Conflict Management by Fathers and Sons:
A Qualitative Analysis of Korean Americans

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Abstract

Though research has been performed in the realms of family communication and cultural communication as separate entities, little has been done to merge these two fields together. This paper, in analyzing the conflict styles of fathers and sons who have been raised in two different cultures with dissimilar values, attempts to bridge that gap. With the purpose in mind of generating underlying meaning in this topic area, I made use of ethnographic tools. Through interviewing three Korean father/son dyads and one Korean son who are all currently living in the United States, I have been able to shed light on which styles of conflict fathers make use of, whether or not their sons adopt those conflict styles, and, ultimately, whether the likelihood of the sons adopting the conflict styles of their fathers changes if those styles differ from those characterized as used most frequently by males in the United States. Though I found varying results, in that the conflict styles of some of the sons resemble their fathers’ other-oriented approaches, while others do not, it seems as though a shift towards more individualistic, competitive values may be occurring in this younger generation. The implications of this finding remain to be seen as the sons become older and get a more definitive grasp on their identities.
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As an increasing number of Koreans are migrating to the United States, which has the largest overseas Korean population in the world, it is becoming increasingly important to study the dynamics of and find out how families who have resettled into this dissimilar culture and way of life adapt to such changes (Choi, 2003). The 2007 U.S. Census Bureau survey reported that there are more than 1.5 million Koreans living in America, making these individuals viable subjects for a study attempting to gain insight into cultural differences in values, beliefs, and behaviors.

According to Hofstede (2004) and his cultural dimensions, South Koreans—traditionally viewed as collectivists—and Americans—traditionally viewed as individualists—are unlike each other in fundamental ways; more specifically, and most pertinent to this study, they differ in the ways in which they handle conflict, making members of these countries, or those originally from, them ideal participants in a study comparing conflict styles.

Because Koreans and Americans seem to have varying ways of managing conflict and communicating, I believe that it is essential to look at the interplay between norms and the prescribed gender roles and behaviors based on those norms. Due to the fact that the ways in which conflict is managed and family members communicate with one another are especially relevant when children become a part of families, most relevant to this study are the gender roles and behaviors within them. The 2007 Census Bureau survey reported that of the nearly 340,000 Korean family households, approximately 120,000 are home to children 18 years old and younger.
This fact provides the basis for the overarching question this study hopes to address: how likely are sons to mimic the conflict styles of their fathers—first generation immigrants—when these conflict styles may present an inconsistency between the ideas of gender, culture, and social norms? Though females and their development of conflict styles in differing cultural contexts is a point of interest, it is the perceived contrast in the ways in which males of Korean and American cultures handle conflict makes for an interesting analysis. The subsequent literature review will conceptualize the ideas relevant to such a study, the method section will outline how I made use of ethnographic tools to understand how fathers and sons manage conflict, and the findings section will reveal the ways in which living in America may be causing a shift in values and behaviors in Korean males.

**Literature Review**

The following sections will present the framework for this study’s inquiry by chronicling past studies and addressing the concepts of cultural dimensions (Hofstede, 1993), conflict styles (Rahim, 1983), and social learning theory (Bandura, 1977). More specifically, links will be drawn among individualistic cultures and a dominating conflict style, collective cultures and a compromising or accommodating conflict style, and the way in which these respective cultural behaviors and argument management techniques are learned by younger generations.

**Cultural Dimensions**

Hofstede (1993) developed four cultural dimensions that give insight into the reasons individuals from the same country or culture develop similar attitudes, values, and behaviors. Of the four dimensions (individualism/collectivism, masculinity/femininity, power distance, and uncertainty avoidance), the one that is most pertinent to the present study is individualism/collectivism, which is linked to masculinity/femininity. Hofstede (1993), through
the analysis of ten countries, has suggested that individualistic cultures, which root identity in the self, tend to be masculine cultures, which value competition, among other things. The analysis also suggested that collectivist cultures, which root identity in the group, tend to be feminine cultures, which value harmony and relationships with others.

In her study on the influence of masculinity/femininity on cross-cultural facework, Merkin (2005) found that individuals from masculine cultures use more direct and competitive forms of communication in order to save face more so than individuals from feminine cultures. Additionally, she found support for the idea that masculine cultures seem to adhere to more individualistic ideas rather than collectivist ones, therefore connecting masculine cultures to individualistic cultures. Oetzel and Ting-Toomey (2003) also examined facework in their study on the link between independent self and concern for self-face, and interdependent self and other-face. They found statistically significant results that correlated these respective relationships. More specifically, there was a relationship between viewing the self as independent and having concern for self, as well as between viewing the self as interdependent and having a concern for the other. In a separate research study, Kim, Lee, Kim, and Hunter (2004) found concurring results.

In summary, collectivist cultures, whose feminine ideals may lead them to value harmony in their relationships, have more of a concern for the other than for the self, while individualist cultures, whose masculine ideals may lead them to value competition, have more of a concern for the self than the other. Moreover, it can be argued that these ideals and concerns in turn affect the conflict management techniques an individual utilizes when faced with some disagreement or inconsistency.

**Conflict Styles**
Research demonstrates that the cultural dimensions of individualism/collectivism have a direct impact on the conflict style an individual adopts when facing some kind of disagreement (Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003). Conflict has been conceptualized by several scholars in past years. Ting-Toomey (1994) defines conflict as “the perceived and/or actual incompatibility of values, expectations, processes, or outcomes between two or more parties over substantive and/or relational issues” (p. 360). These substantive and/or relational issues include, but are not limited to, goals these parties perceive to be contrary or resources they perceive to be insufficient (Hocker & Wilmot, 1995).

Based on these previously developed conceptualizations and influenced by their meanings, the definition of conflict that is going to be utilized in the present study is as follows: the situation that occurs when two or more parties find their attitudes and/or behaviors to be presently irreconcilable. In order to respond to this kind of situation, individuals make use of one or more conflict styles.

Derived from the models developed by Blake and Mouton (1964) and Thomas (1976), Rahim (1983) created a way of thinking of the five different conflict styles based on the dimensions of self-concern and concern for the other. These conflict styles include integrating, compromising, obliging, avoiding, and dominating. Although there is some variance in these terms and their models as they are used in different studies (e.g., integrating is termed collaborating, obliging is termed accommodating, and dominating is termed demanding; Dumlao & Botta, 2000; Shearman & Dumlao, 2006), the styles of Rahim’s original scale are going to be utilized in the present study (see Figure 1, Appendix A). The integrating style holds both the self and the other in high concern; the compromising style holds both the self and the other in moderate concern; the obliging style encompasses low self concern and high other concern; the
avoiding style encompasses both low self and other concern; and the dominating style holds self concerns highly above other concerns (Rahim, 1983).

Research has found that American men, at least, prefer to make use of competing styles significantly more frequently than their female counterparts, who prefer to make use of compromising styles (Shockley-Zalabak & Morley, 1984). Based on the scale that Shockley-Zalabak and Morley (1984) utilized (collaborative, competitive, accommodative, avoiding, and compromising), the competitive style has been conceptualized in the way that Rahim (1983) conceptualized the dominating style.

Research performed by Kim, et al. (2004) at a multi-ethnic Hawaii university found that interdependent views of the self are correlated with other concern, which in turn is correlated with what the researchers referred to as avoiding/obliging and integrating/compromising styles of conflict. It was also found that independent views of the self, while not overwhelmingly related to self-concern, still predict dominating styles of conflict (Kim et al., 2004). Similarly, Oetzel and Ting-Toomey (2003) found a direct connection between self-concern and dominating conflict styles, and between other concern and avoiding and integrating conflict styles. Furthermore, Cai and Fink (2002) found that collectivists prefer both compromising and integrating conflict styles more so than their individualist counterparts.

Therefore, it can be argued that members of collectivist cultures (i.e., Korea) are more likely to make use of accommodating, compromising, collaborating, and even avoiding style than their individualistic counterparts (i.e., the United States). It is through Bandura’s (1977) social learning theory that we are better able to understand how individuals model and teach other, perhaps younger, members of their culture the norms, values, and beliefs that provide the basis for each of these conflict styles.
Social Learning Theory

Bandura’s (1977) social learning theory states that individuals learn values, beliefs, and behaviors through observing some kind of model—whether the model intends for that to be the case or not. In viewing the model’s actions, the potential learner, through the retention of information concerning the consequences—reward or punishment—the model faced, decides whether or not he will replicate this same behavior at a later time.

Smith (1982) expanded upon this idea of modeling and learned behavior by developing four factors associated with the process: similarity, self-efficacy, status, and multiple models. Similarity refers to the perceived degree of likeness the learner attributes to the potential model. It is believed that the more similar a learner believes the model to be to himself, and the more he views a behavior is rewarded, the more likely he will be to reproduce the behavior in his own situations. Additionally, the more perceived similarities there are, the more likely the learner will be to hold self-efficacy, or the belief that he can duplicate the behavior put forth by the model. Successful modeling also occurs when the model has high status or when there are multiple models. If an individual looks up to a particular person, or sees more than one person behaving in the same way, it is more likely that he will adopt the same behaviors (Smith, 1982).

Based on Smith’s (1982) factors, it can be argued that family members, if in regular contact with a child, are unavoidable models in his life, simply due to the fact that children most likely feel some similarity between themselves and their parents. Based on sex alone, it could also be argued that girls perceive more similarities between themselves and their mothers, while sons perceive more similarities between themselves and their fathers. In addition to perceived similarities, it is probable that children look up to their parents while growing up, thus making valid in the child’s eyes many of the behaviors his parents enact (Smith, 1982). If a child sees his
parent enacting certain conflict styles in an argument, he may store that information and use it later in his own conflicts.

Dumlao and Botta’s (2000) study on the conflict styles young adults use supports the idea that the environment in which children grow up in and the behaviors that they learn from their parents significantly impact their own conflict styles. Through interviewing over 200 college students, they found support for predictions that family communication patterns between fathers and their children were directly linked to the conflict styles those children utilize.

Dumao and Botta (2000) looked at the idea of conflict within the family, but researchers Whitton, et al. (2008) took this idea a step further and studied how children carry over to their romantic relationships what they have learned from their family in terms of attitudes and behaviors. Overall, their hypothesis was supported, in that they found that conflict patterns learned and practiced in the family of origin adequately predict the conflict patterns practiced in the romantic relationships of later life.

In a more recent discussion of social learning theory, Bandura (2001) points out that in the ever-increasing technology age, observers learn not only from their immediate surroundings (e.g., family, friends, school, job), but from the media (e.g., television, the internet, movies) as well. As children grow older, they begin to experience things outside the home and become exposed to different forms of media. Children may be taught that any one value, belief, or behavior is rewarding and the norm by their family members when in the home, only to discover through the media and other models outside the home that it is atypical.

Herein lies the importance of, and point of interest in, the present study: if children are faced with a dichotomy in terms of the conflict resolution styles that they see within their own
homes as compared to the conflict styles they see depicted within their current culture, it is not easily predicted which conflict style they themselves will choose to mimic.

The aim of this study is to discover how children, and more specifically sons, deal with the uncertainty that arises when the conflict styles they have observed and learned become inconsistent with cultural norms. Linking together the concepts of culture, conflict styles, and social learning theory, this research project hopes to answer the following:

- Do men from collectivist cultures use avoiding, accommodating, and compromising styles when dealing with conflict?
- Do sons model their own conflict style(s) after that/those of their fathers?
- Does the likelihood of adopting the conflict style of the same sex parent change if that same sex parent’s conflict style is not typical of those in the host culture?

These inquiries are significant, since the use of certain conflict styles may have gender stereotypes associated with them, creating issues for males especially. For example, Hofstede (1996) found that masculine cultures view kindness and tenderness and being feminine, and therefore undesirable. If individualistic, masculine cultures such as the United States view feminine attributes, such as practicing cooperative conflict styles, to be undesirable, it is important to ask what that means for male children who learn feminine conflict styles in a masculine society.

The following method section will give further details about how I explored this topic.

**Method**

In order to gain a deeper understanding of this phenomenon, I made use of ethnographic tools. The following sections will clarify the ethnographic research design, reveal the research
tools that I adapted for this project, expand upon who the participants of the study were, and explain the procedure of this investigation.

**Design**

Because the questions being investigated are wide in scope, and an accurate representation of this culture was desired, the ethnographic method of study was an ideal way to gather, record, and analyze the information. Ethnography is a qualitative approach to gaining a deeper understanding of a specific segment of a culture—a deeper understanding gained from interpreting the points of view and experiences had by those in the culture (Galman, 2007). As a qualitative approach, ethnography uses culture as a lens for understanding various groups or occurrences. This method of study allows researchers to move beyond the apparent and isolated happenings of a culture and instead move toward finding meaning in that culture.

Rather than gaining knowledge from participants with survey instruments or laboratory experiments, researchers utilizing ethnography engage with their participants in a more natural setting, such as the participants’ own living rooms. Because these researchers will not be getting their information from a survey that has been tested for validity and reliability, they must be attuned to their own subjectivity. Although researcher subjectivity cannot be entirely avoided, researchers must keep track of their assumptions as they are collecting their data (Galman, 2007).

The two main approaches of collecting data include observation and ethnographic interviews. For this particular project, I made use of ethnographic interviews. Although I began the interviews with structured, previously thought-out questions that were adapted from developed surveys (see sets of protocols, Appendices B and C), I was flexible in terms of addressing additional questions, depending on the responses that I received. As I intended to
explore the values, behaviors, and mannerisms of each father/son dyad with which I worked, I asked for elaboration when necessary and did not hesitate to pursue further lines of inquiry.

Going into the study having only prepared questions, and perhaps prepared expectations, has the potential to turn ethnographic research into more of a quantitative process. On the other hand, approaching the subjects with an open mind and the flexibility to move from topic to topic without restriction allows researchers to move beyond what is expected and perhaps discover the completely unexpected (Galman, 2007). In order to avoid potentially putting words in the mouths of my participants, as well as any biases with which I may have come into the situation, I regularly reflected their own words back to them as we conversed.

In order to examine both aspects of the proposed questions—type of society (individualistic or collectivist) and conflict styles (integrating, compromising, obliging, avoiding, and dominating)—questions from two previously published, separate surveys were adapted into conversational questions and answered during interviews by participants. These protocols were based on questions from two separate surveys, the Auckland Individualism and Collectivism Scale (AICS) (see Appendix D) and Rahim’s Organization Conflict Inventory-II (ROCI-II) (see Appendix E).

Although clearly set up for survey research, much was gained from using these questionnaires and scales in ethnographic research. Because statements from both of these survey instruments have been tested for validity and reliability, they served as logical bases for a set of protocols. Examining responses to these questions using a more open-ended approach allowed me to get past how respondents think they handle conflict and move towards why they deal with conflict situations the way that they do.
The AICS, developed by Shulruf, Hattie, and Dixon (2007) and based upon the scale developed by Oyserman et al. (2002), is a set of 30 items that addresses each of six factors: advice, harmony, closeness, competitiveness, uniqueness, and responsibility. According to the results of a study to measure the effectiveness of this new scale, advice and harmony related to collectivism; responsibility, unique, and competitiveness related to individualism; and closeness, which the researchers found to have the least reliability, was not included in the final results (Shulruf et al., 2007).

The ROCI-II, developed by Rahim (1983), is a 35-point scale that examines each of five conflict styles: integrating, compromising, obliging, avoiding, and dominating. A study of the ROCI-II performed by Rahim (1983) found it to have test-retest and internal consistency reliability and to lack social desirability or response distortion bias, rendering it an effective measurement tool for the present study.

**Participants**

The main goal of this project was to gain a deeper understanding of the differences between individualistic and collectivist cultures in terms of their respective conflict styles as they are utilized within specific Korean-American families. In order to do this, I gained access to this particular segment of society, sat down with willing participants, and attempted to get them to open up about specific events in their lives—namely those events related to dealing with conflict within as well as outside the family.

The subjects interviewed for this study were father/son dyads residing in Ohio; more specifically, fathers who were raised in South Korea and their sons (age 16+) who were born or raised from a very young age in the United States. Because I planned on gaining information about fathers and sons and the relationship between their respective conflict styles, it was
necessary that the father be a South Korean native. The main reason for requesting the participation of sons who were still residing in Ohio was that they were still in the area at the time the project was underway and interviews were set up. All of the sons I interviewed have been in the United States since they were toddlers.

Through my contact with individuals in the Korean Students Association at the University of Cincinnati and members of The Korean Church of Columbus, I was able to engage with a number of Korean families; however, I was only able to find three father/son dyads who both fit the parameters of the study and were willing to participate in a study of this nature. I was also able to find an additional son to interview, but was unable to interview his father. Two of the father/son dyads, as well as the individual son who I interviewed, were members of The Korean Church of Columbus, a Protestant church that has a following of approximately 680 people. The other father/son dyad I interviewed was a co-op at my father’s company, which is how I got into contact with him.

**Procedure**

I communicated with my participants through email or telephone in order to set up possible dates to meet at a convenient point in time. In most cases, I engaged with the sons initially and had them speak with their fathers about participating in the study. I met with each father/son dyad at a location of our choosing (e.g., a restaurant or the Korean church), informed them (more extensively than I had during our initial encounter, but not so much to the point that I gave away the purpose of the study) of the objectives of my research, asked for their participation, and assured confidentiality if they desired it (see consent form, Appendix F). Most of the father/son pairs seemed unconcerned with reading the consent form extensively, and none requested that I change their name.
Once both individuals had signed the consent forms, I asked if I could record and take notes on our conversation. None of the individuals indicated that this was a problem, so I moved forward with asking the questions from my sets of protocols. I asked father and son the same basic set of questions, asking probing questions on different topics as the opportunity arose. Though I gave them the option of being interviewed separately, most of the time, the father and son were in the same room with each other during the interviews. These conversations lasted as long as the participants were willing/able to talk with me, but usually lasted around an hour total per session.

Once I met with each of the participating families, I transcribed the interviews (see transcriptions, Appendices G-J). Through studying all of my field notes and recorded information, I began to develop codes. Seeing as I was examining individualism/collectivism and the various conflict styles, I made each of these a specific code. I went through each transcript highlighting statements that could be viewed as indicating individualistic values, collectivist values, other-oriented approaches to conflict (i.e., compromising, avoiding, obliging), or self-oriented approaches to conflict (i.e., dominating). I also kept close notes on any statements that indicated a varying (from the western) way of conceptualizing certain terms or ideas, as this is something that occurred in almost every interview.

