

Exploring the acculturation profiles and adaptation of children in multiethnic families in South Korea

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Abstract

Using a latent class analysis approach, this paper examined the acculturation profiles of children in multiethnic families in South Korea and explored whether youth's psychological and educational adaptation varied across these profiles. The study utilized a nationally representative face-to-face survey of 2,811 native-born multiethnic youth (ages 9–15) and identified four styles of acculturation: assimilated; linguistically assimilated but psychologically diffused; integrated; and marginalized. Accounting for socio-demographic background and factors associated with acculturative stress, logistic regressions revealed that, compared to assimilated youth, marginalized youth exhibited significantly higher odds of self-reported depressive symptoms, difficulty in school work and low educational aspirations; linguistically assimilated but psychologically diffused youth were more likely to express difficulty in school work; while integrated youth did not manifest higher odds of adaptive problems. The importance of considering the context of acculturation and its implications for youth adaptation is highlighted. Limitations as well as policy implications are further discussed.

Keywords

acculturation, adaptation, multiethnic children, migrant wives, South Korea

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Introduction

Korea has recently experienced a large influx of marriage migrants resulting from an increase in multiethnic marriages over the past couple of decades (Sung et al., 2013). Specifically, official statistical reports indicate that the proportion of marriages between a Korean national and a foreigner have steadily increased since the 1990s and comprised more than 10 percent of all marriages occurring annually during years 2004–2010, with a small decline to 7–8 percent in the years 2011–2015 (KOSIS, various years).¹ More than 70 percent of these multiethnic marriages, defined as the marital union between a Korean ethnic person and a foreign ethnic spouse, are composed of Korean men and migrant wives primarily from China, Japan and other Southeast Asian countries. Such increases in multiethnic marriages have led to a rise in the proportion of multiethnic births: multiethnic births accounted for 4.9 percent of all births in Korea in 2014.² In addition, the rate of growth of the number of births is higher for multiethnic marriages as compared to that for marriages between ethnic Koreans. Specifically, in 2012, the number of births from multiethnic marriages increased by 4.1 percent while that from Korean ethnic marriages only increased by 2.7 percent.³ This implies that although the population of school-aged youth from families of multiethnic marriages is currently small at 1.07 percent in 2014, this segment of the society is expected to grow quite rapidly in the future.⁴

The current study is motivated by the concern that Korean public institutions may not be structurally equipped to deal with the large influx of multiethnic children born to foreign ethnic migrants and Korean ethnic persons who, according to the Korean Nationality Act, are Korean citizens upon birth. This may result in strained social relations among the formerly

¹The Korean Statistical Information Service (KOSIS) website provides information on the number of all marriages in Korea between 1990 and 2015 as well as information on the number of all marriages between a Korean ethnic person and a foreign ethnic person between 1993 and 2015. The percentage of multiethnic marriages was calculated by the author based on these numbers; estimates indicate that the fraction of multiethnic marriages has increased rapidly from 1.6 percent in 1993, to 3.5 percent in 2000, and peaked at 13.5 percent in 2005, but has gradually declined since then to 10.5 percent in 2010 and 7 percent in 2015.

²The Korean Statistical Information Service (KOSIS) website provides information on the number of all births in Korea between 2000 and 2015 as well as information on the number of all births among multiethnic families from 2008 to 2014. The proportion of births from multiethnic families was calculated by the author based on these numbers. Specifically, in 2008 multiethnic births comprised roughly 2.9 percent of all births in Korea; the proportion increased to 4.9 percent in 2014 (KOSIS, various years).

³According to official reports from Statistics Korea (2015) released on 19 November 2015, although Korea experienced a growth in the overall number of births in 2012 by 2.8 percent, the number of births declined in 2013 by 9.9 percent and by 0.2 percent in 2014. The number of births from multiethnic families declined by 7.1 percent in 2013 (relative to 10.1 percent in Korean ethnic families) and 0.5 percent in 2014 (relative to 0.2 percent in Korean ethnic families).

