glick, 1989).

Another outcome of this social and structural segregation of Korean-Canadians is the dual processes of assimilation and ethnic retention. Ethnic segregation is an indication of strong barriers that separate the two worlds, the greater society and the ethnic community. In such case, assimilation into the greater society and association with one's own ethnic group are largely independent processes since the strong ethnic attachment will not be relinquished easily. An extreme

example of ethnic attachment is provided by the aged parents, most of whom will not assimilate no matter how long they have lived in Canada. Such pattern of separate processes of assimilation and ethnic retention may not show in other ethnic groups that do not have a distinct culture and do not experience strong barriers to integration.

One further aspect of the Korean sample that gives rise to a distinctive situation is their fairly recent history in Canada. As mentioned, all respondents, except one adult child, were born in Korea. Among such respondents, there would be higher levels of significance of filial piety.

Their distinct characteristics, the social and structural barriers, the recent history of immigration, and the culture that emphasizes the importance of the family, present exigencies that the assimilation and pluralist models of ethnic group interaction and modernization have overlooked. Thus the Korean-Canadian situation provides a good example of an anomaly which points out the flaws of conventional theories.

Value change is another significant issue in modernization and in ethnic group interaction. Most theories of attitudinal change conceptualize the process of cultural change as occurring through resocialization or through generational progression. This study shows that some changes in value follow the generational model, in that younger generations tend to accept new values readily. However, change in traditional values does not follow a simple model of value change with generational succession. Furthermore, change of values does not follow a simple linear progressive model where with increased socialization into new values one

is desocialized from the old ones. Responses to the attitudinal measures reflect this complexity. There are evidently distinct generational differences with regards to value changes, not in the values they hold but more in the process involved in the change of values.

The dynamics in the change of values were discussed in the first part of the section 3.2 with respect to the responses to attitudinal measures - Conception of Filial Piety and Conjugal Family Ideology. There were obvious changes as expected, however there was also a retention of traditional values. As asserted by assimilationists, one of the discerned patterns was the change of traditional values to that of contemporarily relevant forms. In other words, values change to fit the present social norms. For example, the importance of the spousal bond and of expressivity within the bond were highly accepted. Another force of change noted was the present economic needs as indicated by the acceptance of women working outside the home but yet agreeing that taking care of children is mostly women's responsibility.

In spite of this change, fundamental values of Confucian filial piety were retained in the attitudinal responses. There is a balance of traditional with contemporary values and norms. Though contemporary values and norms are accepted by Korean-Canadians, Confucian precepts of filial piety seem meaningful within the present situation to them. Within the milieu that the Korean-Canadians live, traditional elements provide meaning and therefore are relevant to them. The conception of filial piety will change but its significance in the Korean culture seems to persist. Fundamental aspects of filial piety may be yet deeply seated as a value and belief

system within the Korean culture even among the Korean-Canadians. This is further demonstrated by the traditional behavioural norms of filial piety that are still strongly retained.

Another issue that needs to be addressed is the relationship between value changes and behavioral changes. Unlike the aged parents, the adult children show indications of the ability to accept conjugal family values and yet retain traditional forms of filial piety. It was found that the acceptance of values, or even the internalization of values, may not always determine one's actions. Therefore, it cannot be generally postulated that conjugal family values are destructive of tradition. Conjugal family ideology will change the attitudes towards traditional forms of culture but the behavioral aspect of tradition is not directly effected.

Goode's postulate of the freeing ideals of conjugal family ideology in this case is not shown to loosen the individual from the social norms and traditional behaviour patterns. Even though attitudinal measures show that fundamental values of conjugal family ideology are accepted by many respondents, other factors seem to have a more determining effect. The situational interactional forces seem to be the overriding factor in the behaviour patterns of even those who have supposedly internalized conjugal family values.

Yu (1983) found similar discrepancies between people's values and their behaviour. She concluded that behaviour was not guided by what the person believes but by their feeling of obligation to take care of their parents. Finley et al. (1988:73) explain that "societal prescription of obligation and sanction for noncompliance encourage the development of

personal attitudes of obligation." Thus, the outside pressures may have more effect on the behaviour of people.

Such is the case for the sample of this study. The level of one's involvement in one's ethnic collectivity was the strongest factor in the adult children's filial piety behaviour patterns. Prescriptions and sanctions would be more salient with closer and more frequent contact with other Koreans.

Changes in values were also seen as destructive to the practice of filial piety and therefore to the status and authority of the aged. Though change in values was not destructive to the behaviour patterns of filial piety, the status of the aged parents seem to be more dependent on the extended family form, as Cowgill (1979) has postulated.

The disengagement of the aged from the family activity is shown to be an important factor in the decline in the status of the aged parents. The situation within Korean-Canadian families, however, does not seem to be following the model of Cowgill's theory of ageing and modernization. It is argued that through the maintenance of the extended family interaction pattern, parental status is maintained. In other words, the parents' status is not sustained purely through the extended residence pattern, as Cowgill asserts, but rather through interaction within the family structure. The important point is that interaction may be sustained without necessarily residing together.

Therefore, while in the process of disengagement from the society that measures status according to occupation or wealth, the family may be crucial for the elderly as a source of status and self-worth in the society.

Furthermore, the inversion of status between the aged and children is shown to be obstructed by government assistance. This is mainly through the provision of financial support for the aged that is crucial in order for the parents to maintain their independence. Nevertheless, the parents' inability to speak English in a foreign country and the loss of social support networks of friends and acquaintances in Korea may be significant factors in the demise of their ability to stay independent.