From these codes I discovered what the main themes were, how those themes fit together to develop a pattern, and how those themes and patterns fit together in the larger context of the study: meaning (Galman, 2007). I initially took into consideration the father’s conflict style, in order to see if, within each particular family, the son faces the dichotomy (perhaps unconsciously) of handling conflict with a more individualistic or collectivistic approach. I then tried to get a sense of whether or not the sons in each family adopted the same or similar conflict styles as
their fathers. Finally, as the interest of this study pertains to the interplay of these two factors, I analyzed as much as I could what this actually means for the sons and the American culture in which they live.

The subsequent pages will reveal the findings of the study, based around the aforementioned three research questions.

**Findings**

Based on the breadth and depth of information discovered through interviewing my participants, it seems important to consider and answer each research question in the most complete manner possible. Thus, the subsequent sections will examine each of the three research questions in turn. Because of the complexity of and variance in the values and behaviors of the sons, it also seems necessary to examine them with the same, individual care.

**Collectivist, Other-oriented Fathers**

Based upon the information provided to me through interviewing three Korean fathers, as well as insight into a fourth father’s behavior through interviewing his son, I found evidence to support that men from collectivist cultures may be inclined to use avoiding, accommodating, and compromising styles when dealing with conflict. All four of the fathers I gathered information from/about appear to be collectivistic to some degree. Many of them made clear to me that their family was a high priority and usually the first to be consulted when making an important decision that affected the whole group.

Tae Park, who came from Korea to the United States 20 years ago, told me about a time that he found a “good” job out of state and wanted to take it, but consulted his family on the matter before making any kind of decision. Because the new job would have required moving, and the family did not want to move, Tae ultimately gave up the job opportunity. When asked if
he was upset about the choice, or okay with it because it was what his family wanted and believed to be in their best interest, he immediately affirmed the latter.

I did not interview American fathers, which would have provided me with a point of reference for this decision, and would have given me greater clarity as to how collectivistic these fathers were really being. It is unclear as to whether these men were simply acting as any father—Korean, American, or otherwise—would (i.e., consulting his family before making decisions) or were actually acting collectively as their society taught them to do. However, it struck me the way that all of the men said that they would (or actually had) given up a good job that could have provided their families with greater opportunities in the long run, simply because their family did not wish to uproot themselves. I think there is really something to be said for this.

Thus, I used this scenario as a benchmark situation, asking the rest of the fathers what they would do if placed in that same situation. They all echoed sentiments similar to those of Tae, indicating that they would have responded the same way that he did, except for Young-bae Hwang, a member of the Korean Church of Columbus who came from Korea to the United States 15 years ago. Young-bae said he has been acting independently his whole life and feels lucky to have gotten to do so since he was not the first child, who “receives a lot of pressure from their parents” and has “to try to satisfy the needs of [their] parents.” Moreover, he credits some of his success to the fact that he was able to make his own decisions without consulting his parents. He laughed as he described how, at times, he merely notified his parents of his decisions after the fact.

Asserting that he is an independent person, Young-bae told me, “If it was any kind of more crucial decision in my life, I’d probably take [the job], then I’d try to persuade my family members to follow my decision.” However, he followed up with, “If I believe that is the best
choice for the future of my family, if it’s for the well-being of my family, I’d definitely say, ‘You guys have to follow me.’” Though he frames himself as an independent individual who makes most of the choices for his family members, through making decisions for their betterment, he is not acting independently in the way that the word is currently conceptualized in the literature. He is not acting independently for his own betterment; rather, he believes that being independent entails making decisions on behalf of his family, but always for their betterment.

Statements declaring independence, competitiveness, or Westernization came up several times during my interviews with many of the fathers and sons. At times, the sons characterized their fathers as being competitive or “hot-blooded” in their decision-making. The fathers also characterized themselves as independent, competitive, or more westernized than their peers. However, upon asking them the questions designed to explore these very topics, it became clear that how characterize themselves and how they could potentially be characterized based on Western definitions may be two different things. It could be a difference in conceptualization, or it could be that they act independently, competitively, etc. to an extent that does not disrupt the collective family dynamic. Young-bae was able to capture this idea when he said, “Most of the time I am very independent. But I also believe that I am never outside the walls of our society. The Korean society is very polite, try to respect elders, so we never usually try to branch outside our walls. So, within the walls, try to be independent.”

Even though all of the fathers emigrated from South Korea, at least three of them were able to maintain their sense of community by joining a Korean church when they arrived in the United States. According to Young-bae,
“As a culturally unique immigrant, they have no other choice, not to be a member of Korean Protestant church. Because it is the place if you want to survive or succeed in American society . . . . The initial incentive to be a member of the Korean church is to be a part of the community rather than part of the religion. Because without Korean church, most immigrants will fail.”

This sense of urgency to belong and have ties to the community, coupled with a deep-rooted consideration for the wants and needs of their family members, no doubt contributes to the type of conflict style these men utilize when faced with some sort of disagreement.

In keeping with previous literature (Kim, et al., 2004; Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003) and for the purposes of this study, I have divided up the conflict styles in terms of concern for the self and the other. Therefore, I have grouped together the avoiding, accommodating, and compromising conflict styles as being other-oriented, and consider the dominating approach to be self-oriented.

All four of the men reported or were reported as using other-oriented approaches to handling conflict, and felt that using their authority as older men in the society as a means to win an argument, per the dominating approach, was either destructive or not conducive to getting a decision made in their favors.

Tae characterized his conflict style (which, based on his answers to my questions, encapsulates avoiding and accommodating) as being inherently related to his culture, which he says teaches its members to think about and process whatever is upsetting them, and then either calm down and maybe address the other person(s), or give into the wishes of the other person(s). He said that he does not see a need to argue; rather, “you’ve just got to talking, talking, again, again, little bit.” Keun Lee, a pastor at the Korean Church of Columbus who came from Korea to
the United States 41 years ago, attributes his compromising style of conflict management to his religion and what he has learned from the teachings of Jesus. Young-bae, who makes use of either a form of dominating (more adequately termed, in this case, as persuasion) or accommodating to “try to resolve any kind of unnecessary conflict,” says that he either argues his point so that others will come to his side, or sees the merits of another’s plan and immediately goes with their idea for the sake of efficiency. Interestingly enough, and in contrast to the other fathers, Young-bae was open about his lack of belief in the utility of compromise or idea integration:

“Well, most of the time, if you try to create that middle ground, you maybe reduce the level of conflict in the short term, but in most of the time, those middle of the ground approach is not that effective. Most of the time, the outcome is slow. So, I try to listen to others, and if others, if their argument is better, I try to join others . . . .I try to be more persuasive, let them know my idea is better than theirs. Try to be cautious, but definitely persuade other people.”

I was interested in the way that Young-bae seemed to engage in both the dominating and accommodating styles depending upon the situation and the merits of each party’s arguments. I tried to get deeper into exactly how he operates when he is trying to convince someone to “join him” in his ideas, and found that his behavior does not constitute the traditionally viewed style of domination. In fact, Young-bae acknowledged several of the behaviors associated with the dominating conflict style and explained that he does not engage in them. He said that he does not make use of rank or authority to get decisions made in his favor, seeing as he believes that tactic would ultimately backfire. Additionally, he prefers to lower his voice when he has a serious disagreement rather than raise his voice, because he believes that raising his voice or shouting
renders the argument lost from the get-go. He also said that he always listens to and considers the other person’s arguments or ideas.

Regardless of how the men rationalized their conflict styles, they always came back to the idea and sanctity of family, relating back to their collectivistic natures. Both Tae and Keun stressed the difference between being married and being single, indicating that they, as married men, consider their family members to be the top priority. They also made clear that being “alone” is not an option for them.

One way that they are most likely able to stay with their families is to ensure that conflicts do not turn into recurring problems that could lead to reason for divorce, which Keun articulated is not a viable choice for him. Tae, Keun, and Cheolho Kang, another member of the Korean Church of Columbus who came from Korea to the United States 19 years ago, all reported or were reported as “giving into” (accommodating) their wives more often than not, allowing their wives to win arguments. Keun sees this as imperative to maintaining his relationship with his wife: “You know, she win finally. Why? Because she’s reasonable. And also, sometimes you cannot fight if you want to, you know, stay together . . . . [S]omehow, you have to make a compromise, no matter what . . . . Truce and love should go together. You cannot separate them.”

Young-bae was the only man who said that he persuades his wife to eventually agree with him concerning secular matters (e.g., not concerning spiritual matters, about which he says he listens to her; rather, about what colleges their children should attend, how they household money should be spent, etc.)—and he acknowledges that this is unique from and atypical of the average Korean family. He said he learned this behavior from his grandfather, a “very unique
person in Korean society” who ran his family with the same authority with which he managed his large organization.

So, despite being in America for over a decade (and in most cases, two or even four decades), these men have held on to parts of the collectivist identities they formed growing up in Korea. However, this conclusion only creates the foundation for the true purpose of the study, which is to find out what conflict styles these men’s sons employ, and whether or not they differ from their fathers.

The Battle Between Traditional and Newfound Values

It is not as easy to definitively assert whether sons model their own conflict style(s) after that/those of their fathers, seeing as the sons I interviewed vastly varied in what conflict styles they utilized. It appears that 21-year-old Ben Park (Tae’s son) and 29-year-old Sam Lee (Keun’s son) have clear-cut ways of managing conflict. However, it is considerably more challenging to pinpoint the collectivistic/individualistic ideals and conflict styles of 18-year-old BJ Hwang (Young-bae’s son) and 18-year-old Richard Kang (Cheolho’s son). It appears as though they are struggling to balance the identities they have developed as men living in America with the kind of behaviors they have seen occurring not only in their own homes, but within their church community as well. Because of the wide array of conflict management techniques, I think it is important to examine each son in turn.

The first son I interviewed was Ben. After interviewing both Ben and Tae, I was immediately attuned to the clear differences in ways that the two manage conflict. It could even be said that the two have opposite and unrelated ways of dealing with disagreements. Ben made clear the fact that he is both a highly competitive individual who “enjoys being on top” and an independent individual who “goes for what [he] feel[s] is the best choice in the matter.”
Interestingly enough, the only utility he sees to compromising is its potential to raise efficiency during projects; he feels that the appropriate time to make a compromise is when there has been argument occurring for multiple hours and no progress has been made on the project.

When Ben feels as though he is right, he tends to voice that opinion, argue his point, and stand by that point until he hopefully wins the argument. Also interesting about Ben is his lack of hesitancy in declaring that he has the best idea, and his belief that arguing is usually the best way to get that idea across to others. Several times during our discussion, he made remarks that illustrated this: “When I argue my point, it usually all works out for the better . . .”; “Typically, in the case where the decision leads to a good ending, I’m typically proud of the decision I made in that situation. But on the off chance that my particular decision led to a falling out with other individuals or just some kind of bad situation, I do feel a little bit of regret on the matter” (emphasis added). Thus, it appears as though Ben is an individual who enjoys competing, values his independence, and makes use of a dominating style of conflict—the complete opposite, it seems, of his father.

In stark contrast to Ben and his way of handling conflict situations was Sam, the second son I interviewed. Like his father, Sam credits his compromising approach to a basic need for survival of the family. Thus, it can be said that, based on the similarity between his and his father’s conflict management techniques, Sam has in fact taken after his father in this way. Though he is 29 years old (and not married at this point), Sam still considers the needs and opinions of his parents and appears to have adopted some of the collectivistic ideals exhibited by his father. He said that when he is making bigger decisions in his life, he runs his decision by his parents to see if what he wants to do matches up with what they recommend. He also views a competitive nature as being somewhat negative; when asked if he considers himself to be
Sam’s approach to conflict seems to be integrative even more so than compromising. He was able to articulate the distinction between integration and the other conflict styles: “I believe that even to the most difficult situations, there is a place that everyone can be happy. Not everyone, but it’s not a world of ‘I have to be happy, you have to be sad’ . . . . I definitely believe that, that everyone can be happy. That’s why you talk it out.” Having patience and talking things out, letting all parties make clear their arguments, is something that Sam and his parents seem to value. Sam said that growing up, he was always allowed to voice his opinion, which he said might not be typical in a lot of Korean households. However, he also said that he “backs down” and accommodates his parents when they have a dispute, mostly because he respects them and believes that since they’ve lived longer than he has, they most likely have more perspective on a given situation than he does. Though he goes through the same process when he argues with his parents and his girlfriend, he acknowledged the subtle difference in his reasons for accommodating the two parties. These reasons tie back to Keun’s, as well as Tae’s, explanation for why they give into their wives—to maintain the relationship:

“If I resolve with my parents, it’s going to be because I respect them. If I resolve with my girlfriend, it’s because I want to keep our relationship close . . . . Because with my parents, I kind of got the impression that if we fought really hard or whatever, they’re not going to kick me out of the house or disown me or whatever, but your girlfriend or wife, can they turn off? Yeah, they can.”

What is most fascinating about Sam is that he has been mediating his parents’ arguments since a young age. If he walked into an argument, he’d have both sides state their points and
opinions, all the while asking both of them, “Do you understand it like this?” until a conclusion would come about. He understands this as the “classic mediation model”—a term he picked up when he focused on dispute resolution, the study of how people fight and resolve their issues, in law school. Compromise and positive conflict management were such an integral part of Sam’s life—and he understood them “on a more organic, natural level”—that he chose to concentrate on this specific aspect in his studies.

Not as clear-cut in terms of collectivism/individualism and the other/self-oriented approaches to handling conflict was BJ Hwang. At the beginning of our conversation, BJ indicated to me that he is a competitive person who wants “to be right,” “to excel,” and “to be better than others.” He also stated that he tries to be independent, but that he sometimes has to depend on others, something attributable to the fact that he is wheelchair-bound. In terms of asserting his independence, BJ said that he follows the advice of others only if he agrees with it; if he disagrees, he’ll be “less willing to go their direction” and “would probably protest.” However, these statements seem to run counter to the techniques he describes himself as using during conflict situations. Additionally, BJ demonstrates some clear differences from his father in this way.

BJ initially seemed to exhibit avoidance, something not characteristic of his father. He revealed to me that he is somewhat of a private person who prefers to hide that he may be upset with someone: “I actually conceal [conflict] and deal with it myself, and then maybe if I’m ready, I’ll confront the person . . . . Usually if it upsets me, I try to just deal with it myself and get over it.” If he confronts the person, it is only then that he attempts to argue his point.

Even more interesting about BJ is that he attempts to engage his parents in his avoidant conflict style. He claims to play the mediator role, and when asked to expand upon that idea, said,
“If my parents are fighting, I just try to say something that will make both sides happy. But I don’t try to get into the argument, per say, but I try to use subtle ways, like, try to change the subject or topic. And sometimes that doesn’t work, but I try.”

However, as BJ and I continued talking, it became clear to me that he does not always assert such an other-oriented position, as he at first indicated. BJ said that at times, he simply cannot be persuaded or coerced into doing or believing something he does not want to do or believe. Young-bae, his father, was able to outline BJ’s style of conflict management, a style that he says differs from his own in that BJ does not feel the need to persuade others to agree with him:

“He has a very clear-cut argument, but he tries not to persuade others to follow his position. If BJ believes his position is right and correct, he usually doesn’t care what others think or say about it. Because he has already made up his mind based on the religious teachings or his understanding of society. Once he decides, he usually not to change his position. Not to make others follow his position. He believes it’s a free society, everyone may have a different opinion.”

Though BJ has a clear concern for the other, Young-bae’s statement that BJ realizes that everyone may have a different opinion really resonated with me as being an individualistic trait.

Thus, contrary to my preliminary assumptions about BJ’s conflict management practices, it appears as though he makes use of a combination of the other- and self-oriented approaches. Young-bae does this as well, but the two manifest this in different ways. While BJ may not confront others when he is upset with them, Young-bae indicated that he himself does; while it does not seem that BJ has a problem recognizing his own beliefs and sticking with them, Young-bae indicated that he can be convinced of another’s position and “go over to their side.”
Different from BJ, but equally as hard to fit into specific categories, is Richard. In my time spent with Richard, he characterized himself as both “valuing loyalty,” yet independent, and a “people-pleaser,” yet someone who does not consult others before making decisions. This made it hard to determine whether or not he roots identity more in the self or more in the group, and made it appear as though he was struggling to determine that very thing himself.

In terms of conflict management, Richard said that compromising is the best approach, and that he takes after his father, Cheolho (who he describes as “a really laid back person” who “likes to try to understand other people”) in this approach. Like his father, Richard is not avoidant: “I like confronting other people . . . . I just like to get everything out in the open . . . . More often than not, if you confront [someone] about [something] . . . if you respect them and they respect you, then they’ll try to resolve it.” As far as the process of argumentation, Richard said, “It always starts out as me trying to show them my side, but then most of the time it just kind of forms into a compromise.”

Richard does not see utility in the dominating approach to solving conflict, so he tries not to force people to see or do things his way. Engaging in these types of behaviors, in his opinion, “always seems like it makes the other person feel bad. I say that I like to get things out on the open, but that doesn’t mean you have to—if you knock someone else down like that, you’re giving them a reason to hold something against you, or feel angry towards you. I don’t really see how that accomplishes anything.” However, most interesting about Richard was his blatant desire to be able to “debate and argue,” indicating that perhaps he wished he had some form of a competitive, dominating personality. When I described Ben and Sam’s conflict styles and asked Richard how he thought he fit with them, he said,
“I don’t really get into hot debates. I would like the ability to be able to debate and argue . . . . I would much rather be someone who gets into hot debates than just sit back . . . . I guess it’s kind of because I want to stand up for who I am. I don’t want to be someone who is just neutral about something. I want to actually contribute something to the conversation.”

This statement really stood out to me as an indication of the change in values that is occurring between these sons and their fathers’ generation.

Though none of these sons exhibited the same pattern of conflict management, only two (Sam and Richard) seemed to emulate the conflict styles of their fathers in some way. Studying all four of them simultaneously allowed me to see a significant fact: that something may be causing a shift in the way that this younger generation of Koreans is identifying itself within the culture and handling conflict. Therefore, in response to my third and final research question, I do believe that the likelihood of adopting the conflict style of the same sex parent changes in some way if that same sex parent’s conflict style is not typical of those in the host culture. Insight into this phenomenon was provided to me by Young-bae and Sam, who gave me a historical context that I feel is necessary to discuss here.

**Stuck in ’70s Korea, Yet Inhabiting 2010 America**

According to Young-bae, the collective nature of his and older generations is attributable to hardships that each had to face in Korea. He spoke of the trauma that was experienced by the 65 and older generation during the Korean War, as well as the democratization of his own generation that came about after protesting the authoritarian government. However, because this younger generation never had to rally against communism or a dictatorship-like government,
thus binding them together for some collective cause, there seems to be a shift in values occurring. Young-bae explained,

“[This generation is the] outcome of completely developing economy, economic well-being, something like that. So they are more individualistic. And they are very much focused on individual success rather than collective. That’s the difference. In our generation, we try to participate in some kind of social cause. Or community. Not anymore. They’re more toward their individual goals rather than community or society.”