⁴Based on official reports from the Ministry of Education (2014), the school-aged youth proportion of multiethnic students in Korea has increased fivefold from 2006 to 2012 and reached 0.86 percent and 1.04 percent of all school-aged students in 2013 and 2014, respectively.

ethnically homogeneous members of society due to increased competition for limited resources and programs. One setting in which the impact of marriage migration should be felt quite strongly is the public education system, which does not yet have the infrastructure or resources to accommodate the needs of migrant mothers and their children adequately (Kang, 2010). The Korean Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST) announced 'Measures for the Advancement of Education for Multicultural Students' in 2012 and has implemented a few initiatives including the Korean as a Second Language (KSL) program, expanded operation of multicultural transitory schools (*yaebi hak-kyo*),⁵ and increased opportunities to learn a second language such as Vietnamese, Thai, Mongolian and Russian during after school hours or summer break for both multiethnic and Korean ethnic students (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2012). However, these measures are still mostly in the developmental stages and have yet to become universally implemented at the national level.

In addition, the fact that Koreans have traditionally formed their national identity based on the notion of ethnic homogeneity with a common bloodline and shared ancestry may pose additional challenges in the successful integration of multiethnic families and their children (Lee, 2009). Koreans have also been described as having a tendency to display 'dual ethnic bias' when interacting with foreigners in which they are sympathetic toward foreigners from advanced countries but antagonistic toward ethnic minorities from less developed countries (Kang, 2010: 298; Yoon et al., 2008). Given that most marriage migrants are from developing countries, the treatment of migrant mothers and their children may be affected by extant prejudices or biases of Korean ethnics. To better understand the adjustment of youth from multiethnic marriages in Korea, this study empirically examines youths' acculturative strategies as well as adjustment outcomes using nationally representative data.

Marriage migrant women and their children in South Korea

Research on cross-border marriages between migrant women and Korean men has been growing. Extant studies have explored the underlying theory and mechanisms behind the phenomenon (Kim, 2009), documented the stress associated with migration and its resultant health consequences (Chang and Wallace, 2015; Hwang et al., 2010; Kim, 2010), and examined migrant women's life satisfaction and how it varies across ethnicity (Kim and Kim, 2013; Sung et al., 2013). Specifically, the current phenomenon of an increase in

⁵*Yaebi hak-kyo* is a transitory school for multiethnic children in which youth are taught the Korean language and Korean culture for six months prior to enrolling in regular Korean schools. The total number of transitory schools nationally increased from three in 2011, 26 in 2012, 52 in 2013, 80 in 2014, and 100 in 2015 (Ministry of Education, 2015).

foreign brides from developing countries has been explicated using the concept of 'hypergamy,' which refers to marrying someone of a higher status relative to one's own (Constable, 2005; Kim, 2009). As Kim (2009) points out, the fact that more than a third of marriages in 2005 among Korean men from rural areas was with foreign brides from less-developed countries, such as China, Vietnam and the Philippines, provides strong support for this concept. However, it also implies that men and women are engaging in these marriages often with an imbalance in economic standards which can lead to unequal gender structures and discrimination, as well as in the extreme, to spousal violence, social isolation and the marginalization of migrant wives (Choi et al., 2012; Kim, 2010).

Prior studies on marriage migrant women have extensively documented the stress associated with adjusting to a new society and becoming a new member of a family system with a distinct culture (Hwang et al., 2010; Kim and Kim, 2013). Such studies have shown that foreign migrant wives' stress may lead to compromised health outcomes including problems of inadequate dietary intake (Hwang et al., 2010), underutilization of health care services (Kim, 2010) and an increased risk of anxiety (Lee et al., 2014) and depression (Kim and Kim, 2013) when compared against Korean native women. Interestingly, self-rated health among marriage migrants was found to increase when they had more social relationships with native Koreans, but was found to decrease when engaging in more social relationships with co-ethnics (Chang and Wallace, 2015). Research on the life satisfaction of marriage migrant women documented a positive association with household level income but a negative association with the duration of residence in Korea (Kim and Kim, 2013). In fact, self-rated health was also found to decline with the duration of residence in Korea (Chang and Wallace, 2015) implying that the assimilation process of marriage migrant women may not be unidirectional. Finally, life satisfaction was higher among those who experienced less acculturative stress (Kim and Kim, 2013), and varied across ethnic groups in which the Vietnamese ranked highest, the Filipinos ranked lowest, and Chinese-Korean and Chinese ranked in the middle (Sung et al., 2013).