Finally, theories such as Goode's (1964) and Cowgill's (1979) are problematic in their definition of the family, which is mainly based on the residence pattern. Such definition of the family fails to discern the network of interaction between kin members which may be more important in the definition of a family (Martin 1990). As Martin (1990) contends, the change in the proportion of nuclear families may be a poor measure of change which has no direct effects on the underlying intergenerational family behaviour. She further points out that cross-sectional data may obscure the true "life-cycle nature" of coresidence where within the span of a decade, the family may change forms several times.

In summary, a weakness of macro level theories of modernization is their inability to fully explain micro processes such as the actions of individuals. This is partly due to the assumptions of ideal conditions where extraneous factors are not considered. Though they may provide a general model of social processes, these theories lack explanatory and analytical strength at a lower level of analysis.

As Choi (1993) found in his study of factors in the perception of burden by the care-giver, micro structural

aspects were significant factors. Macro level theories - assimilation and pluralist theories - overlook peculiarities such as those pointed out by Choi, that sometimes bring about patterns that are not consistent with macro theories. Such is the reason for the failure in these theories where general patterns provide empirical support for them but the explanations put forth by them are inadequate and even at times incorrect when applied at a lower level of analysis. Though being able to generalize to all situations proves the worth or the value of theories, the trade-off is the danger of applying theories that may have no relevance to a particular situation such as the Korean-Canadians.

Future generations of Korean-Canadians may present a different picture. Osaka (1979) points out the situation of the third generation Japanese-Canadians, where high integration and little ethnic attachment has led to the loss of Japanese culture, however, this is not easily foreseeable for the Korean case. Even though Korean-Canadians would be closest to the Japanese-Canadians with respect to the tradition of Confucian filial piety and the family structure, there are significant differences in their history in Canada.

One of the major impacts that may have caused the demise of the Japanese-Canadians as a viable ethnic group in Canada is their enforced dispersion throughout the country after the Second World War. Initially a very demographically concentrated ethnic group in the Vancouver region, they were interned and their property and assets confiscated. After the war, Canadian immigration policies heavily discouraged Japanese immigration. As a result, the composition of the Japanese-Canadian community has come to consist mainly of

Canadian born Nisei, second generation, or Sansei, third generation (Makabe, 1990).

Other than the historical differences, the Korean case differs from the Japanese-Canadians at present in that the Korean sample consists of first generation immigrants. Secondly, unlike the Japanese, there is a high occupational concentration of Korean-Canadians especially in the small business sector. Furthermore, the Korean community organizations are well organized and are a vibrant part of the Korean community. For example, the community church has become a centre for congregation and socialization. This has strengthened ethnic retention by acting as an institution where aspects of the Korean ethnicity such as language, manners, identity, and solidarity have been preserved (Min, 1991).

The future of the Korean-Canadians as an ethnic group is yet to be determined. However, the group consciousness, ethnic institutions, and the infrastructure of the community necessary for the viability of Korean-Canadians are developing and becoming substantial within the Korean community in Canada.

In such an environment, the tradition of filial piety would be strongly maintained through high cultural retention and through the social control that would be strong within such community. This is particularly true since the fundamental value system is shown to not change easily in a viable ethnic community.

Other than the disintegration of the family or the change of values among adult children, the greater force of change seems to involve the aged parents. Firstly, the assistance from the government frees the Korean aged parents from

becoming economically dependent on their children and makes support from the children unnecessary. Thus parents who do not want to burden their children or who want to live independently due to conflict within the family, such as with a daughter-in-law or a son-in-law, are able to do so. Also, as indicated by the desired living arrangement, aged parents preferred to live separately more frequently than their children. Again, this is inferrable from the fact that all parents who were living separately from their children were receiving assistance from the government.

5.1 Limitations of the Study

A limitation of this study arises due to its purposive sampling of a specific target population, mainly those who are members of the Korean Elders' Association and their adult children. This sampling technique does not include those who have a very limited or no contact with the Korean community in Calgary. The fact that the respondents are members of a Korean community organization biases the findings. The sample would be more attached to Korean culture and they would score high on such measures as the conception of filial piety and practice of filial piety. By the fact that the respondents would be more likely to be involved with the Korean community, their values and behaviour patterns would be affected. Conversely, those who are not in contact with the Korean community or possibly those who have refused interviews may include those who are attempting to dissociate themselves from the ethnic community. Such people may score lower in such measure as the conception of filial piety or significance of ethnicity.

Therefore, the findings from this study would be applicable only to the sample of this study or other similar groups such as other Korean elders' associations. Findings would not be generalizable to the larger population of Koreans in Canada.

For further research, a more multidimensional definition of the family and of social change are needed. This study also calls for the inclusion of the interactional network in future research when examining the transformation of the family, particularly when studying the effects of the family transformation on the status and well-being of the ethnic aged.

Furthermore, a study of ethnic elders should attempt to include those who are not in contact with their ethnic community, especially those who come from a foreign culture such as Asian countries or other countries that do not use English.