The older generation sees this move towards individualism as a social problem, “the beginning of social decay, the beginning of cultural corruption.”

However, this problem seems unavoidable, as the Korean culture and family structure are changing and, in a way, promoting individualistic ideals. Young-bae described to me the “break among traditional Korean families”—those that had upwards of 7 children—that occurred in the past decade. Currently, Korean couples in Korea and the United States are choosing to keep their families small, so “the modern day Korean family has only one kid, and the kid has the best! Absolutely the best. So, um, highly individualistic.”

Seeming to counteract this is another phenomenon that Sam spoke of: the westernization of those in Korea, while those who emigrated to the United States in the 1970s have retained many of the traditional ideals—ideals that they are “forcing upon their kids.” Collectivism is no doubt one of those ideals, which is perpetuated through immediately forming a tight-knit Korean community via the church, a trend about which Young-bae spoke. Sam said that Korean communities in the United States “tend to be exclusive, they choose to just hang out with Koreans or whatever, maybe because there’s just not that many, and so, if you live in a community of not that many Koreans, you’re very conscious of the ones around you and think
about that.” By maintaining ties with traditional Korean families via the church community, Korean families are working against the individualistic, westernized identity that it seems this generation will inevitably claim.

Therefore, it looks as if the current and somewhat conflicting dynamic of the Korean culture, in Korea and the United States, is challenging its younger generation to work out its own, new identity. It appears that Ben and Sam have both worked out their own, albeit opposite, identities in the American culture, while BJ and Richard are still figuring out where they stand among the more traditional and the newfound, individualistic ideals.

The Church as a Collectivistic Entity

Ben was the only son with whom I spoke who was not a member of the Korean Church of Columbus, perhaps accounting for some of the stark differences between him and the rest of the sons. Neither he nor his father made any mention of religion during our conversation (or responded to inquires on the topic via email). However, this fact aside, I believe that Ben’s attitudes and actions are attributable to both American culture and the nature of his family. I believe that Ben can be characterized as an individual who values his independence and whose conflict style is self-oriented. Though he discussed the high level of respect that he holds for his parents, he also described a mutual understanding between him and his parents that he is simply living a different life than either of them led. For example, Ben discussed how he and his parents did not consult with each other very often as Ben was applying for a co-op program. It is not that he did not trust them, he said; rather, it is that both parties had an understanding that “the experiences that they [as parents] had would be different from the experiences [Ben] would come to have.”
Tae also acknowledged this understanding. Though he does not like to engage in argumentation, and talked about how he never argued with his parents and simply did what they asked of him, he made clear his acceptance of Ben’s different attitude and approach to conflict management: “If my parents talking to me, I just follow. But, I think about it, Ben was born here, it looks like he’s half Korean, half American. Different, people think.” This perhaps unspoken agreement between family members, coupled with the individualistic, competitive American environment in which Ben was raised, no doubt contributed to the fact that he has adopted these ways and attitudes.

In contrast to Ben is Sam, who I believe to be a fairly collectivist, other-oriented individual. Sam expressed his belief that though environment and personal temperament play a role in the way a person feels or acts, he was ultimately molded by his family and the way he was raised. Keun spoke of familial socialization, which he believes is the process through which children become who they are: “People grow up together. They learn by living. It’s not intentional learning process. In any family, you pick things up naturally . . . . So, everything is determined within the family without formal training.” Because Sam and Keun have an extremely close, open relationship, which appears to lack the mutual understanding of difference present in Ben and Tae’s relationship, it makes sense that Sam would readily adopt the ideals exhibited by his father.

Much of my and Sam’s conversation was spent discussing the differing perspective he brings to this project based on his relationship with his parents, as well as his strong commitment to religion:

“You know, my dad is a pastor, and I take my faith very seriously, and that dynamic is more ruling, more governing, of how we interact . . . . I think [religion] is the biggest
factor, meaning that my parents are very fair, but because they take their religion so seriously, it isn’t just a set of rules for them. It’s their life. It’s patient, it’s understanding, it’s merciful.”

Sam and Keun alike reiterated several times during our conversations that the way both handle conflict is not necessarily cultural, but “a religious thing.” Sam did note, however, that “the way [they] grew up, the culture, the environment, they all start to work together. Nothing is in isolation,” which I believe is an important point. Though religion does play a large role in the way that Sam interacts with others, I think that part of his life and the church itself only serve to intensify the collectivist, other-oriented ideals with which he was raised.

Religion also plays a role in BJ’s life, though rather than strengthen the ideals he already possesses, as is the case with Sam, it seems to counteract them. It seems as though BJ is struggling between the competitive, individualistic side of himself, and the more other-oriented, religious side. He spoke to me about how he is highly competitive and “has to win” in both the academic sense and the more recreational sense (e.g., video games), and how he tries to be independent, yet feels compelled to respect his elders and go along with what they want to do even if he disagrees with it. He also told me that he acknowledges to himself when he is more experienced (e.g., older, smarter) than others, but does not actually voice that opinion if engaged in conflict with them.

What makes the case even more complicated is the fact that Young-bae seems to be the most independent father of those that I interviewed. Young-bae seems to encourage in his son some of the behaviors he himself engages in; he even told me that he would not mind if BJ asserted his independence by making his own decisions, since “it’s payback time because I already did it to my parents.” The fact that BJ does not always confront someone when he is
upset with them, but does argue his point when he does confront someone, believing in his position regardless of whether or not the other person attempts to persuade him, makes BJ a very interesting individual as far as this study goes.

It seems that the teachings of the church and the collective identity it perpetuates in its followers are beginning to tame BJ’s competitive nature and independent inclinations. Young-bae told me that he sees the competitive streak in BJ, but believes that “one of the biggest reasons he kind of became less competitive is because of the teachings of Jesus, the teachings of the Bible. And most of the time, competitiveness is not a lesson Jesus teaches.” BJ also readily acknowledged the important role that religion plays in his life: “Christianity is a deep part of my life. I enjoy being part of it and I try to follow its teachings and its ways. So, basically, many things that I do are affected by it. How I talk, or how I act.” Therefore, it seems as though BJ has been influenced by westernized values, and has adopted some of them, he is identifying more so with the collectivist values the church serves to further.

Like Sam, Richard seems to have adopted the collectivist ideals and other-oriented approach to dealing with conflict that his father lives by and exercises. However, he gave the impression that he longs to do otherwise; he characterizes himself as an independent, competitive individual who does not discuss things with others before making a decision, and said that he would like to have the ability to assert himself more in discussions and debates.

Though I did not get to interview Cheolho firsthand, and thus only have Richard’s perceptions of him and his actions to go by, it seems that he has imparted his collective identity to his son. Richard says that he values loyalty, and spoke of a time in high school that some friends got caught for a crime that they had all participated in and were subsequently punished with community service. Richard’s guilt overtook him, and he was compelled to turn himself in
and face the same punishment as his friends, which he ended up doing. He also spoke of sacrificing what he wanted because of his parents’ wishes; he wanted to play basketball for his high school, but his parents wanted him to do band. Rather than protesting, Richard made the best of it and was in band for all four years of high school.

Unlike BJ, Richard was not forthcoming with the influence religion has on him. Because we were not at the church when I interviewed him, it slipped my mind to inquire about it. However, in a follow-up interview via email, Richard was able to provide insight into how religion factors into both his and his father’s lives. He said that Cheolho “is a very religious man and seeks God’s word before anything. I would say religion not only plays a large part in shaping who he is, but it also defines the type of person he is in decision-making and so on.” He said that he sees himself as a “religiously guided” individual, though not as “religiously mature” as his parents, indicating to me that perhaps the church and its teachings are playing a role in counteracting Richard’s tendencies to be more independent and individualistic.

Though he sees compromise as the best approach to resolving conflict, he said that he sees “more debate going on here” in the United States and would like to have the ability to debate and argue. Interestingly enough, he said that more and more he is being influenced by “other people” (e.g., his friends) rather than his family, since he is currently around them a lot more than he is his family. He believes that he is still being shaped as far as his attitudes and tendencies, and that his friends and people he interacts with outside of his home are playing the largest role in helping to shape him. As is the case with BJ, only time will tell what will have the greater influence on Richard: the ideals of his father and the church, or the behaviors he is seeing exhibited by his friends and those outside the church.
Conclusions

Though I went into this research project expecting to find consistent results among my participants, indicating an apparent shift from collectivist, compromising ideals to individualistic, competitive ones, I was met with a mix of results that revealed to me the clear connection many of these sons still feel to their and their fathers’ traditional values. While environment is playing a role, it is apparent that social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) is extremely applicable. Most of the sons have modeled some of their behavior, whether it be collectivistic tendencies or other-oriented approaches to conflict management, off of their fathers’ behaviors. Seeing as three of the four sons have not only their fathers to look up to, but an entire tight-knit church community as well, the number of models exhibiting (perhaps) desired behavior is maximized.

Most fascinating, and something that I had not considered as I was selecting participants for the study, is the strong devotion many of the fathers and sons had for their church and religion. It is clear that the church for them is more than just a place to worship; it is a place they have found in American society that allows them to stay rooted in a collective identity (one God, one church, one community). Though all of the sons I interviewed have been here for most if not all of their lives, and have thus been exposed to American culture for several decades, they have (willingly, it seems) become immersed in this collective church culture and been shaped by its ideals. Nevertheless, it seems some of them are vacillating between American and Korean cultural values.

The findings of this study make for one big implication: there may be a shift towards more individualistic values occurring among the members of a culture that is considered by those in the field to be highly collectivistic. The full implications of these findings remain to be seen in
the future, as it appears that at least two of the sons are still developing their identities as Korean men living in the United States. It is still unclear what values they will ultimately adopt.

There are several limitations and suggestions for future research that warrant discussion. Firstly, the individuals interviewed for this study may or may not be representative of the Korean population. There is something to be said for the differences that may be present between those individuals who agreed to participate and those who declined. The sample is biased in that way. Additionally, because three of the four father/son dyads who participated in this study had (strong) ties to the church and Christian religion, and the son in the only dyad who did not exhibited the most individualistic tendencies, it is clear that more research needs to be performed to understand the differences in values between those who participate in a church and those who do not. Moreover, I interviewed fathers who came from Korea decades ago and may or may not be “stuck in the ’70s” as Sam indicated. If my sample had been different, or more diverse in that it included individuals who had just recently come to the United States from a more progressive, 21st century Korea, it is hard to say what the results of the study would have been. If the fathers and sons alike had adapted to more individualistic ways while in Korea, the individualistic nature of the United States may only serve to amplify those ways—so long as the church does not counteract them.

Secondly, the nature of the interview process rendered me unable to analyze the actual behaviors and conflict styles of the fathers and sons. Since I had only these individuals’ perceptions around which to shape my findings, it is hard to say whether my perceptions would differ from theirs if I were actually able to watch them engage in conflict. With this being said, it is important to take into consideration social desirability bias. All of the participants were aware of the basic aim of my study: to see how fathers and sons manage conflict. With that knowledge
in mind, they may have answered my questions in a way that they viewed as desirable to me or the research project. Davidson’s (1983) third-person effect is also significant in this context, as several of the men conceptualized themselves as being more independent or westernized than their peers. Their responses to my questions, however, indicated that this may not be the case.

Thirdly, the cost, time, and energy constraints placed on this project did not allow me to interview American father/son dyads so that I would have a true point of comparison. Future research should thoroughly investigate both cultures so that past research does not have to be relied on and assumptions do not have to be made concerning the values of either culture.
References


Appendix A

Figure 1—Reproduction of The Styles of Handling Interpersonal Conflict

Rahim (1983)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concern For Others</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>High</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Obliging</td>
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<td>Avoiding</td>
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Concern for Self

Low

High
Appendix B

Interview Protocols Adapted from the AICS Scale, used to determine masculine/feminine culture influence, including but not limited to:

• Some people enjoy spending time with others, and other people enjoy spending more time alone. How do you define yourself in this way?

• How do you feel you are unique and different from others?

• Some people are comfortable revealing personal facts to others, and other people are more private. Do you reveal personal facts about yourself to others? Why/why not?

• Do you consider yourself to be a competitive person? Can you give me an example of you acting competitively?

• Can you tell me about a time you acted independently? How did this make you feel?

• Do you make decisions for yourself rather than following the advice of others? Tell me about a time you made a choice for yourself. How did you feel afterward?

• Can you tell me about a time when you were polite when dealing with superiors?

• Some people consult with their family members before making decisions, and other people make the decisions on their own. Tell me about a time you consulted your family before making important decisions, or about a time you made a decision on your own.

• Tell me about a time when you sacrificed what you wanted because you felt as though it was your duty to take care of your family.
Appendix C

Interview Protocols Adapted from the ROCI-II Scale, used to determine conflict style, including but not limited to:

• Do you feel as though you try to find a middle ground to resolve a conflict situation?

• Do you tend to keep conflict with others to yourself? If so, why do you do this?

• Do you integrate your ideas with the ideas with others so as to come up with a joint solution? Do you feel as though this is positive or negative?

• Do you tend to avoid discussions of your differences with others? Why/why not?

• Do you tend to argue your position, or accept others’ positions? Can you tell me about one such instance?

• Do you use your influence to get your ideas accepted? If so, how do others react to this?

• Tell me about a time you tried to satisfy the needs of someone else.

• Can you tell me about a time you used authority to get decisions made in your favor?

• Can you tell me about a time that you negotiated with others so that a solution could be found?

• Tell me about a time that you went along with the suggestions of others. Why did you do so?

• Tell me about a time you avoided an argument with someone else. Why did you do so?

• Do you find that you live by the motto “give some to get some?”

• Do you exchange accurate information with everyone involved in a situation so that you can come up with a solution jointly?

• Do you try to work with others to get a proper understanding of a problem?
Appendix D

Reproduction of the AICS

(Shulruf et al., 2007)

1—Strongly disagree, 2—Disagree, 3—Neither agree nor disagree, 4—Agree, 5—Strongly agree

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I discuss job or study-related problems with my parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. I enjoy being unique and different from others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. In interacting with superiors, I am always polite</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. I consult my family before making an important decision</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Competition is the law of nature</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. It is important to consider the needs of those who work above me</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. To me, pleasure is time spent with others</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. When faced with a difficult personal problem, it is better to decide for myself, than follow the advice of others</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>10. I help acquaintances, even if it is inconvenient</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. I define myself as a competitive person</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. I take responsibility for my own actions</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. It is important to consult close friends and get their ideas before making a decision</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. It is important for me to act as an independent person</td>
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</table>
15. Being able to take care of myself is a primary concern for me
   1 2 3 4 5

16. I enjoy working in situations involving competition with others
   1 2 3 4 5

17. I sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of my group
   1 2 3 4 5

18. I reveal personal things about myself
   1 2 3 4 5

19. Without competition, it is not possible to have a good society
   1 2 3 4 5

20. I consult with my superior on work-related goals
   1 2 3 4 5

21. Even when I strongly disagree with group members, I avoid an argument
   1 2 3 4 5

22. I see myself as “my own person”
   1 2 3 4 5

23. I hate to disagree with others in my group
   1 2 3 4 5

24. I prefer to be self-reliant rather than depend on others
   1 2 3 4 5

25. Before taking a major trip, I consult with most members of my family and many friends
   1 2 3 4 5

26. I consider my self as a unique person separate from others
   1 2 3 4 5

27. I have the feeling that my relationships with others are more important than my own accomplishments
   1 2 3 4 5

28. I like to live close to my good friends
   1 2 3 4 5

29. To me, pleasure is time spent with my superiors
   1 2 3 4 5

30. It is important to make a good impression on one’s manager
   1 2 3 4 5
Appendix E

Reproduction of the ROCI-II

(Rahim, 1983)

1—Strongly disagree, 2—Disagree, 3—Neither agree nor disagree, 4—Agree, 5—Strongly agree

1. I try to investigate an issue with others to find a solution acceptable to us

2. I generally try to satisfy the needs of others

3. I attempt to avoid being “put on the spot” and try to keep my conflict with others to myself

4. I try to integrate my ideas with those of others to come up with a decision jointly

5. I give some to get some

6. I try to work with others to find solutions to a problem which satisfy our expectations

7. I usually avoid open discussion of my differences with others

8. I usually hold on to my solution to a problem

9. I try to find a middle course to resolve an impasse

10. I use my influence to get my ideas accepted

11. I use my authority to make a decision in my favor

12. I usually accommodate the wishes of others

13. I give into the wishes of others

14. I win some and I lose some
15. I exchange accurate information with others to
   solve a problem together 1 2 3 4 5

16. I sometimes help others to make a decision in
   their favor 1 2 3 4 5

17. I usually allow concessions to others 1 2 3 4 5

18. I argue my case with others to show the merits of
   my position 1 2 3 4 5

19. I try to play down our differences to reach a
   compromise 1 2 3 4 5

20. I usually propose a middle ground for breaking
   deadlocks 1 2 3 4 5

21. I negotiate with others so that a compromise
   can be reached 1 2 3 4 5

22. I try to stay away from disagreement with others 1 2 3 4 5

23. I avoid an encounter with others 1 2 3 4 5

24. I use my expertise to make a decision in my favor 1 2 3 4 5

25. I often go along with the suggestions of others 1 2 3 4 5

26. I use “give and take” so that a compromise can be
   made 1 2 3 4 5

27. I am generally firm in pursuing my side of the issue 1 2 3 4 5

28. I try to bring all our concerns out in the open so that
   the issues can be resolved in the best possible way 1 2 3 4 5

29. I collaborate with others to come up with
decisions acceptable to us

30. I try to satisfy the expectations of others

31. I sometimes use my power to win a competitive situation

32. I try to keep my disagreements with others to myself in order to avoid hard feelings

33. I try to avoid unpleasant exchanges with others

34. I generally avoid arguments with others

35. I try to work with others for a proper understanding of a problem
Appendix F

Informed Consent Form

This Informed Consent Form has two parts:
• Information Sheet (to share information about the study with you)
• Certificate of Consent (for signatures if you choose to participate)

You will be given a copy of the full Informed Consent Form, asked to read all the information contained within, and, if you agree to all terms and conditions, asked to sign the consent form, thereby granting me your approval to participate in this project.

Part I: Information Sheet

Type of Research Intervention

You are being invited to take part in this research because I feel that your experiences can contribute much to my understanding and knowledge of what it means to be a Korean living in America. Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. It is your choice whether to participate or not. If you choose not to participate, there are no consequences.