Despite the rapid growth in the volume of studies examining marriage migrant women and their adjustment to the Korean society, few have been able to investigate the adaptive outcomes of their children. This is due in part to the fact that multiethnic children from these marriages currently comprise a relatively small proportion of the total Korean youth population, and therefore are not captured well in nationally representative datasets. A study by Chun and Chung (2011) examined the differences in both risk factors and protective factors associated with depressive symptoms among Korean ethnic versus multiethnic children who were enrolled in public schools between grades 4 and 6. The study revealed that although peer relationships

and discrimination directly influenced depressive symptoms in both groups, the effect of discrimination on depressive symptoms was found to be moderated by child ethnicity, resulting in much larger negative effects on multiethnic children as compared to Korean ethnic children. Also, Lee and colleagues (2014) recently examined the relationship between children's internalizing as well as externalizing behavioral problems and maternal mental health for both marriage migrant families and native Korean families. The study demonstrated that multiethnic children were more likely to display internalizing and externalizing behavioral problems than natives and that such an association was moderated by maternal anxiety levels.

The aforementioned studies provide us with important insights into Korean multiethnic youth's development and how outcomes are related to one's familial and social surroundings. Yet, these studies suffer from a couple of critical limitations. First, both studies utilized a small non-random sample of multiethnic youth residing in a few select cities and provinces within Korea (both studies used samples of less than 150 multiethnic children). Clearly, the literature would benefit from analyses using a nationally representative sample of marriage migrant women and their children. Second, research has been unable to answer questions related to children's acculturation and whether differences in these processes may lead to divergent adaptive outcomes.

Relationship between youth acculturation and adaptation

Prior research using primarily Western migration datasets has established that groups and individuals display divergent strategies in terms of how they acculturate and adapt to the host society (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006; Berry and Sabatier, 2010). Acculturation refers to "the process of cultural and psychological change" resulting from intercultural contact (Sam and Berry, 2010). This process tends to include alterations in one's group customs and norms as well as alterations in individuals' attitudes and identities (Berry et al., 2006). In this context, adaptation is best understood as the consequent phenomenon of acculturation. Generally, scholars have examined both the psychological and socio-cultural aspects of adaptation and have found that immigrants (depending on one's mode of acculturation) diverge in terms of their eventual psychological well-being and social skills required to successfully function in the host society (Sam and Berry, 2010). Specifically, Berry's model of acculturation has documented that immigrant youth can generally be classified into four distinct styles—assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization (Berry, 1997)—and that such patterns of acculturation were related to significant differences in developmental outcomes including life satisfaction, self-esteem, psychological problems, school adjustment and behavior problems (Berry et al., 2006). The four acculturation styles were conceptualized to result from differences in attitudes and behaviors on two

dimensions, namely, the degree to which immigrant youth (1) maintain their culture of heritage and (2) embrace the host culture (Sam and Berry, 2010). Assimilation occurs when youth prefers only to seek out the host culture, while integration results when youth seek to maintain both the heritage and host cultures. Separation occurs when youth disregard the host culture but maintain their heritage culture, and marginalization reflects youth who desire neither culture. Generally, immigrant youth who seek the integration strategy are reported to have the most positive socio-psychological outcomes, whereas those in the marginalization category tend to be the least well-adapted (Berry et al., 2006; Berry and Sabatier, 2010; Sam and Berry, 2010).