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APPENDIX A

Table A.1 Practice of Filial Piety (N=84)*

Items	Coding Score									
	1		2		3		4		5	
Bows When talking	4	11.4	9	25.7%	11	31.4%	2	5.7%	9	25.7%
Respectful talking	1	2.9%	3	8.6%	7	20.0%	6	17.1%	18	51.4%
Uses two hands	2	5.7%	4	11.4%	8	22.9%	3	8.6%	18	51.4%
Eating after parents	1	1.2%	13	15.5%	22	26.2%	43	51.2%	5	6.0%
Talk back to parents	1	1.2%	5	6.0%	33	39.3%	40	47.6%	4	4.8%
Visits parents	2	2.4%	26	31.0%	21	25.0%	31	36.9%	4	4.8%
Spouse visits parents	6	7.1%	24	28.6%	20	23.8%	27	32.1%	7	8.3%
Call parents on the phone	5	6.0%	20	23.8%	30	35.7%	27	32.1%	2	2.4%
spouse calls parents	4	4.8%	37	44.0%	25	29.8%	16	19.0%	2	2.4%
Relied on for groceries	18	21.4%	39	46.4%	19	22.6%	7	8.3%	1	1.2%
Relied on for shopping	1	1.2%	5	6.0%	33	39.3%	40	47.6%	4	4.8%
Relied on to see doctor	2	2.4%	26	31.0%	21	25.0%	31	36.9%	4	4.8%
Relied on to go to church	6	7.1%	24	28.6%	20	23.8%	27	32.1%	7	8.3%
Give ride to gatherings	5	6.0%	20	23.8%	30	35.7%	27	32.1%	2	2.4%
Pay for phone bills	4	4.8%	37	44.0%	25	29.8%	16	19.0%	2	2.4%
Pay for groceries	18	21.4%	39	46.4%	19	22.6%	7	8.3%	1	1.2%

* Data used for this index are only from the adult children group.

Table A.2 Degree of Assimilation (N=84)

Items	Coding Score									
	1		2		3		4		5	
Duration of TV watching	25	31.0%	31	3.6%	17	20.2%	4	4.8%	6	7.1%
watch Canadian video	53	63.1%	15	17.9%	10	11.9%	4	4.8%	2	2.4%
read Canadian newspaper	39	46.6%	7	8.3%	9	10.7%	4	4.8%	25	29.8%
read Canadian magazines	51	60.7%	16	19.0%	9	10.7%	3	3.6%	5	6.0%
Attend concerts	79	94.0%	3	3.6%	1	1.2%	-	-	1	1.2%
Go to movies	76	90.5%	6	7.1%	1	1.2%	-	-	1	1.2%
do sports	25	29.8%	11	13.1%	22	26.2%	8	9.5%	18	21.4%
Ability to speak English	25	29.8%	13	15.5%	18	21.4%	15	17.9%	13	15.5%
Ability to write English	33	39.3%	16	19.0%	9	10.7%	18	21.4%	8	9.5%
Occupation in Canada	24	28.6%	15	17.9%	32	38.1%	10	11.9%	3	3.6%
Yearly income**	44	53.0%	4	4.8%	26	31.4%	5	6.0%	4	4.8%
Education in Canada+	62	73.8%	1	1.2%	4	4.8%	31	36.9%	4	4.8%
Voted in election~Y	30	35.7%	14	16.7%	32	38.1%	-	-	-	-
Western religionX	10	11.9%	74	88.1%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Go to Canadian church	75	89.3%	5	6.0%	-	-	3	3.6%	1	1.2%
Comfortable with Canadian	10	11.9%	5	6.0%	8	9.5%	35	41.7%	26	31.0%
Ethnicity of spouseY	83	98.8%	-	-	1	1.2%	-	-	-	-
Non-Korean friends	51	60.7%	13	15.5%	8	9.5%	10	11.9%	2	2.4%
self national identity	-	-	47	56.0%	32	38.1%	2	2.4%	3	3.6%

* missing one case

+ Mid categories 3 and 4 of 6 point scales were collapsed to 3 and previous categories 5, 6 were changed to 4 and 5 respectively for case of tabulation.

~ 8 cases missing

X a 2 point scale

Y a 3 point scale

Table A.3 Significance of Ethnicity (N=84)

Items	Coding Score									
	1		2		3		4		5	
Watch Korean videos	42	50.0%	13	15.5%	14	16.7%	8	9.5%	7	8.3%
Read Korean newspaper	32	38.1%	11	13.1%	7	8.3%	8	9.5%	26	31.0%
Read Korean magazine/book	43	51.2%	14	16.7%	4	4.8%	7	8.3%	16	19.0%
Ability to speak Korean	1	1.2%	-		7	8.3%	7	8.3%	69	82.1%
Speak Korean at home	2	2.4%	6	7.1%	6	7.1%	10	11.9%	60	71.4%
Ability to write Korean	4	4.8%	6	7.1%	3	3.6%	16	19.0%	55	65.5%
Attend Korean church	14	16.7%	5	6.0%	8	9.5%	35	41.7%	22	26.2%
Korean friends	12	14.3%	19	22.6%	20	23.8%	16	19.0%	17	20.2%
Ethnicity for* child's spouse	10	11.9%	9	10.7%	20	23.8%	13	15.5%	29	34.5%

* missing 3 cases

Table A.4 Family Characteristics (N=84)

Items	Coding Score									
	1		2		3		4		5	
Meet relatives*	58	69.0%	7	8.3%	4	4.8%	1	1.2%	1	1.2%
Talk to relatives*	51	60.7%	14	16.7%	3	3.6%	3	3.6%	-	
Importance of family contact	2	2.4%	9	19.7%	25	29.8%	40	47.6%	8	9.5%
Importance of kin contact	1	1.2%	13	15.5%	22	26.2%	43	51.2%	5	6.0%
Living Arrangement	1	1.2%	5	6.0%	33	39.3%	40	47.6%	4	4.8%

* missing 13 cases

Table A.5 Status and Authority of Aged Parents (N=49)*

Items	Coding Score									
	1		2		3		4		5	
Parental say in marriage	10	20.4%	18	36.7%	8	16.3%	13	26.5%	-	
Naming the grandchild+	13	27.1%	4	8.3%	7	14.6%	4	8.3%	20	41.7%
say in buying a house~	7	14.9%	11	23.4%	5	10.6%	6	12.8%	18	38.3%
Parent's say buying a car~	12	25.5%	9	19.1%	13	27.7%	5	10.6%	8	17.0%
say in buying furniture	19	38.8%	11	22.4%	11	22.4%	5	10.2%	3	6.1%

* This table consists of responses only from the parent group.