You do not have to share any information that you are not comfortable sharing. If you do not wish to answer any of the questions during the interview, you may say so and I will move on to the next question.

No one else but me will be present unless you would like someone else to be there. The information recorded on audio is confidential, and no one else except my advisor, Dr. Matthew J. Smith, or me will have access to the information documented during your interview. If you wish for me to do so, I will destroy all documented information after this project is completed.

Confidentiality

I will not be sharing information about you to anyone outside of my advisor, Dr. Matthew J. Smith. The information that I collect from this research project will be kept private. If you wish for me to do so, any information about you will have a number on it instead of your name. If so, only Dr. Smith or I will know what your number is and we will lock that information up with a lock and key. The key, as well as the signed consent forms, will be kept away from the data.

Sharing the Results

Each participant will receive a summary of the results of this research project if they wish to see them. Following your learning of the results, I will present the results to members of Wittenberg University and/or the larger academic community so that other interested people may learn from the research.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw
You do not have to take part in this research if you do not wish to do so, and choosing to participate will not have any consequences. You may stop participating in the discussion/interview at any time that you wish without any consequences. I will give you an opportunity at the end of the discussion/interview to review your remarks, and you can ask me to modify or remove portions of those if you do not agree with my notes or if I did not understand you correctly.

**Who to Contact**

If you wish to ask questions later, you may contact either of the following:

- Me, Maryam Rezayat, at s10.mrezayat@wittenberg.edu or (513) 919-2791
- My advisor, Matthew J. Smith, at msmith@wittenberg.edu or (937) 327-7835

This proposal has been reviewed and approved by Wittenberg University’s Institutional Review Board, which is a committee whose task it is to make sure that research participants are protected from harm. If you wish to find about more about the IRB, or if you wish to complain anonymously about any proceedings, please feel free to contact Jeff Ankrom, Chairman of the Institutional Review Board, by phone at (937) 327-7930 or by email at jankrom@wittenberg.edu.

**Part II: Certificate of Consent**

I have been invited to participate in this research project. I have read the foregoing information and have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study.

Print Name of Participant__________________
Signature of Participant ___________________
Date ___________________________
      Day/month/year

A copy of this ICF has been provided to the participant.

Print Name of Researcher/person taking the consent____________________________
Signature of Researcher /person taking the consent____________________________
Date __________________________
      Day/month/year
Appendix G
Transcription of Interviews with Ben and Tae Park

Interview with Ben Park, Tae’s son

Me: So this is my interview with Ben Park on February 7. Alright, I’m going to ask you some questions, you don’t have to answer them if you don’t want. I mean, none of them are extremely personal. So you can just let me know. This is my first interview, I’m a little nervous. I don’t know how it’s going to go yet, but um, ok. Some people enjoy spending time with others and others enjoy spending more time alone. How would you define yourself in this way?

Ben: Um, give the choice, there are certain days where I would prefer spending time alone, whether it’s with a book or just on the computer or anything. There are other times where I would prefer the company of others, so I guess a little mixture of both.

Me: Do you prefer to be with family or friends? When you want to be with someone, who do you want to be with the most?

Ben: I’d say friends.

Me: Ok, how do you feel you are unique and different from other people?

Ben: I honestly wouldn’t know how to answer that question. I think the view that others have on me would probably be the best answer to that. I can’t really be a judge of myself so much as others can be a judge of me.

Me: Ok, um, so some people are comfortable revealing personal facts to others, and some people tend to keep that more to themselves. How would you say you are in that way?

Ben: Um—

Me: Do you reveal personal things to others?

Ben: Um, not typically. I’m pretty much a guarded person usually. Once I’m more comfortable with an individual, then I’ll be able to tell them more about myself.

Me: So would you say—how long would you have to know someone to share with them? Like, do you share with family, friends, your girlfriend?

Ben: Honestly, all it takes is one good talk, and I usually feel comfortable enough with individuals to start talking about more personal things.

Me: Do you consider yourself to be a competitive person when it comes to school, work, games?
Ben: [laughs] Uh, yeah. I do enjoy being able to be on top. So uh, I would say that I am competitive.

Me: Um, can you give me an example of you acting competitively?

Ben: Um, well, in terms of schoolwork I guess, uh, I feel as if I try harder than most so that I am able, I guess, to flaunt that knowledge in front of my peers as well. Typically, I uh, even after study sessions with others, I spend more time studying than needed to try and have a better understanding of the subject.

Me: Because you want, well, I don’t know what I was going to ask, never mind. Um, do you feel like you’re more independent, or more dependent on other people?

Ben: Um, I feel that I am more of an independent individual.

Me: So, um, do you kind of consult your family more when you want to make decisions, or when you want to do something, you just go ahead and do it? When you’re applying for a job, or…

Ben: Typically not. I go for what I feel is the best choice in the matter.

Me: Can you give me an example of you acting independently?

Ben: Um, well, the whole job process for cooperative education at UC, that was pretty much a solo effort on my part. It’s not that I don’t trust my parents, it’s just that I understand that the work environment in Korea versus here uh, offers a different challenge to them verses a challenge here, so I can’t really trust them fully for their work experience to help me in my work experience.

Me: Do they try to help you? Do they try to give you input about things?

Ben: They give me input on particular aspects that I knew they’d be able to help me on, like the interviewing process, or just the type of atmosphere that you should try to uphold inside of the workplace. But uh, I think they understood that the experiences that they had would be different from the experiences that I would come to have.

Me: So you think that cultural difference is the main reason for you acting independently, or do you think that if you were still in Korea that you’d still be acting more independently, or would it be more of a collective effort?

Ben: I think it’s just an independent streak I guess, because I’ve been told that my parents were fairly independent individuals while they were in Korea, and um, I guess it’s just in the genes.

Me: So do you feel like your dad sort of acts—does he sort of act more independently, does he talk things over with your mom, from your point of view?
Ben: He is a very independent individual. He makes the choices that he believes will be better for the family I guess.

Me: How long has he been here and how long have you been here? I should have asked that at the beginning.

Ben: Well I was born here, so 21 years. As for him, he was, he came to the US one year after I was born, so 20 years, give or take a few months.

Me: Ok, and your mom—you said your mom is fairly independent as well. Is that not really the norm in Korea, or she a fairly normal example of that?

Ben: Um, personally I feel that it’s pretty much the norm, granted there is a diverse range of family structures, both in Korea and the United States. Um, so, yeah, I don’t really think too much of it.

Me: Ok, um, we kind of touched on that…ok, after you make decisions for yourself, after you act independently, do you feel good about that, or do you kind of wish you would have followed the guidance of your parents?

Ben: Typically, in the case where the decision leads to a good ending, I’m typically proud of the decision that I made in that situation. But on the off chance that my particular decision led to a falling out with other individuals or just some kind of bad situation, I do feel a little bit of regret on the matter, that I hadn’t consulted with people who had more experience with others.

Me: Ok, um, can you tell me about a time when you showed respect to your superiors? Like, do you have kind of a hierarchy in the workplace, in your family, or do you feel like you’re all on even playing fields?

Ben: Um, this is entirely confidential [laughs], but in dealing with the workplace here, I treat not only Mohsen [Maryam’s father, who is overseeing Ben in the co-op] but the other workers who are on the software team, I feel that I treat them with a little more respect and reverence in my tone as compared to, um, my fellow coworkers who are co-oping from UC.

Me: So, people who came here with you who you knew longer?

Ben: Yeah.

Me: Ok, so you’re more polite to them. Ok. Why do you think that is?

Ben: Um, I think that it has to do with the morals and ideals that I was raised with. Um, Korean family structures rely heavily on the fact that you should respect your elders and I think that has transferred into all aspects of my life, and I feel that I treat my elders with more respect.
Me: Um, ok, how do you show your respect? Because you kind of said that you make your own decisions, you don’t really consult them, only when it’s appropriate you said, so how do you display your respect for them?

Ben: For my parents, or for—

Me: Yes.

Ben: For my parents, I guess, I—they haven’t really ever called me a problem child. I typically respect what they tell me to do. If it’s something that I don’t agree with, I’ll still go ahead and try it out, and if it doesn’t work out, then I’ll try to explain to them why, perhaps, that it didn’t. But in everything that I say or do to them, I try to practice myself with a little more care in my actions.

Me: Can you tell me about a time that you went along with something that they wanted you to do, even when you thought it was wrong, or maybe not the best choice for you?

Ben: Well, when I was picking colleges, actually, there was a particular college that I wanted to go to that was out of state, in Washington actually, and, uh, my parents, considering that I was their first child, and they really hadn’t any experience with the US education system, for higher level education at least, they weren’t really comfortable with the idea of me living on my own in Washington, so they, uh, actually suggested that I instead enroll at UC and perhaps look elsewhere for my Master’s and such.

Me: But you think that that wasn’t the best choice for you? Or looking back was it the best choice for you?

Ben: Looking back, I feel that I would have been able to do well either or, and that my personal preference was for out of state.

Me: Ok, um, we already touched a little bit on that. Can you tell me, uh, well, we already touched on that. So, we can move on with my other questions. So, when you’re engaging in conflict with your—not necessarily conflict, you’re just trying to come to some kind of decision—with your friends or family, do you try to find a middle ground to resolve the situation or find a solution?

Ben: I typically argue my point, um, I—it’s fairly bull headed of me, but I prefer to think that I’m right when it’s a conversation like that.

Me: Is that with everyone, or do you differentiate between the way you kind of argue with your friends or family or girlfriend?

Ben: Um, with friends and family that’s about my age at least, I follow the bull headed thing. [laughs] But with parents and elders, it’s a little harder to argue with your own ideas in mind.
Me: Um, so you don’t really, when you’re upset with someone, you don’t really keep it to yourself—

Ben: I tend to voice it.

Me: You tend to voice it? Ok. Um, so, you’ve kind of answered a lot of these questions just by saying that! Can you tell me about a time when you argued your point, how you kind of thought that through or maybe how other people reacted to that?

Ben: During high school, I was the co-president of my model United Nations chapter. And during a staff meeting regarding what kind of conventions we should go to and how we should prepare for those, I tried to argue for a more free-form debate structure so that the newer club members wouldn’t be too, um, pressured by us forcing a rigorous guideline upon them, whereas the, uh, the other president as well as the teacher supervising us, they were kind of against that because they thought it would deter some of the actual active debating. But um, I fairly argued my point, and um, I stood by that point, which actually ended up getting us 5 new members, so it all worked out.

Me: Do you find that when you argue it usually does work out for you, or does it ever blow up in your face?

Ben: When I argue my point, it usually all works out for the better, except for the one or two instances when the argument gets so heated that hurtful words might be said, so, some relationships might get tried in that sense.

Me: Does that happen often? Do you escalate into a fight?

Ben: Not particularly. I tend to control myself, so.

Me: Ok, um, so you do kind of use your influence to get your ideas accepted. You kind of know that you are right in some ways, you know that you’re intelligent, you know that you’re skilled, in these ways…

Ben: [laughs] I guess, yeah, it’s possible to say it like that. But it’s not so much that—I don’t consciously realize it I guess, but it’s just more or less that I feel like I’m right, so I stick to my idea.

Me: Ok. Can you tell me about a time that you did try to satisfy the needs of someone else? They were kind of arguing with you and you realized, “Ok, maybe their idea is better.”

Ben: Um, well, working on different projects over the years, there is always bound to be one or two people who will have stronger ideas about what directions the project should take, and I find that in some cases, um, arguing for multiple hours straight doesn’t really help with the actual project, so, compromises should be met to raise efficiency.
Me: Do you usually feel upset after that happens?

Ben: Not really, I tend to let it go pretty easily as soon as it’s done.

Me: Ok, um, so you don’t really ever avoid arguments with other people? Or do you?

Ben: Not really. I feel that argument is just another type of conversation, as long as both parties are willing to understand that they shouldn’t hold any grudges afterward. Then, um, an argument can actually be a good way to get to know someone as well.

Me: Have you had any bad experiences where people have kind of held grudges?

Ben: Not really.

Me: Um, well, I guess you’ve really addressed all my questions. I guess all I’d really ask you now is maybe how you feel—do you feel like your father would kind of answer these things the way you have, or do you feel as though he is a little bit different from you in the way that he addresses conflict or the way he interacts with other people?

Ben: I feel that he might actually address a few things differently.

Me: Ok.

Ben: Um, I’ve been told this on many occasions, but um, I’m kind of similar to my dad as far as my personality goes, but at the same time, there are parts of me that are more like my mother. So I guess that in that sense, the patience that I have and being able to just let things go after a while, that’s more along the lines of my mother’s personality than my father’s.

Me: So your father doesn’t really have a lot of patience, or he holds a grudge, and doesn’t forget about arguments and things like that?

Ben: Um, I don’t think he’s one to hold grudges, or at least not for long, but uh, he is fairly hot blooded as far as his actions go, so I think that might lend a little bit of light on—as far as how he holds grudges as well.

Me: I’m looking forward to interviewing him as well. I’m trying to think of other things I can ask you while we have a few minutes here…I feel like I should make the best use of my time…have you ever been back to Korea?

Ben: Um, as a child, yes, but there aren’t really that many memories that I can think of. Um, this is mainly due to the fact that I was three or four at the most, so I don’t really have any memories of Korea. My father, on the other hand, recently went on a short trip due to family issues. I think my grandmother on my father’s side actually passed away, so that was the first time that he had actually been back to Korea ever since coming here I think. Yeah. So besides that though, we haven’t really taken trips to Korea or done much as far as an effort towards that.
Me: Why did you move here? If you feel like sharing. You don’t have to.

Ben: Um, I honestly don’t know. [laughs] Uh, at the time, my mom is actually the youngest out of four sisters, and at the time, my aunt, my mother’s second oldest sister, she was actually in America already with her husband, and they were taking care of my grandmother from my mother’s side, so, after getting her nursing degree and getting married to my dad, my aunt suggested that she come from Korea to America and just look for opportunity here. So she took that advice and came here, and that was while she was pregnant with me. So my dad remained in Korea working in his, um, his business place, and shortly after, he came to America after I was born.

Me: And how many siblings do you have? You said you were the oldest.

Ben: I’m the oldest, and I have one little sister.

Me: Ok, cool, well I hope I covered everything.

Interview with Tae Park, Ben’s father

Me: Alright, so I’m just going to ask you some of the same questions that I asked Ben. And if you have any questions that you need me to clarify, don’t hesitate to let me know. Um, ok, and your first name is…

Tae: Tae, t-a-e.

Me: Ok, great. So I’m now beginning my interview with Ben’s father, Tae Park. Um, let’s see, some people enjoy spending time with others and others enjoy spending more time alone. How would you define yourself in this way?

Ben: [Translation]

Tae: I talk to more people.

Me: You talk to more people?

Tae: [unintelligible]

Me: You don’t like being alone?

Tae: No, I don’t want.

Me: Um, how do you feel that you are unique and different from other people?

Ben: [translation]
Tae: Because I just got a lot of friends, when we play cards or something like that I, I just got a little bit more leadership, so they just follow to me.

Me: So you’re more of a leader than maybe other people are?

Tae: Because I, my age is a little bit more, the younger people follow me

Me: [laughs] Ok. So some people are comfortable revealing personal facts to others, and some people tend to keep that more to themselves. Do you like revealing personal facts to other people, or are you more private with those kinds of things?

Ben: [translation]

Tae: I can just talk right now, little bit more, keep going, little bit more, keep going. So relationship is talking to them.

Me: So the more the relationship kind of develops, the more you’re willing to reveal?

Tae: [nods]

Me: But you kind of reveal more to your wife than you would to be obviously? [nods] Ok. Um, do you consider yourself to be a competitive person, whether it’s in the workforce, or games, or…

Tae: everything!

Me: [laughs] Can you give me an example of this?

Tae: Because my—lot of people not my same age, some of it’s young, some of it’s old, but I just got a connection for—with them.

Me: Ok, so you’re kind of, you’re a connection between the younger and the older of your friends, but you’re still competitive with all of the age groups?

Tae: Mhm.

Me: You like to be on top?

Tae: Mhm.

Me: Ok. Um, can you tell me about a time that you acted independently?

Ben: [translation]
Tae: Because I—I never—I uh, just think about it—my country, my culture, you just think about it, more think about it, usually calm down, one step, two step, three step, next. We just action then. But not right now.

Me: Ok, so you kind of take it step by step, you don’t usually do something right then. Ok. Can you give me an example of a time when you did that, when you kind of thought about it rather than doing it?

Tae: Because two different things—one thing single, one thing married, when you have a family or not family. When I single, I think about it just one time, but I got a family, I just think more time, I just think, one step two step three step.

Me: Why is that?

Tae: Because I just keep my family.

Me: Ok, so you kind of do what’s in the best interest of your family? Ok. Can you give me an example of a choice where you kind of considered it more with keeping your family in mind, a specific decision that you actually made—

Tae: Because example—sometimes—I just live in Cincinnati for 20 years, but then job, I’m just job hunting, looking for job, looks like good job is just out of state. I just move for there, I just think about it, my family, I ask for my family first. You want to move or stay here?

Me: And if they said how they felt, that’s how you would make your decision then? Kind of what they want more so than what you want? So have you ever had to sacrifice a job that you wanted based on what your family wanted to do at that time?

Tae: [nods]

Me: did that make you kind of upset having to give up that job that you wanted, or were you ok with that because you knew it was in your family’s best interest?

Tae: My family. For example, Ben give up the job. I just think about it, Ben’s choice, not my choice. But I just keep going, “Going there is better,” but he said, “I don’t want it,” I just give up. It’s ok. Looking for other job, fine.

Me: [laughs] Ok. Alrighty, um, so, are you more polite when dealing with your superiors, or do you feel like everyone in your family is on an equal playing field, equal ground? Do you expect Ben to maybe treat you with more respect than he maybe gives his friends?

Ben: [translation]

Tae: Because it’s in my country, my culture, older generation, we never talk…[asks Ben something in Korean]
Ben: In Korean language, there is actually a specific way for people below to speak to elders. So it would be [unintelligible] for someone in a younger generation to speak to their elders without actually adding those honorifics.

Tae: In English, it’s just ‘you,’ right? But in my country, you can never talk to ‘you.’ It’s ‘sir.’

Me: Oh ok, that’s interesting.

Tae: The youngest, that’s ‘you.’ Older generation, ‘sir.’

Me: Ok, but, um, are you different from your culture when you came here?

Tae: It’s the same culture, we just live in America, but I’m Korean. So right now we just got so many people…communication…community in here. Sometimes when we’re just meeting in another place, we never talk like that, but old generation, only ‘sir.’ Young generation, ‘you.’

Me: Ok, that’s so interesting.

