ATTITUDES OF AMERICA-EDUCATED KOREAN STUDENTS
TOWARD AMERICA AND AMERICANIZATION

A Thesis
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for the Degree Master of Arts

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INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem

This thesis attempts generally to find out how Korean students in the United States feel toward America, and specifically to ascertain whether any relationships exist between attitude toward America and background factors, such as sex, age, religion, father's occupation, major field of study, length of residence in the United States, and social and academic adjustment. The sample on which this study is based consists of twenty-four Korean students who were in Columbus during the summer of 1956. These students were either studying at the Ohio State University or were visiting their friends and relatives in Columbus.

Three different methods were used for the study: uncontrolled participant observation, informal group discussion, and incomplete sentence form. Since the writer was a member of the group, she had access to some kind of information which would not be available to outsiders. During the observations, the subjects were unaware of the intention of the observer. The group discussions were employed to elicit spontaneous expression of attitudes toward America and to stimulate discussion by exchanges of opinions. All the discussions were carried on in Korean which is the natural language of conversation in this group. The incomplete sentence form was constructed in Korean to find out deeper and more private feelings toward America which, it was
thought, might not appear in the group discussions. The use of Korean in the discussions and in the incomplete sentence forms aided the subjects to express feelings with ease, for most of them were handicapped in expressing themselves freely in English.

It was found during the observation that the subjects tended to evaluate America emotionally by categorizing American behavior as either "good" or "bad". Their inclination to polarize in their evaluation of America motivated the writer to analyze the responses on the basis of degrees of favorableness or unfavorableness of the attitudes toward America. Therefore, attitudes toward America were measured in terms of the frequency with which friendly or hostile feelings toward America were expressed in responses to questions concerning their evaluations of America and its culture. The subjects were then classified into three groups in terms of similar scores for the positive responses to the questions concerning America in the group discussions and on the incomplete sentence form.

The Koreans in the United States share many common characteristics such as; upper class origin, college level of education, they belong to the same age group, they have a similar degree of familiarity and identification with America, etc. However, in view of the differences in attitudes found, it was anticipated that within the narrow range of differences in their social backgrounds, some variables would be found which would have some bearing on the variation in attitudes which does exist. Due to the higher status of women in America as compared with that in Korea, female students were expected to have attitudes
significantly different from those of male students. The hypothesis, then, with which this research was undertaken, may be stated as follow: women students will feel more friendly and positive toward America than men students. Furthermore, one who has been in the United States longer will have more favorable attitudes toward America than one who has been in the United States for a short period. Failures in academic and social adjustment, e.g., language handicaps, poor grades, financial stress, and lack of skills required for employment, may be related to unfavorable attitudes toward America.

Background of the Problem

Since the formation of attitude of one nation towards another largely depends on the politico-social relationships between the two nations, it is necessary to describe the politico-social background of the problem which is presented in this thesis by explaining how the formation of the attitudes of the Koreans toward America and Americanization came about. The discussion is focused on the significance and consequences of the United States military occupation of Korea between 1945 and 1949 for this is the period during which the problem concerning America and Americanization became important for Korean society as a whole; the relationships between Korea and America before World War II and during the Korean War is described briefly.

Prior to World War II, Korea was under the domination of Japan. Consequently, the contact between Koreans and Americans was limited to the small numbers of Korean Christians and American missionaries.
During this period, the underground workers for the independence of Korea, many of whom were Christians, received moral support from the American missionaries. In fact, Korean Christians were identified as the group struggling against Japanese government. Many of these patriotic young men and women were the graduates of American mission high schools and colleges, some of whom were later sent by the American missionaries to America for higher education. Along with the men students, the women students who attended American mission schools displayed courage and strong faith in the Korean revolt against Japan in 1919. The American missionaries were especially concerned with the improvement of the status of Korean women by giving them the first opportunity for a formal education, and built girls' high schools in greater numbers than those for boys. 1 Most of the leaders of the feminist movements as well as women in various professional fields received their education at one of these American schools in Korea. They learned the English language, Western arts and sciences, Christian religion, and American democracy in these institutions. Like other underprivileged and oppressed minority group, Korean women were much more susceptible to such Messianic doctrines as Christianity and Communism than the men because these doctrines, which promised equality and freedom to the subordinate sex were directed toward the weaker and oppressed social groups. 2


2. Ibid, p. 749.
Nevertheless, the primary objective of these women leaders of Korea prior to the end of World War II was the liberation of Korea from Japan, and the improvement of the status of women was their secondary objective. Thus, they were heroic and patriotic individuals with firm ideological convictions, who were successful in making a compromise between Korean and American ideologies, and were accepted and admired by the majority of Koreans.

During the period of the Japanese occupation, Americans acted as the protectors of the Korean Christians and patriots who were watched and persecuted by the Japanese authorities. Korean Christians then thought that Americans were sympathetic, sincere, and devoted Christians who had shown the politically afflicted Koreans the light of truth, hope, love, and courage.

In August 1945, United States military forces occupied Korea, South of the thirty-eighth parallel, and changed the Korean picture of America. Until then, Koreans looked up Americans as their spiritual and intellectual leaders who were eager to provide help for the independence and education of Koreans. Contrary to the previous picture of America, Koreans now were overwhelmed by the power and material extravagance of American soldiers, and were disappointed by their spiritual poverty and hedonistic behavior.

The extreme polarity of roles played by Americans in Korea, e.g., liberator-dominator, idealist-materialist, altruist-egoist, helped Koreans to form many contradictory and stereotypic pictures of America. Koreans admired Americans for giving them freedom, but at the same time envied and resented Americans for their power and wealth. On the one hand, they thought that Americans were humanistic, religious, generous,
and altruistic, and on the other hand, thought that they were immoral, individualistic, arrogant, and materialistic.