+1 case missing

~2 cases missing

Table A.6 Acceptance of Filial Piety

Items	Coding Score									
	1		2		3		4		5	
Precepts are important	-		3	3.6%	12	14.3%	47	56.0%	22	26.2%

APPENDIX BC.1 VARIABLE DIMENSIONS AND INDICATORS (For Aged Parents' Questionnaire)

CFP: Conception of Filial Piety

- a) Authority and Power of Parents - 3a, 3b
- b) Living Arrangement - 2
- c) Filial Piety Precepts - 3d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, p1
- d) Spouse Duty - 6, p3, 3c
- e) Sacrifice - 7a, b, c, d, 8j
- f) Lineage - 5a, b, c, d

AFP: Acceptance of Filial Piety - 4, pb2

CFI: Conjugal Family Ideology - 1, 8a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i

PPF: Practice of Filial Piety

- a) Respect - 9a, b, c, d, e
- b) Residence - 10
- c) Support
 - Emotional - 11a, b, 12a, b
 - Instrumental - 16a, b, c, d, e, f, pb15, pb18, pb19
 - Economic - 17a, b, c, d, e, f, pb16, 32a
- d) Wife - pb17, pb14,

DA: Degree of Assimilation (integration)

- a) Cultural Level - 24, 25b, d, f, g, h, 25i, 27, 30
- b) Structural Level -
 - Secondary Institutions
 - Economic - pb36, 33
 - Education - 35
 - Political & others - 36, pb41
 - Private Institutions
 - Religion - 37, 38a, pb45a
 - Social - 31, pb42, pb43, pb48, pb49,
 - Marital - 41
 - Personal - 40, pb50,
- c) Identificational Level
 - Reference Group - pb53
 - Identificational - 42

SE: Significance of Ethnicity

- a) Ethnic Mass Media and Entertainment - 25a, c, e, pb31
- b) Language Use & and Retention - 26, 28, 29
- c) Economic Benefits - pb37
- d) Participation in Ethnic Organizations - 38b, pb44, pb45b, pb46, pb47
- e) Involvement with Other Koreans - 39, pb51, pb54
- f) Salience of Ethnic Identity - 43, pb55, pb56

FM: Family (conjugal/extended)

Living arrangement - pb8a

Lineage - pb29, pb30

Emphasis on nuclear family - pb12

SK: Strength of Kinship Ties - 13, 14, 15

SA: Status & Authority - pb5, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23,

GI: Generation of Immigration - Pb60

SS: Socio-economic Status - 32b, pb34, pb35, pb36 33, 34, 35

General Information

Age - 44

Sex: pb59

Marital status - 45

Sources of income - 32

Arrival date into Canada - 46

Length of period in present living arrangement - pb9

Area of residence in Korea before immigration - 47

Expects son/daughter to take care when older - pb21

Information about Children

Number of sons - pb57

Age of the oldest son - pb57a

Number of daughters - pb57b

Age of oldest daughters - pb57c

Sex of care-giver - pb57d

Age of care-giver - pb57e

Son/daughter works - pb38

Daughter/son-in-law works - pb38b

Who takes care of the parents the most - pb20

Marital status of Care Giver - pb4

Children of Care-giver

Age of the youngest grandchild - pb58

Number of grandchild - pb58a

Questionnaire for the Aged Parents

START TIME:

CONCEPTION OF FILIAL PIETY

1) How should the parents be involved in the marriage of their children?

- a) parents should be responsible for the arrangement of the marriage
- b) parents should be responsible for at least introducing possible candidate.
- c) parents and children should choose the candidate together.
- d) parents should only give their opinions on the candidate.
- e) parents should not have any say in the selection of the candidate.

2) Who should the parents live with?

- a) parents should live with the oldest son or the only son
- b) parents should live with any one of their children
- c) parents should live with any family member including relatives
- d) parents should live alone by themselves

3) Do you agree or disagree with the following?

	strongly agree	agree	somewhat agree	disagree	strongly disagree
a) the parents should have say in all matters related to the whole family as well as its individual members	1	2	3	4	5
b) all the money earned by the family members should be under the control of the parents	1	2	3	4	5
c) it is the duty of the daughter-in-law to care for her parents-in-law as if they were her own parents	1	2	3	4	5
d) sons and daughters should obey their parents even if they may disagree	1	2	3	4	5
e) sons and daughters should respect their parents	1	2	3	4	5
f) the son and daughter owe their parents for raising them	1	2	3	4	5
g) the son and daughter owe their parents for the body that they have received	1	2	3	4	5

h) sons and daughters should care for the parents' emotional well-being	1	2	3	4	5
i) sons and daughters should care for the parents' physical well-being	1	2	3	4	5
j) sons and daughters should provide financial support to their parents	1	2	3	4	5
k) sons and daughters should bring glory and honour to their parents through what they do in their life time	1	2	3	4	5
l) sons and daughters should bring credit to their parents even after their death	1	2	3	4	5
m) the oldest son [only son/daughter] should go through the process of mourning after the death of one's parents	1	2	3	4	5
n) the oldest son [only son/daughter] should perform ancestor worship at least once a year	1	2	3	4	5

>Probe1 - Why should sons/daughters be pious towards their parents?

4) Do you feel that these precepts are generally important in today's living?

- a) they are very important
- b) they are important
- c) they are somewhat important
- d) they are a little important
- e) they are not important at all

>Probe2 - Why or why not in general?