Tae: Ben never talk to me ‘you’

Me: [laughs] Ok. Ben told me that he’s kind of independent, that he makes decisions on his own. He kind of listens to what you and your wife have to say, but he kind of is independent and acts on his own, but he did listen to you about where to go to college. Were you—do you encourage to be more independent, or do you wish he listened to your advice more, or how do you feel about that?

Ben: [translation]

Tae: I think about it, Ben is over 20, so it’s Ben’s choice. Right now he is at UC, but he transfer out of college, it’s ok, it’s Ben’s choice.

Me: So, since he’s older, he can make these choices, but if he were younger, would he have to listen to you, more in terms of what you wanted?

Tae: No, it’s the same thing.

Me: Same thing? Ok. But you did advise him to maybe stay in state for school. Why did you recommend that he do that?

Tae: Because right now—before I just got—I cannot make that much money, out of state. Because I cannot afford to support him, 50 thousand dollars a year, I cannot do that, in state is a little bit more cheap. Because I got more money, I don’t care. [laughs] I want to support to Ben. Right now I can’t have that much money, I cannot support him.
Me: Ok, when you’re in a conflict with your wife or your friends, do you kind of find a middle
ground to solve the problem, or do you try to argue your own point if you think that you’re right?

Ben: [translation]

Tae: I’m not going to argue. If not the same personality, think different things. But you’ve just
got to talking, talking, again, again, little bit.

Me: Do you kind of treat—when you’re in an argument with your wife, do you kind of treat, her
a different way than maybe you would if you’re arguing with one of your friends?

Tae: No.

Me: No, same? Ok. Um, do you tend to keep conflict with others to yourself? Do you kind of
keep it to yourself, internalize it, and then maybe talk to them about it, or if something is
upsetting you, you talk with them about it right away?

Ben: [translation]

Tae: Sometimes I gotta talk right away but sometimes I just think about it, little more time, then
talk then. So, different choice.

Me: Um, so, when you do get into an argument, do you tend to argue your own position or do
you kind of accept the views of other people, kind of go along with what they think is right?

Tae: Well, I don’t care

Me: [laughs] so you’re kind of—if you don’t even agree with what the other person is saying, but
they think they’re right, you’ll still maybe go along with that?

Tae: [nods]

Me: Ok. Do you ever use your influence to get your ideas accepted, maybe because you are an
elder, you kind of expect the other people to respect you, do you use your influence to get other
people to do what you want them to do?

Ben: [translation]

Tae: I, uh, I got more power, some people, I just gotta help, gotta help them with what I have,
just gotta keep going, each other together

Me: Ok, so you do realize maybe when you have more power, but you don’t really use that to
your advantage?

Tae: Uh huh.
Me: Ok. And you just try to find a middle ground with that person, help them understand?

Tae: Mmhmm

Me: Ok. Ok, um, so you generally do maybe satisfy the needs of other people before yourself. Even friends, family, whoever…

Tae: Yeah.

Me: Ok. Well, I guess you’ve really answered all of my questions. Ben told me that he kind of does like to argue with other people and he does kind of feel like when he has a good position, he argues with another person. Do you think that is similar to you, or not very similar to you?

Tae: No!

Me: [laughs] so, not similar to you? He said he has some characteristics of his mother. Do you think he gets that from her, maybe, or that he’s learned it from living in the United States rather than Korea?

Ben: [translation]

Tae: Actually, that kind of just with Korean culture, we never argue with our parents.

Me: You never argued with your parents?

Tae: No, if my parents talking to me, I just follow. But, I think about it, Ben was born here, it looks like he’s half Korean, half American. Different, people think.

Me: So you kind of recognize the cultural difference, and kind of let him be his own person kind of?

Tae: Yep.

Me: Well, let me see. Is there anything else I want to ask? Is there anything else you’d like to share with me that you didn’t think I addressed?

Ben: [translation] I think that you pretty much covered all the bases.

Me: Great, then.
Appendix H

Transcription of Interviews with Sam and Keun Lee

Interview with Sam Lee, Keun’s son

Me: So, I am now beginning my interview with Sam Lee on March 6, 2010 [at the Korean Church of Columbus]. Alright, so you mind if I…ok, great. So, how would you say that you are unique and different from other people?

Sam: Um, unique and different…I…I don’t think I am unique. [laughs] I don’t know, I…nothing in particular.

Me: Nothing in particular?

Sam: I think we’re all unique and different, so that would make every aspect of me unique and different.

Me: Ok.

Sam: There are similarities with other individuals, and I can think of similarities, but not differences.

Me: Ok. Sure. Um, when you’re kind of making a decision, do you consult with your family more, or do you more individualistically make decisions?

Sam: I’d say both. I run it through both filters, see how they match up. Depending on the significance of the decision, of course. I’m not going to ask them about what I should eat for breakfast today. [laughs]

Me: Sure, sure. Can you give me an example of maybe a bigger decision that you made, where you either consulted—

Sam: I think choosing a school, or if I may go into a possible career, I’ll consult on that.

Me: If, um, your father—or, who do you consult, with your parents?

Sam: Yeah, parents, sister.

Me: Parents, sister? Ok. Um, so how are old are you? I’m sorry, I should have asked this before.

Sam: 29.
Me: 29? Ok. Um, and, if your father were to give you a negative answer, say, “I don’t think this is a good choice for you,” would you listen to his advice, or would you take into consideration more of what you wanted to do yourself?

Sam: Both.

Me: Both?

Sam: Yeah.

Me: Ok. Um, do you like spending more time alone or with other people?

Sam: Um, I think half and half honestly. It depends on the mood and day. But I’m comfortable with both. But if I had to choose one, I’d have to say I’m more introverted, but both are ok.

Me: Ok. Um, would you say that you are a competitive person?

Sam: Um, semi competitive, yeah

Me: Can you give me an example of a time when you are competitive?

Sam: Um, now? I think subconsciously when we’re in the workplace, we all want to be promoted, want to be better, faster than another. Subconsciously. I don’t think I’d ever admit that to a person, but deep down inside, probably. I guess it’s human nature.

Me: Um, when you do get into arguments with another people, and you’re debating, do you—

RECORDER MALFUNCTIONED, HAD TO CHANGE BATTERIES AND FLIP THE TAPE TO FIGURE OUT WHAT THE ISSUE WAS.

Me: Ok, let’s start this again. Ok, why is that blinking? Ok, I guess it’s ok.

Sam: Do you wanna test it?

Me: Yeah, let’s test it. Alright, I’m sorry about that. We’re taping now. Ok, could you repeat what you said earlier when I was changing the tapes around?

Sam: So, let’s go back to the first question about what makes you unique and different from others. I do have a law degree, which a lot of people do, but even with that, I focused on dispute resolution, which is the study of how people fight and resolve their issues, whether it be legal or interpersonal or even at a national level. So, studying dispute resolution and mediation probably skews the way I see things for this study. But personally I don’t think that changes the way I look at disputes any more than I learned—I mean, we learned in school and I still believe it, that you learn to handle disputes on the playground when you’re like six, and it will always stay with you.
But that’s the way you were raised, the way you interact. So, family will come to play with that, but that’s kind of one point.

Me: So, you think it is mostly kind of the environment you’re in when you’re at school, or do you think it’s also influenced by—

Sam: No, I think it’s both. The formative years for kids are even before you enter school. I didn’t go to preschool, so I was with my parents ‘til I was like six, so at that point—I came to church with them, so I was around kids all the time so I had time to test it out and see my parents kind of argue and resolve. So processing that and kind of being a part of that, trying to mediate that, I think that was a big part of how I see conflict resolving and not resolving.

Me: So you were kind of a mediator between them?

Sam: Yeah, sometimes. When they would dispute, I would kind of mediate for them, not because of language, but because, you know, hey, you see both sides, you see what they’re trying to say. And it’s very natural, I think that’s why I went into dispute resolution, because I understood it on a more organic, natural level. So yeah, that did, that did influence it. I don’t know if that’s cultural, but…

Me: How old were you when you were kind of doing this mediation?

Sam: Um, very young. Maybe elementary ‘til…whenever. You know, parents fight, so however long, whatever.

Me: And you said something about a language barrier?

Sam: No, there was no language barrier. My Korean isn’t as good, but their English is much better than the average, so…

Me: Ok.

Sam: You know, you see my side, I see your side. In that sense, my dad and my mom allowed me to speak my opinion and voice my, you know, perspective, which maybe isn’t the usual thing, so doing that allowed me to articulate my thoughts and opinions…I didn’t always get my way, but that was, at times, enough.

Me: And you said you were allowed to voice your opinions, which might not be the typical thing…

Sam: Right.

Me: What do you mean by that?
Sam: So, if you have a language barrier, that’s a problem, one. I have a friend who has a language barrier with his parents and the arguments never go very far because they can’t understand each other. Um, but even past that. Sometimes people pull rank. You know, I’m your parent, you have to listen. Use that hierarchy, call it a social hierarchy…that exists in the more traditional families. Um…yeah. That exists, that’s not unusual. The Korean culture is very much respect your elders, there’s a formality even in the way they use speech. It very much is there, but the way that manifests itself…it doesn’t have to be “I’m the older one, you’re the younger one.” It can be more voice each other’s opinions. See, I think that’s more of a character thing, not necessarily a culture thing. It depends on the person, depends on the family…how they manifest that social hierarchy. Whether it’s going to be a more fair situation, quote unquote fair, in the eyes of maybe in western world, it’s gonna be “you say something but listen to me.” It just depends. It depends on the character of the person. And admittedly, my dad will speak more to this, but he’s told me that he’s more westernized than some of his peers.

Me: So you said that this social hierarchy that exists sometimes doesn’t exist in your family?

Sam: Compared to others…no, my friends have told me that it’s not similar to theirs. You know, some of that I honestly believe is education. My father is highly educated, my sister and I have a decent amount of education. I think regardless of culture, I think that will play into how things go.

Me: And how long have you all been here?

Sam: I’ve been here since I was born, so 29 years. My father…I don’t know…40…

Keun [Sam’s father]: 41 years… ’69.

Sam: But his quote unquote westernization happened even before he came. He can speak to that. But, I’ve met friends who are my age, or just a little bit younger, whose dynamic with their parents is just different. They can get their words in, but either it’s a language barrier or the parent kind of…they just don’t get to say much.

Me: Do you think you’ve benefited from having that open relationship with your parents where you can kind of get your word in there?

Sam: Yeah. I think it’s good. It has its downsides. I mean, am I as quick to listen as others? Maybe not. But at the same time, I think I do…really, I think how it all works, is beyond culture…you know, my dad is a pastor, and I take my faith seriously, and that dynamic is more ruling, more governing, of how we interact. Some of my friends’ parents don’t come to church as often as they do, so they have ideological differences. So if we’re all on the same ideological page, then I think it’s pretty easy to figure out what to do, or how you want to govern that relationship. If that’s a difference, if language is a difference, then it will all start to compound. So it just really depends. So if you ask me do I associate my identity with being Korean, yeah, I do, but it’s not the first thing I think of. I’m a son, I’m a brother, I’m a Christian, you know, those kinds of things come to mind first before my culture. That’s not always the same with
everybody. Some people are more like “I’m Korean,” very nationalistic I guess you would say. But, that wasn’t necessarily in our family either.

Me: So, do you think that your religion does play a large role…?

Sam: Absolutely. I think it’s the biggest factor, meaning that my parents are very fair, but because they take their religion so seriously, it isn’t just a set of rules for them. It’s their life. It’s patient, it’s understanding, it’s merciful. They try to emulate what they…the way that Christ would live a life, and it’s one that is patient. Yeah, my parents are patient. That’s why I think I can get away with some of the things that I say. [laughs] In that sense, do I think that’s rare? In that sense, I do. But I do think that’s the most important factor. The way we grew up, the culture, the environment, they all start to work together. Nothing is in isolation.

Me: When you brought up the schooling example, how you maybe listened to your parents about the schooling, could you tell me about that situation?

Sam: Yeah, sure. Well, I wasn’t sure where I wanted to go, what I wanted to do, so I asked for advice. I had an idea what I wanted to do, but then my parents would talk…and this is why I say religion is important. My father would say, “pray about the situation, and I’ll pray too.” In that, we kind of…if you want to see what objectively happened, we took on a third party, something that was beyond us humans, and tried to mold ourselves to that. In a way it was a mediation without an individual, it was an idea, an ideology, some kind of compromise. So we said hey, we’re going to not just have our two opinions. So that’s why it resolved itself in the way that it did. Um, now, have there been things that we’ve disagreed with? Absolutely. And in those situations, I’ve probably…if anything, if anyone’s gonna back down, it’s gonna be me.

Me: Ok.

Sam: It’s gonna be me.

Me: Any why is that?

Sam: I think it’s out of respect. Um, because…respect…and also just this idea that they’ve lived a lot longer than I have, they might actually have some perspective that’s deeper than mine. And you know, my parents are a little older than the average parent of my age, too. I have an older sister, so, that plays into it too. So if they were younger, I don’t know how that would go. It’s kind of like your grandparents. How would you treat your grandparents? It’s a little different.

Me: Mmmhmmm.

Sam: Um, yeah, respect, and perspective…but you know, in the end, we’ve compromised too, so. But it takes time. If I expect it to finish in a day, yeah, then you’re gonna have drop down fights, you know. You have to have patience, because everything takes time.
Me: So when you do have these “drop down fights” as you call them, you usually are the one who gives in?

Sam: Um…

Me: Or how are these situations typically resolved?

Sam: I think we all do. One person obviously has to say, “hey, wait a minute, time out.” It could be either. I mean, it’d probably be me because I’m probably the one who’s angry first, but…

Me: And you talked talk about kind of your westernization. How would you classify the difference between the Korean culture and this culture in terms of the way you manage conflict, the way you interact with other people?

Sam: Right. Um, I think the western culture is marked with independence. Kind of independent thought is maybe valued over communal thought. And I think that is a big difference between the traditional Korean culture. But if you went to Korea today, it’s much more westernized than people suspect. You know, there is this phenomenon in sociology…those who emigrated here in the 70s are much more quote unquote Korean than Koreans still in Korea are today. They live in a vacuum that is still the 70s, whereas Koreans in Korea are in the 21st century. So, I bet Koreans in Korea are not as strict on culture rules as those who are here. A lot of people have said that. I mean for instance, there are some strict rules about how you interact, like how you call someone older, you have a name for them. I think parents here who have really forced that upon their kids…but in Korea, it’s more relaxed. I mean there are still rules, but…here they’re like, “oh, you have to.” Why is there that disconnect? It’s because they’re stuck in the 70s. So we all interact differently between different generations.

Me: When you are interacting, when it’s with friends, or your girlfriend, how is that kind of different than the arguments that you have with your parents?

Sam: I think they all start off the same. I was raised to be able to voice my opinion. So, everyone speaks. When I fight with my girlfriend, I let her speak, I speak…we talk a lot, you know. There is nothing that we fight about that has to be resolved in the moment, so we continue talking. With my parents, we kind of do the same, but I think in terms of how quickly it resolves itself, probably…I don’t know who’s faster. If I resolve with my parents, it’s going to be because I respect them. If I resolve with my girlfriend, it’s going to be because I want to keep our relationship close. I mean, if I marry her eventually, I see her every day. So like, it’s out of respect for both. But it’s slightly different. Because she’s not older than me, so it’s not a respect of age, it’s a respect of love and kind of wanting to keep it together. Because with my parents, I kind of got the impression that if we fought really hard or whatever, they’re not going to kick me out of the house or disown me or whatever, but your girlfriend or wife, can they turn off? Yeah, they can.

Me: So you did say that you’re more of a compromising person, you like to…do you try to find a common ground with someone, or do you ever try to use your influence to…say, “I’m older than
you” or something like that.

Sam: I won’t use rank often. I think I’m pretty fair. I like to compromise, but sometimes to my detriment. Sometimes there are no compromises, right? I guess you should ask my girlfriend what she thinks about that. [laughs] I think she’d say I’m pretty fair. You also have to remember that I’m trained to be a lawyer, so our job is to persuade…

Me: So how do you kind of strike that balance, because lawyers have a reputation of being kind of—

Sam: Very standoffish? We have to compromise, it’s business. I mean, my sister is in immigration so she doesn’t have to compromise very much and I’ve seen her be pretty standoffish because of that mentality. But you know, even if I were in that situation…because of my experience with dispute resolution, I really like that, I believe that even to the most difficult situations, there is a place that everyone can be happy. Not everyone, but it’s not a world of “I have to be happy, you have to be sad.” I believe there is a place—and that’s classic dispute resolution. That’s a classic thought that I adopted. I think I even adopted that before, the idea that everyone can win. Now, sometimes I don’t think my parents think that, because in the older mentality, there are only sides. But for me, there are. Everyone can win. I don’t know where that comes from. But I think it’s education, just growing up. I definitely believe that, that everyone can win. That’s why you talk it out. A lot of lawyers aren’t like that. They think there’s my side and your side. I think that’s a waste of time.

Me: Um, you characterized westernized culture as being more individualistic. We’re also characterized as being more competitive and wanting to get our way, fight until the end, because we want to win ultimately. Would you say that you have that impression of the westernized culture, or is your integrated approach more westernized?

Sam: Um, I think that’s kind of anywhere, but the whole traditional, communal ideas and individualism still permeate society today. In Korea, you’re very aware of your existence with many, verses “this is my life,” right? Even Korean communities in the US, they tend to be exclusive, they choose to just hang out with Koreans or whatever, maybe because there’s just not that many, and so, if you live in a community of not that many Koreans, you’re very conscious of the ones around you and think about that. But if I didn’t have that, why would I even care about the ones around me? It’s my own life. So I think that’s somewhat of a deep-rooted difference. Other than that, I think I’m pretty Americanized. I probably couldn’t even tell the difference to a certain extent, other than that.

Me: So, the first gentleman I interviewed, he was 19, I interviewed him and his father…he said that he was more competitive, he does like to win arguments, does like to argue his point more, but does he respect his parents’ wishes at times. Would you say that difference between you and him is more about age, or…his father has only been here for 20 years, and he doesn’t speak English very well…I haven’t spoken to your father yet so I don’t know the differences between them yet, but, would you say the reason is more age, or what would you say is the reason for the difference between you and him?
Sam: Um, if there’s a language barrier... in that, it would just take forever to compromise, it would just take too long. Some of the age is there. Usually you’re both patient when you’re older. Usually. I think... yeah, age... maybe just relationship with his dad. I know my relationship with my parents is very close, and so we’re willing to take time and talk through things. Education too. The whole idea that... I don’t know, I mean, I think the whole win-win thing, obviously my parents are gonna kinda believe that too, but um, if they don’t right, if one is going to stand off and be positional, then the other one is going to have to be positional or they’re going to get run over. So it’s not something they think about, it’s the only way they can react. If the dad is positional, the son will have to be; if the son is positional, the dad will have to be. If there is a concept of maybe there is a way we can both kind of win, they’ll talk through it more. Whether you’re positional because of culture, I’m not sure. I know traditionally, pretty much every culture, they’re all positional. There are those that can compromise and win-win, whatever, but... look at history, right? The way that we fight wars. It’s kind of this concept that we just can’t agree. Our generation, Gen Y, in the US, so maybe it is a culture thing, we don’t necessarily have to be standoffish. I don’t think. We’re tolerant. I don’t know if that’s relevant, but I don’t know, we’re a pretty tolerant culture, generation. I don’t know if that’s good our bad, but we are. So a lot of those things will come to play. It’s circumstantial too.