A year after the withdrawal of the United States military forces from South Korea in 1949, North Korea initiated the Korean War against South Korea. As a result of the appeal of the South Korean government to the United Nations for military aid to fight against the North Koreans, American soldiers were again stationed in South Korea to fight and die side by side with Korean youth. Besides performing military duties, American soldiers helped to provide thousands of war-orphans, refugees, and wounded Koreans with food, clothes, and shelter, and sponsored hundreds of Koreans students to come to America for continuation of their education. Thus, the picture of America, as powerful, rich, generous, and kind, was reinforced through the deeds of Americans in the Korean War.

On the basis of such stereotypic and ambivalent images of America, Koreans defined the meaning of "Americanization" in their own way. Americanization for them meant largely superficial, uncritical imitation of American ways of life. They were able to see only overt behavior of Americans and tried to imitate them by wearing Western clothes, driving cars, having cocktail and dancing parties, living in Western style houses; for women this included the wearing of lip-stick, having curly hair, etc. Hence, Americanization meant the ways of doing things like Americans on the assumption of the imitators that those ways of life were advanced and superior because the superior and powerful Americans behaved in such ways. Such unrealistic and emotional copying of American ways of life without sufficient knowledge and
understanding of American ideas, values, and sentiments were resented by some Koreans, especially by the older generations, by conservative nationalists, and by serious-minded intellectuals. Conflict of generations, and of social groups of different ideologies, and a confusion of norms which had already existed by rapid cultural change found a new expression and focus in Americanization as the results of shallow knowledge, misunderstanding, and indiscriminative imitations of Americans and their culture.3

Among the Koreans who uncritically imitated American ways of life, the young women who were drawn to the power and material wealth of America were most strongly criticized by the society. These young women who adopted everything visible which they conceived of as American ways, without ideological foundations, were considered as "sick", "colored" by American culture, "floating clouds", or America-infatuated creatures who behaved like Americans without understanding the meanings of their behavior.

However, powerful and rich America was the model after which Koreans sought during and after the United States military occupation of Korea. The Korean leaders of both of the United States military government up to 1949, and of the Republic of Korea afterwards were mostly American-educated men and women. Consequently, those men and women, whose desire was to be the leaders of Korea, came over to the United States for higher education and training which would accelerate

their social promotion upon their return to Korea. Especially, during the Korean War, thousands of Korean young people came to America where they could have the benefit of acquiring advanced training and techniques as well as enjoying peace and material comforts. According to a report of the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea, approximately three thousand students, including seven hundred women, came to the United States during the Korean War. The majority of these students were sponsored by American soldiers, or by various institutions and public or private organizations in the United States. Others came with their parents' support or through the sponsorship of the Korean government. These students were mostly college graduates or undergraduate students, including only a few older professional men, women, and government officials. They came to the United States for the preparation of their future careers but also in order to see America. It is natural for Korean women students, who had an insecure and inferior status in Korea, to be more particularly attracted by America for its freedom and security.

METHOD AND ANALYSIS

The materials of this study were gathered primarily by three different methods: uncontrolled participant observation, informal group discussion, and incomplete sentence blank. The subjects who participated in the informal discussions consisted of twelve male students of the Ohio State University, and twelve female students among whom six were students of the Ohio State University and four were temporary visitors in Columbus for the summer vacation from other colleges in Ohio while the remaining two had attended colleges in the Western states. Approximately, a month after the group discussions, incomplete sentence forms were sent by mail to all twenty-four students who had participated in the group discussions. Twenty-one out of twenty-four replies were received within a period of two weeks.

Being the members of the group of Korean students at the Ohio State University, the writer and her husband had many opportunities to observe most of the Korean students at the university after their arrival in Columbus. We have known all the subjects of this study personally for a period varying from several months to a year and half. We had many other advantages which would not have been available if we had not had access to the group. For example, subjects were unaware of our observation of their everyday behaviors since we were fully accepted as the members of the group. Moreover, we had access to deeper informations concerning their feelings toward America and American experiences for many of them personally expressed their problems and feelings to us at
various occasions. However, aside from these advantages, there were some disadvantages to being members of the group. Unavoidably, we would get ourselves emotionally involved with their problems thus affecting the objectivity of observing their behavior. At other times, we tended not to notice details and major behavior by taking them for granted. Also, we were handicapped by our positions and roles in the group which would have limited the extent and kinds of our participations with other members of the group. It is likely that we were excluded from activities and informations from younger and unmarried students for we were married and were advanced both in age and academic levels as compared with the majority students, who thus considered us their big sister and big brother. Similar to other groups of Oriental students, Korean student groups have a distinct social hierarchy based on age differences which defines the position and role of each student among other members of the group in a given social situation.

Six different group discussions were held either indoors or at social gatherings of the students. The discussions were always preceded by cooking, eating, or talking together. The discussion groups had two to five persons including members of both sexes for each group. The discussions were carried on by asking the participants open-ended questions, such as, "What were your first impressions of America?" "What do you think about the American dating system?" or "Why did you come to America?" All of the conversations were held in the Korean language so

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that the participants could talk more freely; the conversations were recorded on a tape recorder. At the beginning of the discussion, the participants were somewhat conscious of the tape recorder, but as the discussions continued, they talked as naturally and spontaneously as on any other social occasions. In fact, all the discussions were carried out with no apparent inhibitions of emotional expression, for the members of each discussion group usually consisted of closest friends, married or engaged couples. However, the following tendencies were observed; younger members of the group tended to conform with the opinions of the older ones, there was conformity of the less talkative with the more talkative students. This conformity of younger to the older is learned in the process of socialization in Korean society in which children are taught to be obedient to their elders who have authority over the younger and higher status.