5) Do you agree or disagree with the following?

	strongly agree	agree	somewhat agree	disagree	strongly disagree
a) It is important that one's lineage be continued	1	2	3	4	5
b) one should attempt to have a son so that the lineage will continue	1	2	3	4	5

c) one should adopt their son-in-law and ask him to change his last name in the case that there are no sons in the family

	1	2	3	4	5
--	---	---	---	---	---

d) a man should marry another wife if there are no children from the first marriage

	1	2	3	4	5
--	---	---	---	---	---

6) How should the oldest daughter-in-law care for her parents-in-law?

a) she should care for her parents-in-law as if they were her own parents

b) she should only help her husband in the care of her parents-in-law

c) she should help out when she has the time

d) she should not have to take part in the care of her parents-in-law

>Probe3 - Why or why not?

7) For the well-being of the parents how much should the son/daughter be willing to sacrifice?

	strongly agree	agree	somewhat agree	disagree	strongly disagree
a) work physically such as lifting parents or cleaning their mess if needed in caring for them	1	2	3	4	5
b) forgo higher paying or higher status jobs to provide the parents with the needed care	1	2	3	4	5
c) Spend money for the care of the parents even if this may not allow the son/daughter to afford a nice gift for his/her children	1	2	3	4	5
d) spend less time with one's friends or on leisure activities to better care for one's parents	1	2	3	4	5

8) How much do you agree or disagree with the following?

	strongly agree	agree	somewhat agree	disagree	strongly disagree
a) the oldest son [only son/ daughter] and his [her] spouse should live together with the parents even after getting married	1	2	3	4	5
b) developing the relationship between the wife and husband should be more important than maintaining strong kinship relationships	1	2	3	4	5
c) harmony in the family as a whole should be more important than the happiness of individual family member	1	2	3	4	5
d) divorce should be an open option for those with unhappy marriages	1	2	3	4	5
e) if a woman wants to work outside the home then she should be as free to do so as her husband	1	2	3	4	5
f) when a couple has children, the women should take care of the children even if it means quitting her job	1	2	3	4	5
g) sons rather than daughters should receive most of the inheritance from the parents	1	2	3	4	5
h) a person should be free from kinship ties so that he/she can live the life style that he/she wants	1	2	3	4	5
i) duties and obligations towards one's relatives should not be a hinderance to moving to another city to get a job	1	2	3	4	5
j) concern for parent's happiness and comfort should come before the happiness and comfort of one's wife/husband and children	1	2	3	4	5

PRACTICE OF FILIAL PIETY

>Probe4 - Is your oldest son or the only son/daughter married?

9) When you are with your oldest son or your only son/daughter, he/she

	always	frequently	sometimes	seldom	never
a) bows when greeting you	1	2	3	4	5
b) uses the formal form of address when talking to you	1	2	3	4	5
c) uses two hands when giving or receiving something from you	1	2	3	4	5
d) starts eating only after you have started to eat	1	2	3	4	5
e) does not talk back to you even when he/she may disagree with you	1	2	3	4	5

>Probe4 - Do you like how your son/daughter behaves towards you? If not have you done anything about it?

>Probe5 - Is there a difference between how your children behave towards you now and how you behaved towards your parents? If yes, why do you think there is a change?

>Probe7 - How is it affecting the elders and their sons/daughters?

>Probe8 - Who are you living with at present?

10) How far away do you live from your children?

- a) within easy walking distance to them
- b) further than walking distance, but about 15 min by car
- c) about 15 min to 30 min away by car
- d) about 30 min to an hour away by car
- e) none of your children live in Calgary

>Probe9 - How long have you been living in this arrangement?

>Probe10 - Who was it that made the decision to live together or to not live together?

>Probe11 - If the parents are not living with the oldest or the only son/daughter, why not?

>Probe12 - Would you prefer other living arrangements? What would be the arrangement?

*note If the parents are living together with their oldest son [only son/daughter] then go to question #13.

11) How often do the following persons come to see you?

	daily or almost everyday	several times per week	several times per month	several times per year	once per year or less
a) your oldest son [only son or daughter]	1	2	3	4	5
b) your oldest daughter/ son-in-law	1	2	3	4	5
c) your other children	1	2	3	4	5

12) How often do the following people call you over the phone?

	daily or almost everyday	several times per week	several times per month	several times per year	once per year or less
a) your oldest son [only son or daughter]	1	2	3	4	5
b) your oldest daughter/ son-in-law	1	2	3	4	5
c) your other children	1	2	3	4	5

13) How often do you see the following persons:

	daily or almost everyday	several times per week	several times per month	several times per year	once per year or less
a) your siblings	1	2	3	4	5
b) cousins	1	2	3	4	5
c) distant relatives	1	2	3	4	5

14) How often do you talk to the following persons over the phone:

	daily or almost everyday	several times per week	several times per month	several times per year	once per year or less
a) your siblings	1	2	3	4	5
b) cousins	1	2	3	4	5
c) distant relatives	1	2	3	4	5

>Probe13 - how satisfied are you with the amount of contact with the various people?

15) How important is keeping in touch with the following persons:

	Very Important	Important	Somewhat Important	A Little Important	Not Important
a) your oldest son [only son or daughter]	1	2	3	4	5
b) your daughter/ son-in-law	1	2	3	4	5
c) your other children	1	2	3	4	5
d) your siblings	1	2	3	4	5
e) cousins	1	2	3	4	5
f) distant relatives	1	2	3	4	5

16) How much do you rely on your children and your daughters and sons-in-law for the following activities:

	always	frequently	sometimes	seldom	never
a) shopping for groceries	1	2	3	4	5
b) going shopping for clothes and gifts	1	2	3	4	5
c) being driven to the doctor	1	2	3	4	5
d) getting a ride to the church	1	2	3	4	5
e) being driven to other social gatherings	1	2	3	4	5
f) getting things fixed around the apartment/house	1	2	3	4	5
g) dealing with people like the landlord, immigration officer, and social assistance	1	2	3	4	5

>Probe14 - Who do you rely on mostly for the above?