Me: So you said that you had this integrated, compromising approach even before you took this conflict management...

Sam: I think so.

Me: Could you give me an example of how maybe that would go?

Sam: Sure. It was the classic mediation, you know. Usually one person would speak... they would argue and I’d come in. They’d tell me... one person would say something and I’d say to the other person, do you understand it like this? And then we’d go back and forth. It was the classic mediation model. You know, I’d more or less try to calm everything down. What was the benefit to me? Mediators get paid, right? I’m not getting paid to do this. So what was in it for me is that... I wanted them to stop fighting. That’s what was in it for me. There was no other way to get it to stop. For me, when there are two different positions, how are you going to make them stop? You’re going to try to find a compromise. And it was to my benefit, and we’d all be happy again.

Me: And where do you think you learned that? Did you learn it from your parents?

Sam: Where did I learn that? I don’t know. It’s just survival. I mean, my sister would be there too. She would react in a way that she’d leave, she’d remove herself. So you either remove yourself, or you go into it, right? Unless you pick a side. But if you pick a side, you’re just going to destroy everything, so it’s almost... it’s just survival. I guess for me it was just because there was no choice. It was either take a side, which... the ultimate conclusion would be destruction. That wasn’t a choice. So let’s consider a husband and wife. If they consider divorce not a choice, then they have to compromise, right? Or one has to continue to abuse the other, or they both
abuse each other. So if you take divorce off the table, then you have to compromise. My parents never believed in divorce, and they knew that. I knew that. So what are we going to do, we’re going to figure this out. But that’s a religious thing, that’s not cultural.

Me: Yeah, I need to remember the religious thing too when I’m processing all of this. Um, is there anything else you would like to add right now? Any other concluding thoughts you’d like me to have in my notes?

Sam: You know, I think I’m different, kind of not the average, stereotypical…my relationship with my parents, everything like that, so. What I believe the stereotypical situation would be, is that there is a language barrier…let’s take my girlfriend. My girlfriend is more typical. There’s a language barrier, you know, her parents speak decent English…they came here in the ‘70s, and she was raised very western—you know her friends were white, she grew up with American families per say, hanging out with them or whatever. Her dad, when they argue, her dad would be there, he’d say, “here’s my point of view,” she she’d say her point very quickly. It wouldn’t get very far because they wouldn’t understand. She’d leave in frustration or whatever. And they have different ideological views at times. He hasn’t always been the strongest church-goer. She is now more than she was in high school. That was always in the middle of things too. That’s pretty common, you’ll see that a lot. So it would end up that they didn’t get to talk very much, they barely understood each other, and they just kind of did their own thing. I believe that to be the stereotypical situation. Not the optimal one, but…I’ve heard that many, many times.

Me: Could you describe the stereotypical…if you were to be in Korea right now, how would an argument go?

Sam: Korea today, I couldn’t say specifically. Obviously there’s no language barrier, right. Older people and younger people are going to disagree about stuff. That’s always there. I don’t see how different it would be. Maybe they words they use, how long they argue. But if I look at the kids here, in high school they have the typical rebellious stage. That happens in Korea too. It just depends on the mom and dad. How strong they are. Some are strong, some are passive. It just depends.

**Interview with Keun Lee, Sam’s father**

Me: I am now beginning my interview with Keun Lee, Sam’s father. So I’m just going to ask you the same questions I asked Sam, and then I’ll kind of ask you about some of the stuff that he talked about as well. So first of all, how would you say that you are unique and different from other people?

Keun: Same human being, there’s no difference in that. When you tell people what is your value, what is the purpose of life, all that, it’s you. Yourself. So me, I’m Korean. To Korean I’m not different, but…as a Christian, in my own unique value and purpose, that may be different. What is different? I can’t tell, because it’s a matter of degree. I’m Christian, Korean, human being. So, same, but different in terms of degree.
Me: Ok. Great. Do you like being alone more often, or spending time with other people?

Keun: Alone. Thinking alone, you know.

Me: When you’re making decision, do you consult your wife, do you consult Sam and your daughter? How do you go about making perhaps important life decisions like changing a job, moving, things like that?

Keun: You know, of course you live in interaction with others, if it’s related to family or something like that, you have to talk to them. If it’s church issue, you have to talk with the church, you know, consult with others. If it’s your decision, if it’s with the church, the head of an organization, they’re the one that have the final say. So for family, you cannot do that. With your wife and children…

Me: So if you did consult with your family about an important decision, and they wanted to do something…the man in my last interview, he wanted to take a new job, so he talked to his family about it. They would have had to move, and the family didn’t want to, so he didn’t take that job even though he wanted to.

Keun: If they are family, I probably would have done the same thing. You know, you cannot live alone. You have to consider your family members. That’s what’s different between single and married people. If you have no choice, if you have no job, whether you like or not, you have to go on. Different case.

Me: Sure, sure. If you did have that kind of decision, and you were to get into an argument about it, would you kind of use your authority to get decisions made in your favor, or would you back down and compromise with what your wife wanted?

Keun: You know, I’m 67 now, and sometimes [unintelligible]…but you cannot. If you are a reasonable person, then you cannot just, you know, be like that. You have to talk, persuade, discuss, argument maybe. But, I always talk a lot, but when we fight, I always give into my wife.

Me: You do?

Keun: You know, she win finally. Why? Because she’s reasonable. And also, sometimes you cannot fight if you want to, you know, stay together. It’s not cultural issue. Some people don’t care [unintelligible]. But I could never do that. So if you cannot do that, somehow, you have to make a compromise, no matter what. It doesn’t matter.

Me: Sam mentioned kind of the same thing, about how you have to make a compromise to survive. Do you think that he learned that from you? He talked about how he kind of mediated fights between you and your wife.

Keun: You know, that kind of thing, instead of about learning…in the same family, each person is psychologically different. React certain same issue different way. Whether it’s Korean or American, it doesn’t matter. It’s more like temperament. When parents are fighting, like he...
mentioned, some people walk out, some people try to mediate, some people don’t care anything. This happens in any family, regardless of race or culture. That’s more like temperament. That’s a basic thing, how they’re born. It’s not like character, it’s more temperament. How they handle things. It’s more like nature.

Me: And would you say that…if it’s not a cultural thing, do you think your religion influences you to be more compromising and understanding?

Keun: Absolutely, sure. When I grew up, my parents fighting, I have one brother who just walk out. And one brother try to make peace. We have seven brothers and sisters, so I see that kind of pattern. So, it’s same thing in any country.

Me: In terms of argumentation styles, do you see differences between your parents’ arguments and those between you and your wife? Like, did your father give in to your mom?
Keun: No, my mom gave in more. And I grew up the same way my son did now. I can see that. I was like him when I was young. It’s more temperament, people are born with it. Character changes throughout life, but temperament doesn’t change.

Me: Would you say that that’s typical? Culture does kind of have an influence on certain things. Would you say that you’re a “typical” Korean? Or are you more westernized?

Keun: We were more westernized. But instead of westernized, more Christianized. Culture means a pattern of behavior, or a procedure, and how they proceed through their lives. It changes over years. Korean culture changes over years. So, our family was more privileged, we had a lot of advantage. We were really open, and more than anything else, we were Christian. In Korean culture, Buddhism was dominant, and Confucianism was dominant, but when Christianity came in, we received that first, first my mother, then whole family. So, Christian culture, in Korea, made a lot of difference in our family. We celebrate Christmas and all that, got together and sang carols, gifts, Christmas tree. Many years of that, 60 years of that, not many people did that. So Christian culture more than anything else.

Me: Ok. Sam mentioned that even in the church there are differences…the younger children, because of language barriers, or perhaps the educational differences…would you say that your education also kind of shaped you in terms of the way you interact with people?

Keun: You cannot deny that. Education is enlightenment, the way they think and behave. When you’re educated, you become more rational, reasonable. That’s the way you’re trained, to think and behave. But that’s not absolute thing. It could be a variable, but it’s not dominant. More like for me, Christianity. Christianity brought to society freedom, openness in interaction between people. Christianity brought love and freedom among family members more than any other. But, a lot of people are educated, but it doesn’t mean that they are open like that. It’s culturally bound. Also, culture is determined by religion. Religion determines behavior. Religion has more influence than other things in the culture. So if you talk about culture in that sense, then it’s different. What determines this pattern of behavior? That’s the important factor.
Me: What would you say is the typical...when you say that you are the typical, westernized American, what would you say is the typical pattern of behavior?

Keun: It’s open, more free, and individualized. That’s western culture, but now it’s different. Instead of westernized, it’s kind of more symbolic of individual freedom. Eastern culture is more communitarian. Each person’s value is determined within the community. Community is more important. So it’s not westernized, it’s more open, enlightened. So, if you say westernized in terms of openness and freedom, then yes, I’m westernized. Even western society changes a lot. Even Korea is more westernized. So you have to define the concept of westernized. Because even that concept changes over the years.

Me: It has been conceptualized, as I told Sam, as being competitive, individualistic as you said. Would you say that is a correct conceptualization of the US? How do you fit that mold? How do you see yourself as being more competitive and individualistic as opposed to more compromising and collectivistic?

Keun: When you go to Korea, people are very competitive, so that’s not the only attribute of a culture. So it’s no longer “western culture.” It started here, but it’s been imported to other countries. They change. So instead of using that, we’ll have to use some other name for that. It’s no longer western.

Me: Well, getting back to your more personalized...the way you manage conflict. You said that you do give into your wife more—

Keun: Oh yeah, I do. I argue a lot, but you have to. Somebody stand strong, you’ve gotta compromise. Otherwise, you destroy the relationship. Until then you may argue, do all these things, but finally, you gotta do it. Unless...there are certain things I don’t agree, I don’t compromise. You know, I’m pastor. I’m leader at church, administrator, I don’t make a compromise with other spot. [somewhat unintelligible; something about not giving in to other members of the church and bigotry since religious people tend to be stubborn] but I don’t do that with everything, you know, “go ahead, do it.” I think it’s very important that I do that but still make a compromise. Some things I don’t compromise. But that’s not that often. But in personal life, can’t do that. You kill people that way.

Me: So would you say that you interact with your friends, church-goers, the same way that you interact with your wife?

Keun: [unintelligible]

Me: So, would you classify yourself as a competitive person, or you’re not so much? You don’t seek to win and get your point across...

Keun: Competitive is human nature. You compete with others, but I don’t intentionally compete with others. If I’m satisfied, then I just move on no matter what. What others have achieved or not, I don’t care about. In that sense, it’s more than competitive. Competitive means you put
yourself equal with others. When you think you’re different, then you’re not competitive, just move on your way.

**KEUN GETS A PHONE CALL, I CAN TELL THAT HE’S BEING PRESSURED TO GO EAT LUNCH.**

Me: Is there anything else you’d like to add, anything else you’d like me to have in my notes?

Keun: This is a socialization process, intergenerational issue. People grow up together. They learn by living. It’s not intentional learning process. In any family, you pick up things naturally. Parents doesn’t have to teach this and that too much. They don’t learn too much, but they learn through living. Very important process, we call socialization. In the family, between generations. How they live. So, everything is determined within the family without formal training. They just live life and pick up. The best learning process. If you wanna transmit everything, you gotta live together. That’s best communication without intentional communication.

Me: Would you say that you’ve modeled in your home a good way for Sam to learn? Would you say that he is similar to you in the way that he communicates? And is that a good thing?

Keun: You know what, I can say that, even though Sam is here, children better than I. You know, I do. Children are supposed to be better than parents.

Me: In what way?

Keun: They’re profound, more embracing, more like that. They’re supposed to get better. If they get worse and worse, what could be outcome? Think about that. I believe that. I think sometimes, wow, they’re more reasonable. Not everything, but I hope that children’s better than parents.

Me: So Sam is more reasonable than you at times? Would you say that you’re reasonable?

Keun: Yeah. I am a highly reasonable person, but sometimes he’s more reasonable. More open, which is good. It’s not necessarily learning, not intentional. That’s how God created us, that’s what God wanted.

Me: You talk a lot about openness. The father I interviewed before you told me that if he was upset about something, he’d keep it to himself, think it over for a long time, before confronting the person about it. Would you say that this openness and constant communication and talking things over is important, or do you kind of handle things in that way where you internalize it?

Keun: You have to open. Sometimes people have own idea, own belief and all that. But if you love other, you cannot just stick with what you want. You have to consider their situation. Then you have to…then sometimes, whether you want or not, you have to open. If you want, you know, really care about that person. Without love, your right or wrong is not right thing. Righteousness without love is your own way of righteousness, it’s not real true righteousness. Truce and love should go together. You cannot separate them. So in family, and dealing with
others, that’s important. You know, rules can say, “in this rule, we have to do this.” Yeah, you can maybe keep rule, but you can destroy a person. So what good is that? If you love without truce, what good is that? There is no true outcome out of that.
Interview with Richard Kang

Me: I am now beginning my interview with Richard Kang at the Noodles and Company on OSU’s campus [on March 15, 2010]. Alright, so how do you feel you are unique and different from other people?

Richard: Um, I’d say I’m probably more…more insightful than others I guess. I like to think about stuff beforehand. In that sense I worry a lot more than other people. Um, what else. I value loyalty a lot. And I know a lot of people do, but I think I value it a lot more than others. Like, on average. It’s really easy to gain my trust, but it’s really easy for that person to lose it too. I think that’s about it…next question?

Me: Could you tell me about a time when you were polite when dealing with your superiors?

Richard: Um, yeah, pretty much this summer when I went to Korea…like, pretty much all my relatives…like polite in what way? Showing them respect?

Me: Yeah.

Richard: Yeah, yeah. I pretty much respect my elders. Like, taking out the trash, asking them if they need any help.

Me: Why do you do that? Do you feel compelled to do that just for your elders, or for anyone?

Richard: Um, I mean I try to be open and nice to everyone, so that’s kind of a more universal thing for me.

Me: Ok. Do you consult your family before making important decisions, or do you more so rely on “I want to do this, so I’m going to go ahead and do it”?

Richard: Um, I said I was pretty insightful, but at the same time, I make impulse decisions a lot too. When you have to make a decision really fast, I’m not one to think things through. So I don’t really consult my family a lot. It’s basically me thinking about it over and over again and then making a decision myself.

Me: So, you think things through, process them, or make impulse decisions more often?

Richard: Um, I would say that I probably…make impulse decisions over thinking things through with other people. I like to think things through a lot, but I’m not one to talk about it with other people I guess.
Me: Do you spend more time alone, like we were talking about, kind of thinking, or do you like to spend time with other people?

Richard: I’d say I’m a pretty open person, but I enjoy my time alone, too.

Me: Um, so you said that you do make impulse decisions on your own, but have you ever sacrificed what you wanted because you thought that maybe it was your duty to your family or your friends? Did you ever give something up that you wanted?

Richard: Yeah.

Me: Can you give me an example of that?

Richard: Back in sophomore year in high school, me and a group of friends, we were pretty stupid back then, we used to run around and open random garages, taking stuff because we thought it was the cool, hip thing to do, you know? And then my friend, he got all the stuff that we took, and he wanted to sell it or something. And they got caught, but I didn’t get caught because I left in the middle of it. So, they got caught and had to do community service or whatever. For me, that was really hard to take because I was guilty too, so I ended up turning myself in too. So, I guess that’s the way that I sacrificed. What I want is my freedom. I don’t wanna do community service or whatever.

Me: Have you ever done anything like that for your family, sacrificed what you wanted? Some of the other guys I talked to have given up maybe the school they wanted to go to because their parents thought it was a bad idea…or things like that. Have you ever done anything like that, made sacrifices like that?

Richard: Um, I wanted to play basketball in high school, but my parents wanted me to do band. I was in marching band for four years.

Me: Awww. So how did you take that?

Richard: Um, I mean I had a pretty fun time in band, so I didn’t take it that hard.

Me: Do you think your parents knew what was best for you?

Richard: No, but I was like, if they’re not gonna let me do it, I might as well make the best of it, you know?

Me: Would you consider yourself to be a competitive person?

Richard: Yes.

Me: Can you give me an example of that?
Richard: Yesterday.

Me: [laugh]

Richard: You know FIFA? Well, me and my roommate were playing, and it got a little heated up, and it kind of turned into a wrestling match.
Me: [laugh] Does that happen often?

Richard: Well, if it’s a good game, yeah. [laughs]

Me: Are you competitive with just sports or video games, or other things like school? You said you like to think a lot.

Richard: No, not really. For school and grades and stuff like that, I don’t really compare myself to others. I guess mostly sports and video games and stuff like that.

Me: Is acting independently important to you? Do you depend on family members, friends…

Richard: I’d say I’m more of an independent person than not. I mean, I can’t really think of a time… I mean, I have relied on other people, but I can’t really think of a time when I relied on them so heavily that I lost my independence.

Me: You told me that it’s easy for someone to gain your trust and also lose it too. How much do you like to reveal to others about yourself, upon first meeting them?

Richard: Um, like, how much I like to reveal to them that I value loyalty?

Me: No, just anything about yourself.

Richard: Oh. I’d say that I’m pretty open to people that I don’t really know. I mean, just for like the heck of a good conversation, just to like talk about your background and stuff. If people ask me questions, I very rarely shoot them down, like “that’s too personal” you know? If they’re interested, then, like…

Me: Sure. Do you try to satisfy the needs of other people, or do you go ahead and do what you want, even if it…not hurts the other person, but kind of stops them from getting what they want?

Richard: Um, I am kind of like a people pleaser, but at the same time, I don’t, like, do things that I don’t want to just to fit in, or do something for the other person if it’s wrong, so I guess it depends on the situation, but most likely…I’m gonna please other people.

Me: Can you give me an example of a time when you tried to do something to make someone else happy?
Richard: [thinks for a while] yeah…I mean…I gave my friend who lost his my basketball before I left for school.

Me: [laughs]

Richard: I don’t know, I can’t really think of anything.