The incomplete sentence blank was constructed in Korean to find out deeper and more private feelings about America and Americanization. The instruction for the blank and neutral stems, e.g., "Marriage .......", "Mother........", and "Men......." were taken from the college form of Rotter's incomplete sentence blank. 6 The America-content stems, e.g., "American culture.....", "Dating.......", "Most Americans think....." and the Korea-content stems, e.g., "Korean society.....", "I think that Koreans should.....", and "When I think about Korea....." were constructed for the specific purpose of this study. There were altogether fifty

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stems among which twenty-five had America-content, fifteen had Korea-content, and ten were "neutrals" i.e., neither America-content nor Korea-content stems. For the purpose of obscuring the primary intention of the blank, which is to find out their reactions toward America-content stems, the America-content, Korea-content, and neutral stems were arranged in alternation on the sheets. A page-long background data sheet was attached to the incomplete sentence form to obtain the following information about the subjects: sex, age, religion, father's occupation, length of stay in America, education received in Korea, major field of study, etc. It should be admitted that there were some difficulties and inadequacies in translating all the material from Korean into English, especially translation of Korean idioms and slang into English.

Having translated all the materials collected through group discussions and incomplete sentence form, responses to each question were arranged into several categories, and frequency counts were taken for each item. Since both group discussions and the incomplete sentence form consisted of unstructured forms of questions and stems, clear-cut categorization of responses was not always easy. But fortunately, I was able to categorize most of responses into three to five different kinds of answers for each question. Responses of both America content and Korea-content items were classified in terms of positive, negative, and neutral answers. 7 Positive responses were those by which subjects expressed favorable or friendly attitude toward America and

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Korea, e.g., "People of America ..... are kind," "People of America ..... are in general religious and cultured," or "Koreans ..... are talented people." "Korean men ..... have strong sense of loyalty and obligation to their friends." Negative responses were those which stated unfavorable or unfriendly attitude toward America and Korea, e.g., "American people's life ..... is too mechanical," "Americans ..... are egocistic, and are concerned with only immediate things of life," or "Koreans ..... are very dependent on other," "Korean society ..... has many evils and contradiction." Neutral responses were those which vaguely indicated positive or negative feelings toward America and Korea, or those which obviously had no emotional connotation, e.g., "This country ..... is very spacious," "Americanization ..... has both good and bad effects," or "Korean society ..... cannot be compared with American society for the two are completely different in character," "Koreans ..... vary according to individuals." Those items whose positive or negative characteristics had been already determined, e.g., "The best thing(s) about America ....." or "I think Koreans should ....." were analysed by contents rather than by positive or negative responses. And neutral items, e.g., neither America-content nor Korean-content, were also analysed according to content.

The subjects were then classified into three groups on the basis of similar scores for the positive responses to the America-content items, personal data, and the materials from the group discussions.
BACKGROUNDS OF THE SUBJECTS

Some social characteristics and adjustment patterns which have been found among the majority of the subjects are described in the following paragraphs. Knowledge of social background factors and patterns of adjustment to American life of the subjects would be helpful in understanding the principle results of the present study concerning relationships between attitudes toward America and social background factors. As was mentioned in the introductory chapter, a narrow range of differences in social backgrounds was found among the subjects.

Age

Of a total of twenty-four subjects, sixteen were between the age of twenty-four and twenty-six, four of the remaining eight were less than twenty-four years old and the other four were above twenty-six. The majority of the students had come to America after graduation from colleges and universities in Korea, for they believed that an educational background of college level as well as maturity were necessary for successful academic and social adjustments in America. However, due to the difference in standards between Korean colleges and American colleges and due to the language handicap, many graduates of Korean colleges entered American colleges as undergraduate transfer students.

Father's Occupation

Men of wealth and influence found it easier to send their children abroad for they could meet financial and legal requirements set up by the Korean government and by the American embassy; as a result it is only the children of wealthy parents, or those students who would be supported by generous American friends, who were able to overcome all
the obstacles, to come to America. Among the subjects of the present study, all but two male students had come from either professional families or those of businessmen. One-half of the subjects in this study received partial or complete financial support from their parents, while the remaining group received at least some assistance from American friends and various organizations and institutions in America.

Religion

The dominant religion of the subjects was Protestantism, mainly Methodism and Presbyterianism. Korean Christians, who represent about five percent of the total population, have more opportunities for contact with Americans and with American culture. As a result of this, Korean Christians are more progressive and liberal in their attitudes toward accepting patterns of other Christian nations. Among the twenty-four students, fourteen were affiliated with either Presbyterian or Methodist churches and the remaining ten subjects did not identify themselves with a religion.

Marital Status

Korean college students are seldom married. It is customary for them to postpone their marriage until after their graduation, for it is extremely difficult for the students to support their families in Korea. All of my subjects came to America unmarried. However, the Korean students often get married after they come to America. There were four married couples in the sample, all of whom had been married in Columbus, Ohio during the last year. This may be explained by several factors;
loneliness for family ties, the age of the subjects, freedom from interference of parents in marital selection and the economic prosperity of American society. A male student exclaimed in the group discussion, "I felt so bad when I saw an American family happily talking in the house, while I was cleaning windows for them during the vacation." Many others also expressed that the most difficult experience which they had had in America was a feeling of loneliness during the school holidays.

Age was also an important factor for their interest in marriage while they were in America. Most of the students came to America in their middle twenties and by the time they would finish their education in America they would be close to thirty years old. Students themselves as well as their parents were afraid that they might become old bachelors or bachelor girls. A girl, in the group discussion, said "When my younger sister wanted to come to America to study to be a dress designer, I told her not to come but to get married in Korea. If both of us would become old maids, it would give more worries to my mother."

In Korea, most marriages are arranged by the parents of the prospective husband and wife. Therefore, it is easier for the students to marry a person of their own choice with or without consent of their parents in America. Parents themselves gradually learn about the freedom, and independence given to youth in America and become more tolerant toward free marital selection of their children. "I changed my father's attitude toward children since I came to America. He would have never given me his consent for marriage to the man of my choice if I stayed
in Korea. But now he tries to understand me and does not say anything about my getting married to a man I picked in America. After I came to the United States, my father had also been Americanized," said a girl who was married to a man of her own choice in America.