However, the acculturative process of Korean multiethnic youth may be different from those of the typical immigrant youth for a number of reasons. First, most studies examining the acculturation and adjustment patterns of immigrant children focus on the experiences of mono-ethnic youth whose entire immediate family migrates to the host society (Brown et al., 2013; Forster et al., 2013; Romero et al., 2007; Tahseen and Cheah, 2012). For these youth, the divide between the two cultures generally occurs across contexts—e.g., the immigrant parent, family and community versus peers and the larger host society (Berry et al., 2006). Yet, multiethnic children of migrant wives are exposed to the divide between two cultures not only across but also within contexts especially at the familial level. This implies that when children negotiate how to live within and between cultures, there is no simple division between family and the larger host society, which may intensify the tension and stress associated with acculturation. From this perspective, the Korean multiethnic youth population should be viewed as a special segment of second-generation immigrants who are inter-ethnic or bi-cultural. Research has indicated that second-generation migrants tend to more closely resemble members of the host society than their parents (Heras and Revilla, 1994). In addition, adolescents with dual/mixed heritage were found to incorporate aspects of both heritage cultures and thereby form a “blended” constellation of values and attitudes (Ward, 2006). However, existing literature examining the effects of divergent acculturative patterns on inter-ethnic youth’s psychological or social disadvantage has been mixed and suggests that the context in which the acculturation occurs matters in determining youth’s well-being (Manuela and Sibley, 2014; Ward, 2006). For example, British Black and White mixed race children in multiethnic settings were more likely to have positive and secure racial identities, whereas those living in White areas were more prone to experience identity conflict and were more reliant on their parents to encourage a mixed race identity (Wilson, 1987).

Second, extant acculturation studies of immigrant children have been primarily conducted in Western individualistic societies where the populations

are usually diverse and multicultural with long traditions of receiving immigrants and refugees. As a result, the implications and findings from such studies may be inconsistent when applied to different cultural settings such as those in Korea where the population is largely monolingual and mono-ethnic with a strong collectivistic culture (Chang and Wallace, 2015).

The sensitivity of youth acculturation and adaptation to broader societal contexts has been extensively documented by prior researchers studying second-generation immigrants (Berry, 1997; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Specifically, according to segmented assimilation theory, immigrant youth outcomes will be determined as a function of the interplay between individual characteristics and the context of reception including policies of the host government, attitude of the native population and the co-ethnic community (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001: 46; Portes and Zhou, 1993). Public support for migrant wives and their Korean multiethnic children was first introduced in Korea with the creation and nationwide expansion of multicultural family support centers in 2006 as well as with the passage of the Multicultural Families Support Act in 2008 (MOGEF, n.d.). Compared to other ethnic minority groups residing in Korea, marriage migrants are considered to be one of the groups treated most preferentially by the state. The Korean government has adopted a selective ethnic minority incorporation policy, which treats ethnic minority groups differently according to their entry status (Kim, 2013). In this context, the incorporation of marriage migrants and their multiethnic Korean children has been considered to be quite inclusive considering the state provision of various social welfare services and educational assistance; this is in contrast to the limited support provided to other ethnic minority groups such as guest workers or ethnic Chinese settlers (Kim, 2013). However, most of the official support services for marriage migrants and their Korean multiethnic children have been assimilationist in nature. Specifically, they focus primarily on extending access to basic social welfare services such as health care as well as on providing educational programs to promote the acquisition of the Korean language and culture (Kang, 2010).

Research has also documented Korean's negative attitudes toward foreigners from developing countries, including those who migrate for marriage (Yoon et al., 2008: 334). For Koreans, perceived threats associated with immigration have been found to stem primarily from cultural rather than economic or social factors (Ha and Jang, 2015): this implies that natives are more concerned about migrants undermining the native cultural identity by refusing (or being unable) to fully incorporate the Korean culture than concerns about intensifying competition in the labor market or jeopardizing social order through criminal activity. Lastly, the foreign population still comprises a small fraction of the total population in Korea (2.7 percent in 2014;

3 percent in 2015) with the majority possessing short-term stay visas.⁶ Hence, the presence of co-ethnics in the community of settlement to “cushion the impact” of adaptation is very limited, if any (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001: 48).