Me: Do you tend to keep conflict with other people to yourself, or if someone upsets you, do you confront them about it?

Richard: I like confronting other people, just because I don’t like holding grudges. I don’t really like the drama that it creates…like the anger that you hold inside. I don’t really think it’s healthy. I just like to get everything out in the open.

Me: And that doesn’t result in grudges being held? Just like, stating the problem helps you to solve the problem?

Richard: If you confront someone and they get mad at you, then so what, you already talked to them about it. More often than not, if you confront them about it, “hey, let’s clear this up” you know. I mean, if you respect them and they respect you, then they’ll try to resolve it.

Me: You said, “hey, let’s clear this up.” Are you looking for a compromise, or are you trying to get the person to see things your way?

Richard: Um, it always starts out as me trying to show them my side, but then most of the time it just kind of forms into a compromise. But I mean, I guess in the beginning I start out with, “hey, can you try not doing that” but if they’re like, “no, dude, that’s just who I am,” then I’ll be like, “alright, then try to tone it down” or something.

Me: Do you think that’s the best approach to conflict management, talking it out and reaching a joint resolution?

Richard: Yes.

Me: So you don’t avoid arguments or discussions with people, you kind of just go into them head on?

Richard: I don’t really like avoiding people for something.

Me: Do you ever use your influence to get something across to someone? Maybe like “I’m older than you” or “I’m smarter than you” or anything like that to get your way?

Richard: “I’m better than you at basketball” or something like that?

Me: [laughs]
Richard: Yeah.

Me: You do do that?

Richard: Yeah.

Me: Can you give me maybe more of an in depth example of how that would go? You get into an argument with someone, and then resort to “well, I’m better than you, you need to listen to me”…

Richard: I mean, I do that to my sister a lot. She’s in the sixth grade.

Me: [laughs]

Richard: So I’m like, “yo, you don’t know anything.” [laughs] But yeah, I tend to do that a lot with my sister I guess.

Me: Ok. Well, you’ve really answered all of my questions. So, since I couldn’t interview your dad, could I ask you some questions about your dad? How does he handle conflict with your mom, or you, or his friends?

Richard: My dad is a really laid back person I guess. I mean, he’s out of town a lot, so between me being at school at him being out of town, I don’t really get to see him that much so that we can get into conflict, but from my past experiences, he would always be the one to be like, “oh, I get what you’re saying, I understand that.” So I think he’s more of an understanding person, just in the fact that he tries to solve conflict by trying to work it out. But then there are other times when I’ve done something wrong, so I have to be the one to apologize. But in a general sense, he likes to try to understand people.

Me: You said that you kind of like to confront people about an issue. Does your dad like to confront people too? The other father I interviewed like to sit for a while, think about the issue and process it, and then maybe confront the person. How does your dad fit into that?

Richard: My dad confronts you, like, on the spot I guess, no matter where you are. if he sees something wrong, he’ll just tell you about it on the spot.

Me: But then he does try to find a joint solution to solve that problem?

Richard: Yeah, yeah. If he says that, and I’m like, “well, that’s because of this,” he’ll be like “oh, ok, then…” he’s not one of those father figures who’s like “no matter what, I’m right.”

Me: Do you find that he gives into your mom more, or your mom gives into him more?

Richard: My dad definitely gives into my mom a lot! My mom is, oh, man, just pretty stubborn.
Me: How long has your family been here?

Richard: 19 years.

Me: And your dad was raised in Korea?

Richard: Yeah.

Me: So, basically, a year after you were born?

Richard: Yeah.

Me: Why do you think your dad gives into your mom like that?

Richard: I guess, like…I guess he doesn’t really like ongoing conflict that much. I’ve never really talked to him about that.

Me: The reason that I picked the Korean culture to focus on in my study is that I found that there are differences between the way people here and people there handle conflict. Korea has been conceptualized as being…wanting to compromise, whereas the US is conceptualized as being very competitive and wanting to win. Do you think that that is a true conceptualization?

Richard: I mean, I feel like there is definitely more debate going on here. But, I haven’t really gotten to know the culture that much to be able to judge it based on that.

Me: Do you think that you take after your dad in your desire to compromise?

Richard: Yeah.

Me: Something else that I’m looking at, somewhat indirectly…men are supposed to be rough and tough, competitive, wanting to win…I don’t know, not wanting to compromise or give in. Do you think that it would be “unmasculine” if you were to not want to confront people, and to come back and process the information and didn’t get into arguments with people? Or how do you see that?

Richard: I don’t think that’s a description of manliness or whatever. I don’t see how that could be a type of masculinity. There are guys that will just sit back and let it blow over, you know? I don’t know, at least for me, I don’t really think that’s a trait of masculinity. I see that equally in both genders.

Me: Do you treat your friends differently from your family when you’re engaging in conflict? Or are they the same. Like, if you’re upset with your mom, would you address her the same way that you would address your best friend or your girlfriend?
Richard: I would definitely address my mom with more respect than like my friends. I’d probably try to start off in a more polite way. That’s just how I was raised.

Me: So, you do listen to your parents when it comes to certain things, like to join band, but…did you pick OSU to be your school?

Richard: I think I was just kind of destined to go here. I was familiar with the campus because I live like 15 minutes away, so…I think both me and my parents just decided that I was going to come here. I applied to other schools, but the only application that I really tried hard on was to get into this school.

Me: If they had wanted you to go somewhere else, would you have listened to them?

Richard: I mean, if the money worked out and everything, then I guess. I mean, I’ve never really thought about it, because both me and my parents decided that it would be the best choice for me.

Me: So you do kind of listen to them on bigger choices like that, but for smaller things, you kind of make your own, independent choice.

Richard: I mean, for bigger decisions, you do kind of have to consult your parents. But for little things…

Me: The other fathers I interviewed said that they really considered their families a lot when he makes decisions. One father had the option of taking a better job in a different city, but it meant that the family had to move, and they didn’t want to, so they didn’t. Do you think that your father would do what you guys wanted, or would he make more of an independent choice?

Richard: My dad got an offer for a job in Saudi Arabia…I don’t wanna go to Saudi Arabia! I think he cares about other people’s opinions more. He didn’t take the job.

Me: When you’ve seen your parents get into arguments, how do the arguments go? Do they last a long time before your dad gives in? Or what constitutes “giving in” for him?

Richard: Um…he gives into my mom pretty fast, just because it’s my mom, but with other people, he just looks at the other side, but if he still thinks that he’s right, or for the life of him, he just cannot see where you’re coming from, then he’s just going to make a decision. But with my mom…

Me: Do you think that’s cultural, or do you think that’s just the way any person could be?

Richard: I think that’s the way any person could be, because, like, my grandfather is a really independent person.

Me: And he’s still in Korea?
Richard: Yeah. So I don’t think it’s Kor—I mean, I guess it could be, but I kind of view it as anyone could be like that.

Me: You’re kind of in the middle of the two boys I interviewed. The first guy I interviewed was 19, and he was really competitive. He always argued, he would get into hot debates with people. And the other guy I interviewed was 29 years old, and he studied conflict management as part of his law degree, and thinks that with age comes more patience and willingness to compromise. Do you like the way that you are, confronting people but then still willing to make a compromise?

Richard: Yeah, because I mean I don’t really get into hot debates. I would like that ability to be able to debate and argue.

Me: You wish you had that?

Richard: It wouldn’t hurt. But I mean, I’m fine with where I am right now. I would much rather be someone who gets into hot debates than just sit back…

Me: Why is that?

Richard: I guess it’s kind of because I want to stand up for who I am. I don’t want to be someone who is just neutral about something, I want to actually contribute something to the conversation.

Me: And do you think that you fulfill that desire?

Richard: Yeah.

Me: Ok. And you do think that comprising is the best approach, you don’t come at things like “this is what I want, this is the way we’re going to do it”?

Richard: With that stuff, it always seems like it makes the other person feel bad. I say that I like to get things out in the open, but that doesn’t mean that you have to…if you knock someone down like that, you’re giving them a reason to hold something against you, or feel angry towards you. I don’t really see how that accomplishes anything.

Me: Did you learn that from your dad? The 29 year old that I interviewed said that he learned both from his family and from like his schooling and his church, interacting with people that way. what do you think is the biggest factor? Do you think it’s your parents, or the other environments that you’re in for a while?

Richard: I think it’s when I’m interacting with other people rather than my family. Just because I’m around them a lot more than my family now. I mean, growing up [unintelligible—the restaurant noise took over whatever he said]…

Me: Do you think they’re shaping you more so than your family?
Richard: Yeah.

Me: Do you have any concluding thoughts or anything else you wanted me to have in my notes? Anything else about you or your dad?

Richard: No, I don’t think so.

Me: Alright then.

**Follow up interview via email**

Me: So, since we weren't at the church yesterday, I completed blanked out and forgot to ask you about how you think your religion plays into the way you and your father interact with people, engage in conflict, etc. If you wouldn't mind, could you answer this one last question? When I interviewed Sam and his father, they made it very clear to me that religion plays a large part in shaping who they are and how they act towards others. Is this the case with you as well? What about your father?

Richard: I have grown up in a Christian family ever since I could remember. Although my father is not a "pastor" figure within the church, it is clear to me that he is a very religious man and seeks God's word before anything. I would say religion not only plays a large part in shaping who he is, but it also defines the type of person he is in decision making and so on.

Me: Would you say that the same is true for yourself, or do you not consider yourself to be a religious individual, guided by religion in the choices that you make?

Richard: I see myself to be a religiously guided individual and I believe that God is the answer to all of my hardships in life. Although I don't see me as religiously mature as my parents, I like to believe that I am getting there.
Interview with BJ Hwang, Young-bae’s son

Me: I am now beginning my interview with BJ Hwang on March 20 at the Korean Church of Columbus. Some people enjoy spending time with other people and others prefer to spend more time alone. How do you see yourself in this way?

BJ: I’m more of, like, an alone person, but there are times when I need to be social and things, but usually, I like spending my time alone.

Me: How do you feel that you are unique and different from other people?

BJ: Um, one thing is, of course, the wheelchair. That’s one big thing. But I think another thing is, I guess, being able to speak both languages. Some kids can’t do that.

Me: Some people are comfortable revealing personal facts to other people and other people are more private. How do you see yourself in this way?

BJ: I think I see myself as more private. Yeah, usually I am more private, but if it’s something that I want to say, then I will.

Me: Are you comfortable speaking to your family members and close friends?

BJ: Yes.

Me: Do you consider yourself to be a competitive person?

BJ: Yeah, pretty much. I usually want to be right, and to excel…I want to be better than others.

Me: Than other students?

BJ: Yes.

Me: Can you give me an example of when that has happened?

BJ: Um, when we take a test, and someone else gets a better grade, then I’m more driven so that I can be better, and do better on the next test maybe. So, that’s one thing. And even, like, video games. I have to win.

Me: [laughs] can you tell me about a time when you acted independently? Or do you consider yourself to be an independent person?
BJ: Um…I try to be independent, but sometimes, I need to depend on others like my parents or other church members.

Me: Do you make decisions for yourself rather than following the advice of others, or, if your dad were to advise you to do something, would you listen to him more often, or just do what you wanted to do?

BJ: I think it’s half and half. If I agree with others on things, then maybe I’ll go that certain way, but if I disagree, I’ll be maybe less willing to go their direction. So I guess 50/50.

Me: So you would try to argue your point of view more to get them to see things your way?

BJ: Yeah.

Me: Can you give me an example of maybe when that has happened to you? When you thought that you were right and you wanted the other person to see that?

BJ: We did a lab in science class. I felt that my way of doing it was right, like dividing up the work and doing it, but like, sometimes, that way breaks down, and other people, like, don’t do anything, so I have to take charge.

Me: Can you tell me about a time when you were polite when dealing with your superiors.

BJ: Well, I mean, one time I disagreed completely with one of my peers, but still, I knew that they were older, so I respected them and went with their plan.

Me: And they were your peer or they were your elder?

BJ: Well…they were my peer. Elder? Ok. So, basically, once my sister told me to study this way or do something this way for a paper, but I didn’t agree, but I just went with it.

Me: Oh, ok, because she’s older?

BJ: Yes.

Me: Ok. Some people consult others before making a decision, and other people just go ahead and do what they want. Would you consult with your parents about maybe what job to take, or what college to attend, or are you more “I want this, I’m gonna go do it”?

BJ: Um, I would usually probably consult with people who are more experienced than I am, know more about it, and have already been there.

Me: Can you tell me about a time when you sacrificed what you wanted because you thought that it was your duty to your family or friends to do so? Or, have you done that?
BJ: I’m not sure that I’ve per say, sacrificed something big, so…

Me: The other boy I interviewed, Richard, actually, Richard Kang, said that he wanted to play basketball, but his parents wanted him to do band, so he gave in and did band for four years. Anything like that?

BJ: Um…

Me: Or, if the opportunity arose, would you sacrifice something you wanted if your parents said, “we want you to do band instead”?

BJ: I would probably protest.

Me: [laughs]

BJ: I may go with it if it brings peace. Because I don’t wanna hear about it.

Me: [laughs] Ok. Well, do you feel like you try to find a middle ground to resolve conflict situations?

BJ: Um…I’m usually middle ground on some things, on extreme issues, like social issues. Like, this is right, and you can’t say it’s wrong. So, I guess for what’s important to me, I’d say this is right, and that other thing is wrong. If it’s less important, then I don’t really care.

Me: But if you were in an argument with your dad, and he thought he was right and you thought you were right, would you be more likely to argue your point or be like, “ok, let’s find a way that we can both win this argument”?

BJ: I’d probably argue.

Me: [laughs] Ok. Do you tend to keep conflict with others to yourself, or do you confront the person right away if you’re upset with them?

BJ: Um, I actually conceal it and deal with it myself, and then maybe if I’m ready, then I’ll confront the person.

Me: Ok. How does that kind of balance out when you said that you do like to argue your point? You wait, then when you finally do confront them, you do argue your point?

BJ: Yeah.

Me: Do you tend to avoid discussions of your differences with others? You said that you do like to think about things for a while, so do you avoid the person altogether, or do you eventually say to the person, “hey, this is upsetting me”?
BJ: Usually if it upsets me, I try to just deal with it myself and get over it…if it’s not that big of a deal, sometimes.

Me: Ok. Um…do you ever use your influence to get your ideas accepted? Like, “I’m older than you, I’m smarter than you, you need to listen to me”?

BJ: Um…I guess I don’t really say it, but I guess I feel it. If I’m more experienced at it.

Me: Ok. Can you tell me about a time when you tried to satisfy the needs of someone else?

BJ: Um…once…what was the question again?

Me: Can you tell me about a time you tried to satisfy the needs of someone else?

BJ: Um…like, when there’s a disagreement between friends, I would try to get a middle ground for them, so that I don’t have to hear them argue and fight. I try to be a mediator sometimes.

Me: Ok. But if you were the one who was actually upset and in the argument with your friends, do you still kind of assume that mediator role, or do you argue your point like you told me you do earlier?

BJ: My point, yeah.

Me: So when you do serve as a mediator, do you just serve as a mediator between your friends? I spoke with Sam Lee, the pastor’s son, and he told me that he kind of mediates between his parents when they argue…do you serve that role between more than just your friends?

BJ: Um, if my parents are fighting, I just try to say something that will make both sides happy. But I don’t try to get into the argument, per say, but I try to use subtle ways…like, try to change the subject or topic. And sometimes that doesn’t work, but I try.

Me: Do you change the topic, or do you try to find a compromise so that they’re both happy? Because they’re different.

BJ: Um…I think I just try and end it by going somewhere else.

Me: Ok. Can you tell me about a time when you used authority to get a decision made in your favor? You told me earlier how you kind of think in your head, “oh, I’m more experienced.” Do you ever manifest that in the way that you act?

BJ: Um…I don’t think so.

Me: Can you tell me about a time when you went along with the suggestions of others, and maybe why you did so?
BJ: Um…um…usually like suggestions, if it’s a teacher or a parent, and they were talking about the Bible or what they know more, I would listen to them. But if it was a younger person, if it was my peer telling me, I may be less inclined.

Me: It’s interesting that you bring up the Bible. I interviewed Sam, and he really indicated to me that religion is an important part of his life, and it kind of helps inform the decisions that he makes and the way that he interacts with other people. Do you think religion plays a big part in your life, maybe how you treat others with respect, and how you try to keep arguments with others to yourself?

BJ: Yeah, religion, yeah. Christianity is a deep part of my life. I enjoy being part of it and I try to follow its teaching and its ways. So, basically, many things that I do are affected by it. How I talk, or how I act.

Me: And do you think you do a good job of emulating the patience and understanding that Christ kind of…

BJ: The thing is, I try. I know I can’t be perfect, but just getting there day by day, each day…

Me: Well, alright. I guess you’ve answered all of my questions. Just to summarize, you do like to argue your point, but you think about it a lot beforehand and process it before you confront the person—

BJ: Yes.

Me: But if you do get into an argument with another person, you do argue your point.

BJ: Yeah.

Me: Alright. Is there anything else you’d like add or anything else you’d like me to have in my notes before I interview your dad?

BJ: Nope.

Me: No? Alright then.

**Interview with Young-bae Hwang, BJ’s father**

Me: I am now beginning my interview with Young-bae, BJ’s father. I’m going to ask you the same questions that I asked BJ. Some people enjoy spending time with other people and others prefer to spend more time alone. How do you see yourself in this way?

Young-bae: It depends. Sometimes I try to be alone, but most of the time I try to be in contact with somebody. It depends.
Me: How do you feel you are unique and different from other people?

Young-bae: Um…well most of the time, try to be low-key, but I believe that I am a little bit different from others. I’m not sure why, but most of the time, try to be different in terms of plans or solutions. If we have a meeting or something like that, I try to think about something else.

Me: Ok, you’re kind of innovative?

Young-bae: Yes.

Me: Ok. Some people are comfortable revealing personal facts to other people and other people tend to conceal those things and keep them to themselves. How do you see yourself in this way?

Young-bae: Well, I think most of the Koreans initially try to conceal their true [unintelligible], but as time goes, or discussion heats up, they show. I think I am like that. Initially I conceal my position, but when time goes past, or debate heats up, I have to say.

Me: And how long have you been here in the United States?

Young-bae: Oh…well, it’s kind of been on and off because I studied here between 1988 and 1992, back to Korea, then came back 2001. So, 15 years all together.

Me: Ok. Has BJ been here the whole time, or has he gone back and forth with you?

Young-bae: Oh…BJ born in 1992, so he back and forth like me. But since 2001, we are here in central Ohio.