Moreover, contrary to the Korean situation, in America married students can continue school without great difficulties due to convenient living conditions and the availability of well-paid part-time employment for both men and women students.

Areas of Specialization

Among the twenty-four students interviewed in this study, seventeen were specializing in the social sciences and humanities, and the remaining seven in the physical sciences and engineering. In Korea, men in political authority and business have more prestige and economic security than men of scientific knowledge and techniques. Among the twelve men, six were studying either political science or economics. They all expressed their ambition to become either statesmen or entrepreneurs. The following quotations are remarks of two male subjects studying political science and economics. "My greatest ambition is to become a great statesman and to unify North and South Korea." "I want to build something like the Empire State Building of the United States when I go back to Korea." However, in recent years, especially after the Korean War, the importance of the natural sciences and technology have been increasingly recognised by the Koreans. This
increasing interest in, and emphasis on, the natural sciences and technology are evidenced by the increasing numbers of students in the fields of engineering and natural sciences among the younger members and the new comers among the Korean students in America.

While most men were interested in politics and industry, all of the women subjects planned to teach when they would go back to Korea. They thought that a teaching career was more becoming for women and would be less criticized by those who would object to career women.

The Colleges Attended in Korea

Thirteen of the twenty-four subjects either graduated from or attended, American mission colleges. All but three of the women subjects attended the same American mission university for women in Korea. Among men, there were only four out of the total twelve who had attended the American mission university. The fact that most of the women students attended the same mission university in Korea is not at all a coincidence. In Korea, there are only two American mission universities, one for women and one for men. While men students have several other well known non-Christian universities among which they can select, women students have little choice of universities since there are only a few universities for women among which the largest one happens to have been established by American missionaries. In the beginning, only a few Christian women attended the university, but later, most of the women who wanted a college education have studied in this university which was not only the oldest but also the best known university for women in Korea. Korean colleges
are traditionally non-coeducational, although several men's universities have begun to admit only a few women students in recent years, the American mission university for women is still keeping a unisexual student body and accommodates a greater number of women students than any other of the coeducational university, or any other university for women in Korea.

Length of Residence in the United States

As I mentioned in the introductory chapter, the over-whelming majority of Korean students in America had come during and after the Korean War. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that all the subjects for the present study have come to America between 1953 and 1956. Among the total twenty-four students, eleven have been in America for two years, five for one year, and the remaining five for three years.

Purpose of Getting Education in the United States

Today, an American degree is one of the important personal assets among Korean intellectuals and leaders. Fourteen out of twenty-four respondents said that they came to America in order to have prestige and honor when they go back to Korea. Several students in the fields of education and the natural sciences expressed their desire to get the Ph. D. degrees in America, which would become the basis for social recognition and promotion in Korea. A male student asserted, "I came
because I saw many of my friends who had returned from America were being
promoted to higher positions, and thought that I should come to America
for higher education if I wanted to be something in Korea."
Subordination

There are some common patterns of adjustment made by the subjects. First of all, these students tended to associate only with Koreans with little or no desire to make American friends. Those students who had some personal contact with Americans usually associated with members of older age groups who acted as guardians to the students while they were in America. This tendency can be explained by the fact that Koreans are taught in their childhood to be dependent and to be obedient to the older and the superior, with reverence and humility. Having grown up in a society of rigid status system, Koreans tend to define social relations in terms of the dichotomy between superordination–subordination.

The Imaginary vs the Real America

During the first year in the United States, the subjects discovered discrepancies between the idealized or stereotypic pictures of America which were created by them when they were in Korea and the real America which they faced after they had come to the United States. In Korea, they had either very little or ambivalent images of America and dreamed that America was either an earthly paradise in which everybody was rich and everything was easy or where the sex morality was degenerate. By coming to the United States they found out that Americans were economical and modest in their daily life, and that American boys and girls were not so disorderly and free as they had thought when they were in Korea.
Furthermore, they were surprised to see Americans working and studying hard, wearing plain clothing to school and to the office, and doing housework by themselves. The following statement which was made by a female student illustrates the discovery of differences between what Koreans think about America and what they find out about America after they come to the United States, "I think that Korean girls in America do not even have any time left to lead an immoral and degenerate life for they are so busy with study and work. But my parents think that girls in America are bad, and tell me not to be contaminated in every letter they write to me." A male student also made a remark on his discovery of an entirely different picture of America since he came to the United States, "Koreans think that we learn more bad things from Americans, but I have found out that many Koreans learn more good things than bad things; I myself liked the gorgeous ways of living when I was in Korea, and always dressed well and played around, having parties all the time. But I don't want it anymore. In Korea, I could show off to others by having parties and wearing good clothes. But in America, nobody thinks of it as extraordinary or superior." The great anticipation of America which the students had when they were in Korea often resulted in high degrees of disappointment after they found out the reality of American society. Many of the students said in their group discussions that they were very disappointed to learn that the streets in America were also dirty, not all the houses in America looked like mansions, that America also had poverty and theft, that life in America was hard, and that Americans
were not as generous or sympathetic as they had thought them to be. In
the incomplete sentence blank, fifteen out of the total twenty-one
subjects who had filled out the form said that their present life was
harder than they had anticipated.