Such contextual factors seem to suggest that Korean multiethnic youth may be susceptible to negative stereotypes with greater exposure to barriers such as social isolation than their counterparts in Western contexts if they fail to fully incorporate the language and culture of the Korean host society. That is, in contrast to extant studies from Western settings, the protective effects of the integration strategy on youth outcomes may be invalid for Korean multiethnic youth since the society is not explicitly multicultural where positive attitudes exist among cultural groups (Berry, 1997). Similarly, a comparison of acculturation strategies and adaptation patterns across immigrant youth in Paris and Montreal revealed that although integrated youth had higher self-esteem in both countries as compared to marginalized youth, this pattern was stronger in Canada where the support for diversity-promoting policies is stronger than in France, which tends to encourage assimilationist policies (Berry and Sabatier, 2010). In addition, a study of Jewish Moroccan immigrants in Israel and the Netherlands found that assimilated immigrants reported less prejudice and feelings of disrespect than integrated immigrants and that this difference in adjustment between the assimilated and integrated immigrants was greater in the Netherlands than in Israel (Van Oudenhoven and Eisses, 1998). This was partly related to a few favorable contextual factors the Israeli immigrants faced as compared to their Dutch counterparts, such as the presence of a large Moroccan co-ethnic population and a common religious background with the dominant group, resulting in very different modes of incorporation.

Finally, extant research has pointed out the importance of considering stress associated with the acculturation process due to discrimination (Basáñez et al., 2013; Berry, 1997), strained parent–child relationships (Choi et al., 2008; Ying and Han, 2007), and peer victimization (Forster et al., 2013; Messinger et al., 2012) when examining differences in adaptation resulting from various acculturation patterns. Specifically, existing studies have revealed that acculturative stress for youth can be experienced across the peer, school or family contexts (Romero and Roberts, 2003), and that acculturation patterns and stress interact in multiple ways to influence youth outcomes (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006). Perceived discrimination has been identified as a risk factor to immigrant youth’s mental health and school adjustment (Basáñez et al., 2013; Liebkind et al., 2004; Umana-Taylor and

⁶The Korean Statistical Information Service (KOSIS) website provides information on the number of all residents in Korea between 2007 and 2015, including Korean natives, foreigners without citizenship, and foreigners with citizenship. The author calculated the share of the foreign population from data available at: http://kosis.kr/statisticsList/statisticsList_01List.jsp?vwcd=MT_ZTITLE&parentId=A#SubCont

Updegraff, 2007), and has been reported to have significant influence above and beyond the effects of one's acculturative strategy (Berry et al., 2006). Intergenerational discrepancy in acculturation is also associated with adaptation problems for immigrant youth leading to an increase in problem behaviors and depressive symptoms (Choi et al., 2008; Ying and Han, 2007). The negative effects of intergenerational acculturation gaps were generally mediated by a decline in the quality of parent-child relationships via increased conflict (Ying and Han, 2007) or weakened positive bonding (Choi et al., 2008). In the context of Korean multiethnic youth, however, it is important to consider the relationship between the child and each parent separately since the quality of the relationship may vary across the foreign mother versus the native father. Peer victimization and bullying behavior have been found to be significantly associated with immigrant youth's acculturative stress, resulting in increased depression as well as greater engagement in risky behavior such as cigarette use (Forster et al., 2013; Messinger et al., 2012).

Current study

The purpose of this study is to better understand the adaptive processes of Korean native-born multiethnic youth between the ages of nine and 15 by investigating their acculturation strategies and further by examining whether such divergent acculturation pathways translate into differential psychological and socio-cultural adaptation (Berry, 1997). The paper has two specific goals. First, employing a latent class analysis approach, the paper aims to identify clusters of youth with similar acculturation profiles and explicate the demographic as well as socio-economic characteristics associated with membership in each cluster. Next, to better explore the role of acculturation on youth adjustment, differences in self-reported depressive symptoms, difficulty in school work and educational aspirations are investigated across these clusters controlling for perceived discrimination, quality of parent-child relationships and peer victimization. From a developmental perspective, understanding the adjustment of youth during the periods of middle childhood and early adolescence should be critical not only because this is a time when children are forming their sense of identity which relates to academic performance and behavioral development (Eccles, 1999), but also because population research has shown that childhood depression and adjustment difficulties often continue on to depression in adulthood and therefore are directly related to long-term outcomes (Birmaher et al., 1996).