Me: Ok. When I interviewed Sam and Keun…you’ve been back, so you may be able to recognize this phenomenon, but…Sam said that the Koreans here in the United States are kind of stuck back in the 70s and in the traditional way of things, whereas the Koreans in Korea have actually moved into the 21st century and are westernized. Would you say that this is true?

Young-bae: In part. If you’re older than 65, something like that, or 60s…I’m in 50s, older 50s…there’s definitely generational differences in Korean culture. The Korean culture is very dynamic. In 1960s one of the poorest counties in Asia, now one of the richest countries in Asia. Not only in terms of economic well-being, but the people’s understanding of the culture…or other cultures, or wars, or technology, or knowledge as a whole, has a big difference. So for instance, my grandma, if she was alive now, would be about 93 years old, something like that…at that generation about half of the Korean population can read or write. Now, I mean, Korean literacy is about 99.9 percent, something like that. And I believe we have one of the highest number in college. The educational difference is huge among generations. And each generation has its own…some kind of, um…characteristic or something like that. For people over 65, they believe they are kind of victim of Korean War. Those people over 75 believe they are victim of Japanese imperialism or something like that. Every generation as its own typical
[unintelligible], something like that. Our generation is the generation of democratization. We protested a lot against the authoritarian government. So we are kind of 1960s [unintelligible] throwing rocks at the police, something like that.

Me: [laughs]

Young-bae: That’s the reason why they are so stubborn. Those 65 and over, they really remember those tragic moments during the Korean War. They are highly anti-communism. But not in our generation, because we never experienced that kind of trauma. We understand the dangers of authoritarian government, dictatorship, something like that. We have more anti-authoritarian ideals. Our next generation, they are different, they completely solved those imperialism, communism, dictatorship. They are outcome of completely developing economy, economic well-being, something like that. So they are more individualistic. And they are very much focused on individual success rather than collective. That’s the difference. In our generation, we try to participate in some kind of social cause. Or community. Not anymore. They’re more toward their individual goals rather than community or society.

Me: And you said that you said that you’re more still for the community goals?

Young-bae: I’m in between, yeah, exactly in between. Because we didn’t have that kind of difficulty, because we were the generation after the Korean War, we never experienced any kind of economic hardship. So we are in between. We are politically active but we are economically conservative. We just had the political authority. Our next generation, they didn’t have anything. They have some social problems, the beginning of social decay, the beginning of cultural corruption. The diversity…or social liberals. [laughs] The older generation sees lots of decay, corruption or immorals with the next generation.

Me: And that’s the same both in Korea and the United States, that generation?

Young-bae: In part, because Korean Americans in the United States definitely have more acute generational conflict than people in Korea. Because people in Korea, even though they are older generations, they are watching everyday changes in Korea and they are more…they have more communication in generational problems in Korea. In the United States, the Korean Americans, usually the Korean American parents [unintelligible…something about the kids and parents] so there is less communication in the United States. That is why, sometimes, there’s generational problems here in United States. Most of the time the kids are very fluent in English and the parents are not. The communication breakdown is not only in terms of their thought or attitude, it’s a communication breakdown because of the linguistic barriers between parents and kids. That’s one thing I have more concern about my kids. That’s the reason why I try to communicate with BJ as much in Korean as in English. So that we are hopefully on the same page when we talk.

Me: Yeah, ok. Great. Do you consider yourself to be a competitive person?

Young-bae: Used to be. Not anymore. [laughs]
Me: Not anymore? What happened?

Young-bae: Well, as you’re getting older, and you understand your limits, and most of the time you have to support your family, you have to take care of your family, and you have to understand that you competitiveness sometimes can cause a lot of danger. So, not anymore. Used to be, but not anymore.

Me: Ok, since you’ve gotten married, you’re not as competitive because you’re looking out for your family?

Young-bae: Probably around 40, I used to be competitive, but after that…

Me: Ok, so do you think that is a generational thing? Would you consider BJ to be very competitive? Do you see in him the way you used to be?

Young-bae: Mmhmm, mmhmm, mmhmm.

Me: Do you think that he’ll grow out of that? Like you have?

Young-bae: Yeah, he will, and probably one of the biggest reasons he kind of became less competitive is because of the teachings of Jesus, the teachings of the Bible. And most of the time, competitiveness is not a lesson that Jesus teaches. [laughs]

Me: Ok. So would you say that religion does have a large impact on the way that you live your life?

Young-bae: Absolutely, absolutely.

Me: Alright. Can you tell me about a time when you acted independently? Do you consider yourself to be an independent person, or more of a…dependent, collectivistic person?

Young-bae: Well, most of the time I’m very independent. But I also believe that I am never outside the…walls of our society. The Korean society is very polite, try to respect elders, so we never usually try to branch outside our walls. So, within the walls, try to be independent.

Me: Ok, that’s interesting. Do you make decisions for yourself rather than following the advice of others? And could you give me an example of that?

Young-bae: I always made my decisions throughout my whole life. I believe I was lucky, because I was the second child. Usually, the first child receives a lot of pressure from their parents. You are the first kid, you have to inherit, you have to take charge in the family. I was the second, so I was very [unintelligible] because my parents were so busy with the oldest child. Most of the time, I was out of their radar. [laughs]
Me: Are you still independent in that way? Both Pastor Lee and the father that I interviewed in Cincinnati said that...the first father said that he wanted to take this job, but it would have made his family have to move, and they didn’t want to move, so he didn’t take the job even though he wanted it, because he was considering what they wanted. Pastor Lee said that if he was in the same situation, he would have done the same thing. If you were in that situation, how would you have acted, or what would you have done?

Young-bae: Um...I’m not sure in terms of jobs, but if it was any kind of more crucial decision in my life, I’d probably take it, then I’d try to persuade my family members to follow my decision, something like that.

Me: So, even if they didn’t want to initially, you’d say “this is the best decision, we need to go ahead and do this”?

Young-bae: I do, if I believe that is the best choice for the future of my family. If it’s for the well-being of my family, I’d definitely say “you guys have to follow me.” [laughs]

Me: Ok. So, have you ever sacrificed anything you wanted because you thought that it was your duty to take care of your family? Can you tell me about that?

Young-bae: Mmhmm, mmhmm, mmhmm. Yeah. Our parents used the term a lot, “sacrifice.” But I believe most of the time, that “sacrifice” is very limited in meaning. So, um...I’m not sure...most of the Korean people try not to think of the term “sacrifice.” Think about as a responsibility. And personally I believe there is a difference between sacrifice and responsibility. Yeah. I make my decisions, but I believe that it is my responsibility, not a sacrifice.

Me: Ok, so you see it differently, as kind of a positive.

Young-bae: Mmhmm, mmhmm.

Me: Do you feel like you try to find a middle ground to solving conflict situations?

Young-bae: Most of the time, no. I try to listen to others and usually try to make my position changed, or, I try to persuade others to join me. But either way, I try not to create a middle ground. It just be either one of them, or try to persuade all of them to be on my side.

Me: Why...usually the middle ground is considered to be the best approach, because it’s somewhat integrative. Do you see that as being a bad thing, or why do you try to not do that?

Young-bae: Well, most of the time, if you try to create that middle ground, you maybe reduce the level of conflict in the short term, but in most of the time, those middle of the ground approach is not that effective. Most of the time, the outcome is slow. So, I try to listen to others, and if others, if their argument is better, I try to join others.
Me: And when you’re trying to get others to see your point of view, what approach do you use? BJ and I talked about using influence to get your ideas accepted, “I’m older than you, I’m smarter than you, this is the better solution, you have to listen to me.” How do you approach those kinds of situations?

Young-bae: Most of the time, especially in Korean society, people, especially the older people, use their authority. Just be older is the authority to coerce others to follow. And we saw a lot of instances where that backfired eventually. So, um, I do not rely on my seniority or my age or something like that. I try to be more persuasive, let them know my idea is better than theirs. Try to be cautious, but definitely persuade other people.

Me: Would you say more often that you end up giving into their ideas, or you bring other people over to your side and have your idea kind of come out on top?

Young-bae: Um…60/40. Sixty percent I try to persuade others to join my ideas. And about 40 percent…it just depends, but most of the time, if I heard their idea, and I understand that their plan is better than my idea, I immediately change.

Me: So you consider yourself to be open-minded in that way, in that you are willing to listen.

Young-bae: Yes, yes, yes. Willing to listen. And I try to quickly resolve any kind of unnecessary conflict. Inside the family, in any group...yeah.

Me: The other fathers I interviewed said that they give into their wives all the time. They don’t like to argue with their wives, they just try to find a compromise. How do you handle conflict with your family members, rather than with members of the church or your friends?

Young-bae: In that situation, maybe our family is unique. Because I never give in. [laughs] Except, except, she said we have to come to this church. [laughs] But most of the time, if I have an idea, and my wife has a different opinion, I try to persuade her until she finally gives in.

Me: But you said that’s unique? Is that the norm, or are you kind of atypical in that way?

Young-bae: Compared to other Korean families, our family is definitely unique. In that sense.

Me: Where do you think you get that from? Why don’t you think you like to give in and compromise, and let your wife have the final say in things?

Young-bae: It’s our family’s tradition. [laughs] It started with my grandfather. My grandfather is a highly authoritative person. He used to run a big organization, so he ran the family like organization. So I think that I have a lot of influence from him, because he was very quick in decision-making. Once he decided, he never looked back. So, maybe, maybe family tradition. But he’s a very unique person in Korean society, because in Korean society, people try to be polite, people try to find middle of the ground, people try to be very ethical, people try to
be...very much in shadow because they have to take care of family, society teaches them. My
grandfather, um...he was different.

Me: When you are getting into arguments, would you say that they’re more shouting matches,
loud, or do you sit down and talk things out? “I understand this, but here’s my point of view”?
It’s more civil in that way?

Young-bae: Yeah, that’s one thing that I learned from my father. My father never raised his
voice, especially when he has a serious argument, he doesn’t. So when his voice comes down,
that means he has a disagreement. And usually when I really have a difficulty to get along
without an argument, I try to lower my voice. [laughs] Create more grave environment, more
serious. Quiet and low. Never raise voice. If you raise voice in that kind of argument, most of the
time, you will lose. Especially in society like Korea. In the United States, I mean, you have to
express yourself. But in Korea, if you raise voice, especially against the elder generation, you
will definitely lose. [laughs]

Me: Do you think that your religion plays a part in this? Pastor Lee talked to me a lot about how
there is no such thing as love without truce, you can’t have one without the other. He said he
tries to follow and emulate the patience and understanding and kindness that he’s learned from
Jesus and stuff. Do you think you get some of the way that you handle conflict situations from
the church and its teachings?

Young-bae: Mmhmm, mmhmm, mmhmm. I think most of the time Pastor Lee definitely lets his
religious principles guide his decision-making. I think mine is little bit different. I believe there
is some kind of nonreligious principles out there, and I try to find those nonreligious principles
consistent with religious principles. So, frankly, the religious principles became secondary. I try
to find out the primary principles outside of religion and hopefully those outside of the religion
will be consistent with the religious ones. Religion is a big factor, but there is something else
outside of that context. And that context has more general consenses. In our religion, gay and
lesbian is not acceptable. At all. But I believe in a general sense, outside teachings of the Bible,
you have to respect others, regardless of their behavior. VACUUM CLEANER STARTED,
MAKING SOME OF WHAT YOUNG-BAE WAS SAYING UNINTELLIGIBLE. I believe
secular principles, sometimes the secular principles is way [unintelligible] than religious
principles. And I have to respect the secular principles.

Me: Ok, that’s great. And would you say that, um, the way Pastor Lee sees things, is that typical
of the way that other people in the church see things?

Young-bae: Absolutely. One of the critical characteristics of Korean American society in the
United States, the majority of Korean Americans belongs to church. Protestant church is the
dominant form of religion. In Korea, about 1/3 Buddhist, 15 percent Catholic, 25 percent
Protestant, something like that. So there is a religious diversity in Korea. The people highly
religious in Korea, but they have different types of religion. But in Korean American society in
the United States, a majority belong to Protestant church. Because church is not a religious
[unintelligible], but the church is a community for the immigrant. And every immigrant relies on
the church and its services for settling down to new society, new schools. And they need a lot of counseling and advising. And the church is a gathering place of all those professionals. You have a doctor, a dentist, nurse, lawyers, accountants. So the average Sunday, they have a religious service, but they also have a bunch of professional services going on. After the Sunday sermon, you have accounting business, legal, you have medical, dental advising. So...as a culturally unique immigrant, they have no other choice, not to be a member of Korean Protestant church. Because it is the place if you want to survive or succeed in American society. So I believe most of the immigrants, except those who are very religious before their immigration, the initial incentive to be a member of the Korean church is to be a part of the community rather than part of the religion. Because without Korean church, most immigrants will fail.

Me: You said that you think BJ’s generation is kind of more individualistic. Do you think that the following is kind of going to taper off when they get older and have families? Will they continue to bring their families here? Do you think they still need that sense of community even though they are more individualistic?

Young-bae: You see around 10 or 20 years ago, there was a real break among traditional Korean families. Traditional families had about 5, 6, 7 siblings in their families. Not anymore. Most of the Korean families is either one or two kids. Beginning around 1970s, or something like that. In the 1980s and 1990s, couples only had one kid. So, um...it used to be that we were one of 5 or 6 siblings. Not anymore. The modern-day Korean family has only one kid, and the kid has the best! [laughs] Absolutely the best. So, um...highly individualistic.

Me: Do you see that in BJ?

Young-bae: In a sense, yes. He still has traditional respect towards the parent, something like that, but compared to our generation, or older generation, the degree has been really downgraded. [laughs]

Me: Do you see him following you in the way that you manage conflict, and the way that you interact with your wife? Kind of the way you listen to both sides and then argue your point. Do you think he gets that from you? Kind of internalizing things but then liking other people to see things from his point of view.

Young-bae: Mmhmm, mmhmm, mmhmm, yeah. Definitely. BJ is more close to my wife type rather than me. Because, um, he has a very clear-cut argument, but he tries not to persuade others to follow his position. If BJ believes his position is right and correct, he usually doesn’t care what others think or say about it. Because he has already made up his mind based on the religious teachings or his understanding of society. Once he decides, he usually not to change his position. Not to make others to follow his position. He believes it’s a free society, everyone may have a different opinion. It’s not [unintelligible] to persuade others to make things happen. I have some different ideals or different theories, attitude. Try to persuade those people. But, not BJ.
Me: Can you tell me about a time when you tried to satisfy the needs of someone else? Or do you do that very often?

Young-bae: Compared to my older brother or my older sister, they have to try to satisfy the needs of my parents, but not me, because, as I told you, I’m kind of lucky. I think that’s a reason why I’m more successful in that sense, because I can be…I can make my own decision-making most of the time, without consulting my parents. Actually, a couple times, my parents were surprised at my decision because I never consulted them. I just notified them about my decision. [laughs]

Me: Ok. And would you be ok if BJ did that kind of thing?

Young-bae: Um…

Me: Or do you see him heading in that direction at all?

Young-bae: Probably it’s payback time because I already did it to my parents. [laughs]

Me: [laughs] Ok. Um, can you provide me with a specific example of when you have listened to other people’s views, and shared your point of view…maybe just a concrete example of that?

Young-bae: For example, in our Korean church there is a cell group. About 680 people belong to this church, and we have 25, 30 cells. Each cell has about 6 families, sometimes 12 families. And each cell group has a cell leader. We have different structures. Mine is more spiritual, one is more secular. Actually, one of our cell family members want to switch to other cell group because our cell group is more spiritually oriented. We usually have teachings about the Bible and religion. The other cell group, their group is more secular. They talk about which college is good, which mutual fund is better than savings account. [laughs] So one of our families wants to switch from our group because they believe they are more secular than spiritual. And I have to make…have to report that request to Pastor Lee. And Pastor Lee says given the level of their spiritual growth, they need more learning in our cell, rather than mingle with more secular members. So, um, actually we have some disagreement, because some people say, “well, if they belong to that group, then let them go that way,” and some of our members say, “well, they need more spiritual learning in our group, so we should advise them to stay in our group.” So we have some kind of disagreement. Previously in that situation I would take one side, one way or another. But because it’s about the spiritual growth of one of our cell members, I become more reluctant to be one part of the group. Because some decision-making I believe requires a more deeper, um…deeper…need more time to thoroughly think about the consequence. I’m not sure. I think I’ve kind of changed in that sense little bit because when I have more secular decision-making, I’m usually quick. But in terms of spiritual decision-making, I became more reluctant, kind of more slow. I’m more cautious with spiritual stuff. But with secular stuff, make decisions, take positions more clearly. You understand my position, and once I make a decision, we never look back. Move forward. But with spiritual matters, it’s getting harder and harder. Actually, I listened a lot from my wife. Usually, when there is some kind of family decision, secular stuff, about college, about money, about new basement, about furnitures [laughs], I usually make that
decision. But about spiritual matters, I try to listen, I try to listen to my wife, listen to BJ, listen to my daughter. I believe they are more, they have more...higher level of spirituality than me most of the time, so I try to listen.

Me: What is an example of a spiritual issue?

Young-bae: Something like, I mean something like, um...how can we see those people’s mistake in the context of ethical, moral, or religious issues. It used to be I would quickly determine their level of [unintelligible] and quickly decide right or wrong. Not anymore, because sometimes, the people’s agony, the people have agony behind their problems. Even the secular problems. So...I found most of the time, there is a wound, or a deep-rooted psychological problem behind those kind of problems. I couldn’t understand those underlying problems, because I had made my judgment over their behavior. But now I try to be more cautious because certain behaviors is not just a behavior. Sometimes that behavior, there is a reason for that [unintelligible]. Spiritual healing...you have to heal those so that they won’t make the same mistakes. But previously, usually just condemn, just criticize their behavior. Now, I try to be more cautious and try to understand their problem, try to help them not repeat that mistake.

Me: Ok. Great. Um...do you ever try to avoid arguments with people or do you like to confront people and get the issue out there, talk it over?

Young-bae: Mmhmm, mmhmm, mmhmm. Yeah, I used to confront right away, right away. But I couldn’t remember when I tried to intentionally avoid those arguments. Not intentionally. But sometimes unintentionally, but not intentionally. If there’s a problem, I try to solve, I try to make myself clear, even though it may elevate the tension because my position is different from their position. But once again, if it is a spiritual issue, I try to be very cautious, not to confront. Secular issues, I always have my position, I always have my opinion. But with spiritual issues I try to be more cautious.

Me: Ok. Well, I think you’ve answered all my questions. Is there anything else you’d like to add, anything else you’d like me to have in my notes?

Young-bae: …That’s it! [laughs]

Me: Alright. Well thank you so much, this has been so great.