Marginality

Marginality generally characterized those of the subjects who had
been in the United States for more than two years. The word "marginality"
is used here to describe a condition which frequently describes the
members of minority groups are in and which is characterized by a loss
of allegiance brought about by multiplicity of roles and group
identifications. Many students in their second and third years in
the United States had characteristics which were similar to American
minority group members, and were inconsistent in acceptance or rejection
of American values which was caused by their gradual but partial
internalization of the dominant cultural values of America. They thought
that since Americans were cooperative, industrious, responsible, and
independent, it was good for them to become cooperative, industrious,
responsible and independent. The following responses were made by some
subjects when they used the stem "Koreans ....." in the incomplete
sentence blank: "Koreans ..... are superior as individuals, but cause
much trouble as a group." "Koreans ..... are in general irresponsible
and lazy." "Koreans ..... depend on others too much." Also they tended

8. Seeman, Melvin, Adjustments of Minority Status and Intellectual
Perspective, The Ohio State University, 1955, p. 3.
to judge Koreans on the basis of American standards in the group discussions: "I don't understand why Koreans want higher degrees when most Americans do not." "Despite the fact that Americans live practically and economically, Koreans are still materially vain and do not have a sense of economy." They not only adopted the majority's definitions of the minority group status, but they over-reacted against their status thus reposeulating the stereotypes set up by the majority. The following quotations are some of expressions of their emotional insecurity which had been created by their experiences similar to a minority group status in America; these responses were made to the stem "I think that Koreans should ......" in the incomplete sentence blank:

The following remarks were made by those who overreacted against the stem "I think that Koreans should ......" by leaving out "should" in the stem. "I think that Koreans ...... are not any different from other people for people everywhere are same." "I think that Koreans ...... are not savages." Their divided allegiance between Korea and America was well reflected by the discrepancy between what they said in the incomplete sentence blank and how they actually behaved at a farewell party for those who were going back to Korea. Nine out of ten said that they did not desire to live permanently in America, and said that they would go back to Korea as soon as they would finish their education in America. But from my observation of their actual behavior, many of them

were afraid of going back to Korea because of the hardships which they face, the threat of war, and the economic instability of the country and many have shown their desire to stay in America to work if it were possible. The following conversation took place during a farewell party for two Koreans who were going back to Korea due to the expiration of their visa. A and C are the ones who were going back to Korea within a few days, and B and D are the ones who were going to stay in America. Three out of four speakers are male students and one male visitor.

A. "What can I do after I return to Korea? I don't really know whether I will be able to get any job, for they say that it is very hard to get jobs in Korea now. And even if I will get a job, how can I support myself and my family with that low salary?"

B. "You can make some extra money by opening a small business."

A. "What are you saying? It is almost impossible to have two jobs in Korea. Besides, do you think anybody can make money by opening a business?"

C. "American missionaries in Korea say that they don't want to send any Koreans to America for they know that nobody will want to return to Korea once they come to America, and few Koreans who did come back to Korea could not find any decent jobs."

C. "When do you think you will be coming back to Korea?"

D. "I don't know, but if I will be unfortunate, I may have to return next summer."

C. "What do you mean by 'if I will be unfortunate?' You should be
glad to come back home, and say, 'If I will be fortunate, I will return to Korea next summer.' Anyway, finish up quickly, and come back as soon as possible."

A, B, and D were students and C was an older man who was visiting America in order to observe hospital administration.
DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUBJECTS INTO A CONTINUUM OF THE MOST FAVORABLE TO THE LEAST FAVORABLE ATTITUDES TOWARD AMERICA

Twenty-one subjects who had participated in group discussions and who had also filled out the incomplete sentence blank were classified into three groups. This classification was primarily based on the responses of the America-content stems in the incomplete sentence blank with the materials from the group discussions and background data as supplementary references. The scoring method used for the incomplete sentence blank was as follows:

1. Fifteen America-content stems were selected from the incomplete sentence blank, omitting other America-content items whose positive or negative elements had already been determined, e.g., "The best things about America ......." or "The worst things about America ..."

2. Responses of the fifteen America content items were classified into three categories: positive or friendly, negative or hostile, and neutral or undecided.

3. One point was scored for each positive response.

4. The total score for positive responses was obtained for each individual. The ranges of scores of positive responses for each group were 11-13 for group I, 4-9 for group II, and 0-3 for group III.

Group I consisted of five female students who had most favorable attitudes toward America. Group II included eight male students and six female students. These people had considerable amount of ambivalent
feelings toward America and made contradictory and inconsistent responses from one situation to another. Group III included two male subjects who either rejected everything about America or avoided giving honest opinions about America, camouflaging their true feelings by humorous remarks. Here in this classification, sex difference in attitudes toward America is indicated by the fact that those in the first group are all women whereas those in the last group are all men.

Subjects in group I had some distinctive characteristics and background factors which may explain their most favorable attitudes toward America. First of all, group I consisted entirely of female subjects whose parents had more liberal attitudes toward sending their daughters to America than parents of other groups. Three of the five subjects said that their parents, especially their mothers, insisted upon sending their daughters to America for higher education. The mothers themselves had long suppressed desires to get away from cultural pressures and traditions, and wanted their daughters to have opportunities for self-realization. One of the subject told how her older sister and she were persuaded by their ambitious mother. "Although my sister did not want to come to America, my mother insisted that she should study in America. My sister at last agreed and promised to study for two years in America for a master's degree, and went right back to Korea after the term was over. My mother also wants me to get advanced degrees while I am in America, and does not let me come home without them." It is interesting to find that mothers were more liberal and anxious to send their
daughters to America than their fathers. Two out of five girls said that their fathers and brothers were not very pleased with the idea of girls coming to America. Said a girl in the group discussion whose father was a high government official in Korea, "My father wanted me to stay in Korea and get married. He got very bad impressions of the Korean girls in America when he visited America. At one occasion, girls did not stand to greet him when he was introduced to them. He thinks that Korean girls become degenerate and lawless in America. My uncle also said that unless she is really talented and is firmly determined to study hard, a Korean girl should not come to America."

All but one came from Christian families, and had close associations with Americans both in Korea and in America. In fact, four girls came to America through the sponsorship of American church organizations and of American friends. All five girls graduated from the American mission university for women in Korea. However, having attended the same university in Korea is not a significant factor of differentiation here, since all but three women subjects attended the American mission university for women.

The subjects in group I had another characteristic which was different from other groups. They had been in America for a longer period than the subjects in other groups. Three out of five girls had been in America for three to four years. They had had more personal contacts with Americans and were more familiar with customs in America.