>Probe15 - How satisfied are you with the practical support?

17) How much of the following do you and your spouse pay for together?

	we pay all of the cost	we pay for most of the cost	the cost is shared with our children	we contribute a little of the cost	our son/ daughter pays for all
a) phone bill	1	2	3	4	5
b) utilities	1	2	3	4	5
c) mortgage	1	2	3	4	5
d) property tax	1	2	3	4	5
e) apartment or house rental	1	2	3	4	5
f) groceries	1	2	3	4	5

>Probe16 - How satisfied are you with the financial support from your oldest son or the only son/daughter and your other children?

>Probe17 - What does your oldest daughter/son-in-law do for you and your spouse in terms of daily care? On the average how much time does she/he spend doing things for you and your spouse?

>Probe18 - What does your oldest son [only son/daughter] do for you and your spouse in terms of daily care? On the average how much time does he/she spend doing things for you and your spouse?

>Probe19 - How do you feel about how you are being taken care of by your oldest son [only son/daughter] and your son/daughter-in-law?

>Probe20 - Generally, who takes care of you the most among your children?

>Probe21 - Do you expect your son to take care of you as you grow older?

>Probe22 - Is there anything in terms of taking care of or just behaviour towards you by the children that has changed due to your family coming to Canada? How do you feel about that?

18) How much say did [will] you and your spouse have in the marriage of your oldest son [only son/daughter]?

- we arranged [will arrange] the marriage
- we selected [will select] the possible spouses but left [will leave] the final selection to our son/daughter
- we only suggested [will only suggest] possible spouses and we were not [will not be] further involved in the final decision
- we only gave [will only give] our opinion about the candidate that our son/daughter was [will be] considering for marrying
- we really didn't [would not] know who the possible candidates were [will be] until he/she notified [notifies] us of the decision to marry

>Probe23 - If you and your spouse did not arrange the marriage, how do you feel about that?

19) Who gave [will give] your oldest son's [only son's/daughter's] baby his/her Korean name?

- a) I and my spouse took [will take] the responsibility of naming the baby
- b) I and my spouse named [will name] the baby with some suggestions from the son/daughter and the spouse
- c) the baby was [will be] named together between the me and my spouse, the son/daughter and his/her spouse
- d) the son/daughter and his/her spouse named [will name] the baby but they consulted [will consult] me and my spouse about some of the choices
- e) the son/daughter and his/her spouse did [will] not consult us in the naming of the baby

>Probe24 - If you and your spouse did not name your son's/daughter's baby, how do you feel about that?

20) When and if the oldest son or the only son/daughter is having family problems are you asked for advise about the matter by him/her?

- a) he/she will come to me and I would give advice and help him/her in resolving the problem
- b) he/she usually will come to me, but I would only give our advice
- c) my advise will be sometimes sought
- d) he/she will seldom come to me for advise with such problem
- e) he/she will keep to himself/herself about such problems

>Probe25 - If not a), how do you feel about that?

21) How important would your opinion be to your oldest son [only son/daughter] if he [she] were to buy a house?

- a) my advice and permission would be sought and I would be involved in the process of buying the house
- b) my advice and permission would be sought before making the final decision
- c) only my advice would be sought
- d) they would only tell me about their plans to buy the house. No advice nor permission would be sought
- e) I would not even be told about their plans to buy the house. I would only find out afterwards

>Probe26 - How do you feel about that?

22) buy a car?

- a) my advice and permission would be sought and I would be involved in the process of buying the car
- b) my advice and my permission would be sought before making the final decision
- c) only my advice would be sought
- d) they would only tell me about their plans to buy the car. No advice nor permission would be sought
- e) I would not even be told about their plans to buy the car. I would only find out afterwards

>Probe27 - How do you feel about that?

23) buy furniture for the house?

- a) my advice and permission would be sought and I would be involved in the process of buying the furniture
- b) my advice and my permission would be sought before making the final decision
- c) only my our advice would be sought
- d) they would only tell me about their plans to buy the furniture. No advice nor permission would be sought
- e) I would not even be told about their plans to buy the furniture. I would only find out afterwards

>Probe28 - How do you feel about that?

>Probe29 - When you and your spouse were planning to have children, did you have any preference about the sex of the child? If so, why did you prefer a boy/girl?

>Probe30 - How have you planned or how have you divided your inheritance among your sons and daughters? Who will get the most or all the inheritance? Why?

LIVING IN CANADA

24) How many hours of TV programs in English language do you watch in a day?

- a) more than 5 hours
- b) between 5 - 3 hours
- c) between 3 - 2 hours
- d) one - two hours per day
- e) less than 1 hour

25) How often do you do the following things?

	daily or almost everyday	5 - 3 times per week	once or twice per week	several times per month	seldom or never
a) watch Korean videos	1	2	3	4	5
b) watch Canadian videos	1	2	3	4	5
c) read Korean newspaper	1	2	3	4	5
d) read Canadian newspaper	1	2	3	4	5
e) read Korean magazines	1	2	3	4	5
f) read Canadian magazines	1	2	3	4	5
g) go to a concert or an English play	1	2	3	4	5
h) go to see movies in English	1	2	3	4	5
i) do sports or outdoor activities	1	2	3	4	5

>Probe31 - What music do you listen to at home or while driving?