Given the context of reception for migrant wives and their multiethnic children, including the assimilationist Korean national policy, dual attitude of the native population and the lack of a sizeable co-ethnic community to buffer any adjustment difficulties, one can hypothesize that Korean-born

multiethnic youth may display acculturation patterns distinct from those observed in Western datasets. Specifically, it is expected that Korean multiethnic youth will be less likely to disregard the host Korean culture and identify with their maternal heritage culture as compared to youth in Western multicultural societies. That is, the proportion of youth classified as the separation profile is expected to be rather small in the present study as compared to that of studies examining immigrant youth in Western settings. On the other hand, consistent with prior research, one can hypothesize that the positive socio-psychological effects of the integration strategy may not be as strong as is observed in multicultural settings since the protective effects of having the opportunity to draw from both cultures may be substantially limited in the monolingual and mono-ethnic Korean context. Lastly, given the dual ethnic bias present among Korean natives, the study hypothesizes that the acculturation profiles of multiethnic youth will vary across maternal ethnicity, especially in terms of whether the maternal heritage country is a developed versus developing nation.

Method

Participants

The present study uses the 2012 Korean National Survey on Multicultural Families (NSMF) designed to study the living conditions of marriage migrants and their family using a nationally representative sample, sponsored by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family and collected by the Korean Office of Statistics. To improve the accuracy of the survey responses, face-to-face interviews were conducted in July 2012 on naturalized and non-citizen migrants who were married to a Korean ethnic, their spouses, and children (ages 9–24 years). Survey responses from marriage migrants as well as from their spouses and children (ages 9–24 years) were collected on a broad range of questions including demographic and socio-economic characteristics as well as adjustment difficulties and adaptation. Response rates for marriage migrants were 97.8 percent with a total of 15,001 marriage migrant respondents in the original sample (12,531 female; 2,470 male). Among the 12,531 female marriage migrants, only 63 percent reported having children and the majority of these children were below the age of 6 years (52.4 percent) significantly reducing the sample size for the purpose of this analysis (Chun, 2013). Since the NSMF youth survey was administered to children ages nine years or above, the final sample consisted of 2,811 youth between ages nine and 15 years who were born and raised in Korea (i.e., 279 children who were foreign-born were excluded from the analyses). There were no missing data on the variables in the final sample used for the analyses.

Measures

Acculturation dimensions. Seven items were used to assess youth's attitude and behavior toward both the Korean and maternal heritage cultures. These included items regarding current language proficiency in speaking and listening in Korean as well as in the mothers' native language. For example, the NSMF youth survey asked, "How good is your Korean speaking (or listening)? or How good is your maternal native language speaking (or listening)?" with response scales of "1" (very good), "2" (good), "3" (average), "4" (poor) and "5" (very poor). Each of the four measures was recoded into a binary variable indicating language fluency if they responded very good or good (scales 1 or 2) and non-fluency if they responded average, poor or very poor (scales 3, 4 or 5). Two additional items regarding youth's desire to maintain and learn about their mother's heritage culture and language were used. These were: "Do you want to become as fluent in your foreign mother's native language as you are in Korean?" and "How interested are you in your foreign mother's native country?" Youth reported their responses on a 5-point Likert type scale ranging from "1" (very) to "5" (none/not at all). The outcomes were reverse coded assigning higher values to greater desire to maintain their mother's heritage culture. Lastly, youth's identification with their mother's native culture was assessed by asking, "How do you feel when others (e.g., peers or teachers) find out that your mother is a foreigner?," with response scales of "1" (very proud), "2" (proud), "3" (indifferent), "4" (not proud) and "5" (not at all proud). This measure was also recoded into a binary variable indicating feeling proud if they responded very proud or proud (scales 1 or 2).

Adaptation outcomes. Given the sample of school-aged youth, both psychological and educational aspects of immigrant adaptation were examined using self-reported measures of depressive symptoms, difficulty in school work, and educational aspiration. Depressive symptoms were operationalized to capture the psychological dimension of adaptation (Sam and Berry, 2010) and were assessed by asking, "In the past year, have you experienced sadness or despair for more than two weeks continuously which got in the way of daily life?" Responses were reported using a four-category Likert scale ranging from "1" (never) to "4" (frequently), and a binary variable indicating youth who reported experiencing such depressive feelings at least once (scales 2, 3, and 4) was created. Youth's reports on difficulty in school work as well as educational aspirations were intended to measure socio-cultural adaptation, which refers to how successfully one acquires the appropriate socio-cultural skills for living effectively in the new environment (Sam and Berry, 2010). Youth were asked, "What is the biggest difficulty you are experiencing in your school work?," and selected responses from a range of options such as "0" (no difficulty), "1" (no one to help me), "2" (writing), "3" (listening/understanding teacher), "4"