Consequently, they had stronger attachments to America, and
expressed their admiration for America whenever they had an opportunity. America offered them things which were beyond their reach in Korea, e.g., freedom, peace, comfort, and educational and professional opportunities. They constantly told of how much they had learned from Americans and how eager they were to change Korea to become like America. One girl exclaimed in the group discussion, "I think that there are so many things which we should learn from America. Japan was the only clever country in the whole of Asia to adopt Western knowledge and techniques. China and Korea had held on to their past too much. And this is why we have not made much progress so far. We should learn everything good from an advanced country without any hesitation." They not only praised Americans but criticised Koreans by making comparisons between them. One of them made the following remarks when asked how she thought about Americans, "I like the fact that Americans are independent. Koreans depend on others. If one has money in Korea, his relatives expect to get some share from him."

Group II which is to be discussed next consisted of those individuals who were more critical and ambivalent in evaluating America than those in group I. They were the skeptics who did not take things for granted as did the subjects in group I. They desired to discover the reality of American society through their own experiences in America. When asked why they had decided to come to America, a girl in this group noted "I heard so much about America when I was in Korea. And I wanted to find out by myself what America was like."

The subjects in group II had social backgrounds somewhat
different from those in group I. First of all, they came from
families of lower social prestige as compared to group I, and their
parents were more conservative than those of group I. Only three out
of fourteen were from professional families as compared to three out
five in group I. Many of those in group II came to America by their own
efforts without initiative or assistance from their parents. They
themselves made the acquaintance of American missionaries and soldiers
through whom they obtained scholarships and other financial grants
from various organizations in America. The following quotations show
their initiative and independence: "I tried everything by myself through
friends. My parents did not help me at all until the last minute,"
answered a male subject. "I tried secretly by myself through a friend,
and told my parents when I was about to get a visa. My father objected
very much, but finally gave in and said 'If you are capable of doing
things by yourself, you may go.' He had always been so stubborn and
conservative," noted a female subject.

Fewer of the subjects in group II, as compared to those in group I,
had relatives who had been in America. Only four out of the total four-
teen said that one or more of their relatives had been in America.
Therefore, they were looked upon by their families as successful pioneers
who surpassed their parents and other members of the family. Some of
them even arranged to bring their brothers and sisters to America.

Not only were the subjects in group II mobile and ambitious but
they were also critical and ambivalent toward America. They cherished
Americans for being industrious, independent, sociable, economical, efficient, religious, cultured, practical, generous, or understanding, and at the same time denounced them for being busy, other-directed, calculative, materialistic, business-minded, pleasure-seeking, anti-intellectual, prejudiced, egoistic, etc. For example, one female subject said that she liked the natural hetero-sexual relationship of Americans in one response but said in another that she could not understand the dating system of American college students. A male subject had ambivalent feeling toward American women and said that they were pleasant and kind but at the same time they lacked feminine virtues. All of them had conflicting attitudes towards American family. They thought that it was good for American parents to treat their children as their equals, but also noted that American children should be taught to be more obedient to their parents. A female subject made it clear when she said "American parents do not have strong influence over their children. American children are being more influenced by outside authorities such as school and church than parents."

Nevertheless, subjects in group II were more aware of contradictions and dilemmas in American society than those in group I. They frequently pointed out the gaps between American ideals and the realities. A male subject thought that social mobility in American society was an illusion which did not actually exist for every individual. He asserted, "----- Especially, those with no skills are forced to stay with a job even though they would like to get better jobs." A female subject attacked
American employers' discrimination against minority group members.

"It was hard for me to get jobs for I was a foreigner. And even after I was employed, they tried to find some defects in me, like inadequacy of my English which does not have anything to do with my job." They were, especially, critical about Americans' discrimination against minority group members with whom they identified themselves.

Group III consists of two boys who had extremely negative attitudes toward America. Their score of positive responses to the fifteen America-content items ranged from zero to three. Their opinions about America were consistently resistant, sarcastic, and were evasive as to expression of any honest feelings. The following remarks which they made in the incomplete sentence form and the group discussion will illustrate their extreme negativism.

Examples of their responses to the incomplete sentence blank are "What's about this country? Why do you ask so many questions?" "Only God and I know what I have done in America." "What I have experienced in America is dishwashing." "I have no American friends. How can a gentleman from a Eastern country of manners associate with savage foreigners?"

In the group discussion, when one of them was asked why he came to America, he turned to another boy and said "How about you? Why did you come to America, to get education or to become a laborer?" (Both boys were working at a factory to support themselves in America.)

They were dissatisfied with their present life and were more
drawn to their past life. They revealed a deep attachment to their past life in Korea by utilizing many Korea-content stems. Said one boy, "While I was in Korea, I led a life which was described in the poem which said, 'Let's have fun, while we are still young, for we would not be able to enjoy life when we get old.'" "It is everything to me if I can once more drink and play in my home country," said another. They were Epicureans who longed for leisure and luxury. Consequently, they were less prepared to face hardships in America, and were resentful of academic difficulties and financial problems. The following quotations are their responses to some of the stems of the incomplete sentence form: "This school ..... is a living hell for one like me who has no money and no ability to study." "This school ..... is no good for foreign students." "Work ..... I don't know how I can live for it is too hard to find a work here." "Work ..... It is true even in America that social hierarchy is set up by the nature of one's work. I as a student in political science console myself for having such a low class job believing that I should know the back allies and bottom of society in order to be a real politician." "The difficulties which I have had since I came to America ..... are financial problems and school lessons." "The difficulties which I have had since I came to America ..... are money and hard labor."

Another common characteristics of these two boys was their strong resistance against personal contact with Americans. They mentioned frequently how they had closely associated with American soldiers in Korea by entertaining them with parties. The change in their attitude
toward Americans may be explained by their resentment of hardships
and personal inadequacy which they had experienced in the United
States. Said one boy "I have become eccentric, dumb, and heartless in
America."