26) How well can you speak Korean?

- a) I can say just about anything
- b) I can talk at a more than conversational level but I would have difficulty talking about anything
- c) I can talk at a basic conversational level but nothing complex
- d) I am able to just get by with broken Korean
- e) I can only talk enough to greet people, no more

27) How well do you speak English?

- a) I can say just about anything
- b) I can talk at a more than conversational level but I would have difficulty talking about anything
- c) I can talk at a basic conversational level but nothing complex
- d) I am able to just get by with broken english
- e) I can only talk enough to greet people, no more

28) What language do you speak at home?

- a) mostly English
- b) both English and Korean but more english
- c) both English and Korean equally
- d) both English and Korean but more Korean
- e) mostly Korean

29) How well do you write Korean?

- a) I don't have any problems writing whatever
- b) I don't have any difficulty writing letters but nothing more than that
- c) I could write a letter but with some help
- d) able to write notes only
- e) able to write only few words and my name

30) How well do you write English?

- a) I don't have any problems writing whatever
- b) I don't have any difficulty writing letters but nothing above that
- c) I could write a letter but with some help
- d) able to write notes only
- e) able to write only few words and my name

31) How comfortable do you feel when you are dealing with Canadians?

- a) I feel comfortable all the time
- b) I seldom feel uncomfortable or out of place
- c) sometimes I feel slightly uncomfortable and out of place
- d) most of the time I feel uncomfortable and out of place
- e) I feel uncomfortable and out of place all the time

>Probe32 - When you do feel uncomfortable, what makes you feel uncomfortable? In what way and how?

>Probe33 - What are the three biggest difficulties that you have experienced by immigrating to Canada and what are the three biggest benefits?

32) Which of the following are a source of income for you?

- | | |
|---|--------|
| a) pension or government assistance | yes/no |
| b) receives regular allowance from care giver | yes/no |
| c) extra income for helping out such as baby sitting, helping out at the family business, and by doing the house work | yes/no |
| d) son/daughter gives allowance when asked for it | yes/no |
| e) income from investments | yes/no |

>Probe34 - About how much is your income from the above sources?

>Probe35 - What was your job in Korea before you immigrated?

>Probe36 - What do you do now here in Canada? If retired what did you do for a job in Canada?

>Probe37 - Does your job involve dealing with Koreans or the Korean community? Do you feel that your contact with Koreans benefit you?

>Probe38 - Does your oldest son or only son/daughter work outside the home? What does he/she do? How many hours does he/she work?

>Probe39 - Does your oldest daughter/son-in-law work outside the home? What does she/he do? How many hours does she/he work?

33) What is or was your yearly income from work before deductions:

- a) greater than 80,000
- b) 79,000-60,000
- c) 59,000-40,000
- d) 39,000-20,000
- e) 19,000 or less

>Probe40 - Do you own the house or do you have part ownership of the house that you are living at?

34) What is the highest level of education that you have attained in Korea.

- a) university/post graduate
- b) community college
- c) secondary
- d) primary
- e) no schooling

35) What is the highest level of education that you have attained in Canada or the United States.

- a) university/post graduate
- b) community college
- c) secondary
- d) primary
- e) no schooling

36) Did you vote during the last two federal elections?

- a) no
- b) once
- c) twice

>Probe41 - Do you belong to any organization concerned with political issues?

>Probe42 - Are you involved in any community organization?

>Probe43 - Do you have a position in these organizations and if yes, what is this position?

>Probe44 - Do you belong to any Korean business organization? What are the benefits of being a part of this organization? How do you benefit?

37) What is your religious affiliation?

- a) ancestor worship
- b) Chun-do-gyo
- c) Buddhism
- d) Confucianism
- e) Christianity
- f) others

38) How often do you attend the following churches?

	more than twice a week	once or twice per week	several times per month	several times per year	once per year or less
a) a Canadian community church	1	2	3	4	5
b) a Korean community church	1	2	3	4	5

>Probe45 - do you hold any position in these churches?

>Probe46 - What are the Korean ethnic clubs or any other Korean social organizations that you are involved in? Do you hold any positions in these organization? What positions?

>Probe47 - How often do you attend the gatherings of these organizations or the gatherings of any other Korean social organization?

>Probe48 - What are the Canadian social clubs or any other social organizations that you are involved in? Do you hold any positions in these organization? What positions?

>Probe49 - How often do you attend the gatherings of these organizations or the gatherings of any other Canadian organization?

39) How many Korean friends do you have?

40) How many friends do you have who are not Korean?

>Probe50 - Which friends do you spend more time with or have more personal contact with, Korean friends or non-Korean friends?

>Probe51 - Which friend or friends do you feel most comfortable being with, Korean or Canadians? Are there any differences between your Korean friends and your Canadian friends? If any, what are some of the differences?

>Probe52 - Do you identify more with your Korean friends or your Canadian friends?

>Probe53 - Who would you say are your best and second best friends? What is their ethnic background?

>Probe54 - Do you keep in touch with relatives and friends in Korea? How?

>Probe55 - Have you been back or would you like to be back to Korea to visit or possibly to stay there?

41) What is the ethnic background of your spouse?

- a) Korean background
- b) asian but not Korean
- c) non-Korean and non-Asian

42) What do you identify yourself as?

- a) Canadian
- b) Canadian first and then Korean
- c) Korean first and then Canadian
- d) Korean living in Canada
- e) other

43) Did it matter into which ethnic group your children married?

- a) yes, it mattered a lot
- b) yes, it mattered
- c) it mattered somewhat
- d) it mattered a little
- e) it did not matter

>Probe56 - From which ethnic background did you prefer a daughter/son-in-law? Why?