Their extreme rejection of America is well expressed when they
said "There is nothing which I like about America." "I want to leave
America as soon as possible." They rationalized their own failures and
dissatisfaction by blaming America. They were so overcome by financial
and academic difficulties that they saw everything with negative emotion-
ality.
SEX DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD AMERICA AND AMERICANIZATION

Among the background factors such as sex, age, religion, etc., which were found to be related to varying degrees of friendliness of the subjects toward America, sex was found to be the most significant. The sex difference in attitudes toward America and Americanization may be explained in terms of different expectations which they had toward America when they were in Korea, and new sex roles experienced in the United States by both sexes.

Although both the men and the women students came to America primarily for obtaining higher education, there was some differences in expectations with regard to other spheres of American life. Men students, in general, wished to get an education in America for the preparation of their future careers. On the other hand, women students anticipated higher status and freedom given to women in America in addition to their desire for acquiring education. Said a woman student who was going back to Korea with in few days "When I was in Korea ...... I had a great longing for America. And after having been here for about four years, I still have the same longing for her." In fact, eight out of eleven women noted their pining for America in responses to incomplete sentence blank stem "When I was in Korea ......" while men students said that they had little knowledge and few thought about America when they were in Korea.

After they come to America, these students learn American sex
roles by observing the behaviors of American students on the campus, by visiting American families, or by living with Americans at dormitories, American homes, and other living quarters. Both men and women students learned American sex roles by observations rather than by participations for inter-racial dating and inter-racial marriage were non-existent among the subjects.

The greater degree of freedom and higher status of women which the women students observed in America caused them to be better motivated and adjusted to the American patterns of heterosexual behavior than the men students. The men students felt awkward and resentful in adopting the roles of American men and in response to the roles of American women. Especially, newly arrived men students were greatly shocked to see Korean women sitting down when guests were introduced to them, for, in Korea, it is customary for women to stand up and lower their heads to male guests. A male student who had been in America for less than a year exclaimed "Korean girls in America demand too much from Korean boys. This is why I object to Korean girls dating with American boys for they will learn to be waited on and be helped by men. My parents told me that I should learn to do house work, for Korean husbands like Americans, have to help their wives in the future. And I wrote back to them and said that if I marry, I would not even touch a dish."

Men were afraid that women students who have experienced polite and kind manners of American men will be even more dissatisfied with Korean men and with the social pressures on women in Korea. A great
majority of women believed that American men were more considerate, kind, cultured, and better husbands whereas Korean men were proud, unsociable, cruel, and rude to women. Hence, women thought that it was desirable for Korean men to learn how to behave toward women from American men while they were in America. This discrepancy between women's demands on men and men's resistance against behaving like American men was one of the reasons which created conflict between men and women students. For women, it was a self-enhancing and wish-fulfilling experience, but for men, it was a self-abusing experience to adopt American pattern of heterosexual relationship. Men resented women students for behaving like American women, and Korean women rejected Korean men for not behaving like American men. It was indeed a gratifying experience for Korean women who had been long oppressed by men to feel that they were better off in America. Consequently, women felt more at home in America than men, and had more personal contacts with Americans than the men. Women were also more concerned with their not being able to cope with American women in language skills and social techniques while men were more anxious about financial and academic difficulties. In fact, four out of eleven men said that they did not have any Americans whom they considered friends when asked whether they had any American friends.

In both the incomplete sentence blank and group discussion materials, women were far more in favor of Americans and Americanization. Women emphasised the fact that Americans were kind, responsible, independent,
and hard-working people from whom they had much to learn. On the other hand, men tended to praise the technological advancement of America, and more frequently criticized Americans for being shallow, arrogant, easy-going, and calculative. It was interesting to note how they sought for outlets to express their suppressed aggressions toward Americans. Here too, the frequency of utilizing incomplete sentence blanks stems to express their aggression toward Americans was greater for men than women. In response to the stem "Most Americans think ....", eight out of ten men and five out of ten women said that Americans thought Koreans as backward and poverty-stricken. The following quotations are some of the responses to the stem "Most Americans think ...."

Responses of male students: "Most Americans think ..... that they are the most civilized people in the world." "Most Americans think ..... that Korean students are all beggars."

Responses of female students: "Most Americans think ..... that Korea is a backward country, and it sometimes makes me furious." "Most Americans think ..... that Koreans are ignorant, poor, and miserable souls."

In regard to their attitudes toward Americanization, women were also more positive and willing to accept and learn American ways of life when men tended to emphasize acquiring of scientific knowledge and techniques from Americans. The great majority of women said that they learned how to work hard, to be independent, to be sociable, and to be economical while they were in America, and less than half of
the men made similar remarks. Men students stated that what they had
learned in America were formal lessons, such as foreign languages,
social and natural sciences, and technology.
CONCLUSION

The main objective of this study was to discover the attitudes of the Korean college students in America toward America and to see whether there were any relationships between one's attitude toward America and one's social background including such factors as sex, age, religion, length of residence in the United States, father's occupation, field of specialization and others.

The study revealed that the group of Korean students at the Ohio State University and nearby colleges were relatively homogeneous in their social backgrounds. However, there were some variations in their social backgrounds and in degrees of favorable and hostile feelings toward America among the sample. It was found that women students in general were more attracted by America and had a greater degree of favorable attitudes toward America than men students. Men students were more interested in gaining general and technical knowledge from America whereas women students were more susceptible to American customs and values. This significant difference of the sexes in their attitudes toward America may be explained in terms of different expectations which the male and the female students had toward America when they were in Korea, and the new sex roles experienced in the United States by both sexes. For the women, it was a self-enhancing and wish-fulfilling experience, and for the men it was a self-abasing experience to adjust to the American pattern of heterosexual relationship.
Those subjects who had most favorable attitudes toward America were females. Their parents were mainly professional people who had liberal attitudes toward sending their children to America. Furthermore, these subjects were Christians who attended American mission university in Korea. Also, they were the ones who had been in the United States for longest period.