Background Information

44) What is your age?

- a) 55-59, b) 60-64, c) 65-69, d) 70-74, e) 75-79, f) 80-84, g) 85-89, h) 90-older

45) Are you a) married, b) single, c) divorced, d) remarried, e) a widow/er?

>Probe57 - How many children do you have, their age, their gender, and where they live?

>Probe58 - How many children does the oldest son or only son/daughter and the child that you are living with have and what is their age?

46) What is the date of your arrival into Canada?

47) In what area were you living before you immigrated to Canada?

- a) a hamlet, b) rural village, c) a town, d) a small city, e) a large city

TIME END:

>Can you suggest anyone whom I can interview for this study?

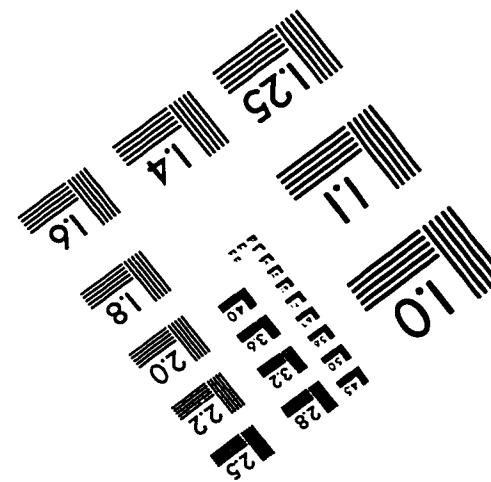
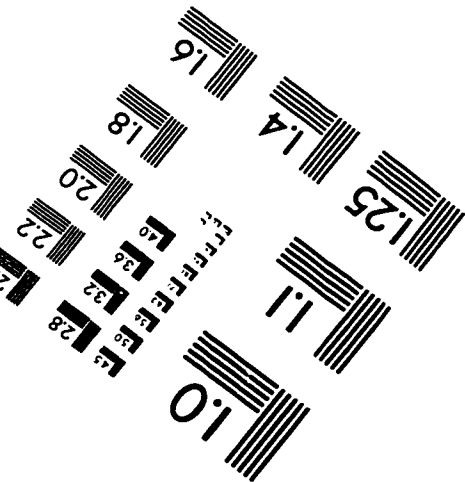
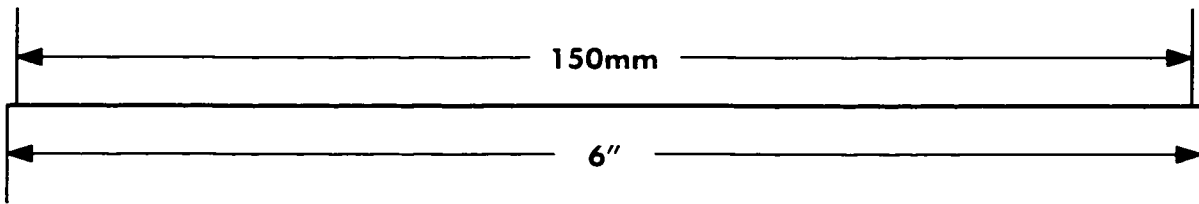
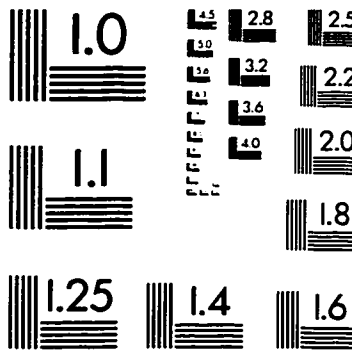
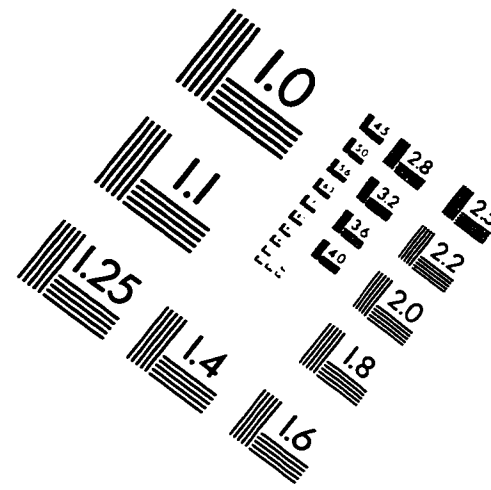
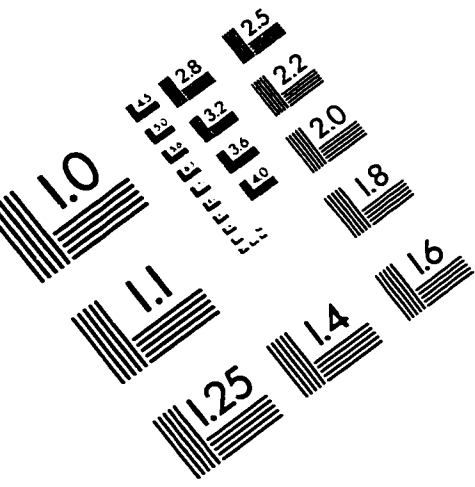
>Observation - gender: a) male or b) female

>Age at the time of immigration:

VITA AUCTORIS

Sung-Eun Kim was born in 1964 in Daegue, Korea. He attended primary school in Korea and continued his primary schooling in Calgary, Alberta. After finishing his secondary schooling in 1984 he continued his education at the University of Calgary. There he received his B.Sc. in engineering in 1989 and B.A. in Sociology in 1991. He continued his studies in sociology at the University of Windsor and received his Master's degree in sociology at 1996.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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