On the contrary, those students who were ambivalent and less favorable toward America were males. They were children of either business men or professional men whose parents held less liberal attitudes toward American education. Many of these subjects had non-Christian family backgrounds and had attended non-Christian universities in Korea. They had been in America for shorter periods of time than those who were most favorable toward America.

Extreme negative attitudes toward America were held by those who were oriented toward immediate gratification and who were overcome by academic and financial difficulties in America.

It would be worthwhile for some one from outside the group to do a similar study to see whether the Korean students in America would reveal the same feelings as they did to the member of their own group. Since the sex difference in attitudes toward America was the important feature of this study, it would be interesting to study changing attitudes of men and women students toward America after they return to Korea.
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FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL BACKGROUND DATA

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<th>Sex</th>
<th>Father's Occupation</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>College in Korea</th>
<th>Major</th>
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Social Background by Group

Group I
- Male: 0
- Female: 5
- Professional: 3
- Business: 2
- Farmers: 0
- No Response: 0
- No Religion: 1
- Mission College: 4
- Non-Mission College: 6
- Humanities: 3
- Social Sciences: 1
- Natural Sciences: 3
- U. S. years: 1 1 2

Group II
- Male: 8
- Female: 6
- Professional: 3
- Business: 4
- Farmers: 5
- No Response: 2
- No Religion: 9
- Mission College: 5
- Non-Mission College: 9
- Humanities: 0
- Social Sciences: 10
- Natural Sciences: 4
- U. S. years: 4 3

Group III
- Male: 2
- Female: 0
- Professional: 2
- Business: 0
- Farmers: 0
- No Response: 0
- No Religion: 1
- Mission College: 2
- Non-Mission College: 0
- Humanities: 2
- Social Sciences: 0
- Natural Sciences: 0
- U. S. years: 0 0
GUIDE FOR THE GROUP DISCUSSIONS

I. Purpose of Coming to America
   A. What motivated you to come to America?
   B. How did your parents think about your coming to America?

II. Life in America
   A. How would you evaluate your life in America as a whole?
   B. What do you do at your leisure time?
   C. Can you tell me any specific aspects or events which made you happy?
   D. What were the things which made you unpleasant or worried?

III. Feelings Toward America
   A. How did you think about America when you were in Korea?
   B. What was your first impression of America?
   C. What do you think about America now?
   D. What are merits and defects of America?

IV. American Sex Roles
   A. What do you think about American dating system?
   B. What do you think about roles of American men?
   C. What do you think about roles of American women?
   D. What should Korean men learn from American men?
   E. What should Korean men not learn from American men?
   F. What should Korean women learn from American women?
   G. What should Korean women not learn from American women?
APPENDIX III
September 24, 1956

Dear Friends:

I am doing a study on Korean students at Ohio State University for my master's thesis, and would appreciate very much if you would contribute the informations which I would need for my study. Your answers combined with those from many other Korean students will be a great contribution for understanding some situations of Korean students in America.

There are two sections in this booklet. Instructions precede each section. Please read the instructions carefully, and answer ALL of the items in each section. There are no right or wrong answers. I just want your honest answer on each item.

Please return this to me as soon as possible. I would be very grateful if you would fill this out within a couple of days and mail it (to be) right away.

Thank you very much for your help in this study.

Sincerely yours,

Alice Y. Chai
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Home Address:
110 E. Woodruff Ave.
Columbus 1, Ohio
Telephone: AX4-4288
Please complete these sentences to express your real feelings. Try to do every one. Be sure to make a complete sentence.

1. When I was in Korea ..... 
2. Most Americans think that ..... 
3. Korean students in America ..... 
4. Money ..... 
5. If I go back home ..... 
6. American women ..... 
7. This school ..... 
8. Americanization ..... 
9. Work ..... 
10. Koreans ..... 
11. If I finish education in America ..... 
12. Most American men ..... 
13. My present life ..... 
14. Korea's future ..... 
15. If I could live permanently in America ..... 
16. Dating ..... 
17. Material comforts ..... 
18. Korean girls in America ..... 
19. American people's life ..... 
20. The most important thing in life ..... 
21. What I have experienced in America ..... 

- 50 -
22. Education ......
23. Most Korean men ......
24. The best thing about America ......
25. Americans whom I know (well) ......
26. Most women ......
27. The Korean society ......
28. I think that Koreans should ......
29. This country ......
30. What I have learned in America ......
31. Men ......
32. When I think about Korea ......
33. American culture ......
34. Marriage ......
35. Difficulties which I have had since I came to America ......
36. This city ......
37. While I am in America ......
38. Back home ......
39. Korean men in America ......
40. In America, I ......
41. Mother ......
42. American family ......
43. My greatest ambition ......
44. My father ......
45. People of America ......
47. America educated Korean women

48. The longer I stay in America

49. Development of Korea

50. An American university
PERSONAL DATA

The following information is necessary for the analysis of data obtained from interviews and other sections of this questionnaire. It will not be used in any other way. For each of the following items, please check with X mark or write the appropriate answer.

1. Male____ Female____
2. Age____
3. Religion ________
4. Father's Occupation ________
5. How many older brothers? ______ How many younger brothers? ______
   How many older sisters? ______ How many younger sisters? ______
6. Have any of the following relatives been to America?
   Father ______ Mother ______ Older Brothers ______
   Older Sisters ______ Younger Brothers ______ Younger Sisters ______
   Wife ______ Husband ______
7. How long have you been in America? ______
8. Last School Attended in Korea
   Name of School ______________
   Degree Completed ______________
   Year Completed ______________
9. The Area of Specialization at the Present ______________
10. What year are you in at the present? ______________
11. Degree Sought at the Present ______________
    Highest Degree Sought for the Future ______________
12. Membership of Organizations in America
   Name of Organizations ______________
   Date of Joining Memberships ______________