(speaking), "5" (reading) and "6" (other). A binary variable denoting no difficulty in school work (scale 0) was created and used as a measure for educational adaptation. In addition, youth's educational aspiration was assessed by asking the following question, "How far would you like to go in school?" Among the options they could choose were: "1" (high school or less), "2" (less than four-year college), "3" (four-year college), "4" (MA) and "5" (PhD). A binary variable denoting high educational aspiration was created by indicating youth who aspired for a four-year college degree or more (scales 3, 4, and 5).

Demographic and socio-economic characteristics. To adjust for important socio-demographic differences across youth in different acculturation profiles when investigating the effects of acculturation on adaptation, information on youth's gender, age (ages 9–12 and 13–15 years), maternal ethnicity (Chinese, Chinese-Korean, Japanese, other Asian, North American, European and Other), mother's education level (no education/elementary school or less, middle school or less, high school or less, four-year college or less and graduate school), maternal employment status (employed and not employed), maternal legal resident status (Korean citizen, permanent resident (F-5), married to Korean citizen (F-6), and Other), household monthly income⁷ (less than 100, 100–199, 200–299, 300–399, 400–499, 500 or more), and urbanicity (urban and rural) was examined and included in the analyses. To account for the effects of stress associated with discrimination, strained parent–child relationships and peer victimization, binary variables each denoting having ever experienced discrimination (for being multi-ethnic), satisfied with father–child relationship, satisfied with mother–child relationship and having experienced peer victimization in the past year were measured and included in the analyses.

Data analysis

Latent class analysis (LCA) was employed to identify homogeneous mutually exclusive clusters (or classes) of multiethnic youth with similar combinations of responses to seven items relating to one's psychological and linguistic acculturation. LCA is a statistical method commonly used in the social sciences for finding subtypes of latent classes from multivariate categorical data. It is known for its person-centered approach, which results in groupings of individuals by similar patterns rather than variable-based approaches such as factor analysis, which produces groupings of items/variables (Anthony and Robbins, 2013). Compared to cluster analysis, another person-centered

⁷Unit is 10,000 Korean won (KRW). This is equivalent to USD9.26 (computed based on official exchange rate on 2 May 2015).

method widely used in social science research to group data, the LCA is generally regarded as the preferred approach since it improves upon several limitations (Reinke et al., 2008). For example, unlike cluster analysis, LCA provides statistics for determining how well the model fits the data and thus prevents arbitrariness in selecting the final number of clusters. LCA is also able to take into account the probability of multiple cluster membership, or error, when computing individual latent-class membership probabilities which is a function not performed in cluster analysis. Another advantage of LCA is that it makes no assumptions about the distributions of the categorical variables used to predict the clusters other than that of local independence which implies that within a latent class the indicators are independent (Lanza et al., 2007).

Therefore, in the context of this research, it was assumed that complex acculturation patterns exist within the large sample of Korean multiethnic youth, and that these patterns may encompass a range of attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors related to both one's heritage and host cultures. Similar to previous applications of the LCA method, a series of models were fit and cross-examined to study the underlying structure of these data using both dichotomous and multinomial variable specifications (Lanza et al., 2007; Laska et al., 2009). Using Stata version 13 (the LCA Stata Plugin (Version 1.2)), the *doLCA* command procedure was used to estimate model parameters including the probability of latent class membership and item-response probabilities within each cluster (Lanza et al., 2015).

To determine the model fit, LCA was run for two to five cluster solutions based on theory and prior research. In selecting the final model fit, a number of statistical model fit indicators were examined, including the adjusted Bayesian information criterion (BIC), Schwarz Bayesian information criterion (SIC), Akaike's information criterion (AIC), and the entropy. Lower values for the adjusted BIC, SIC and AIC as well as entropy values closer to 1 indicate better classification of individuals in the data (Anthony and Robbins, 2013; Laska et al., 2009; Lin and Dayton, 1997). In addition, since these statistical indices may not uniformly point to a single model specification, the size of each cluster, model interpretability and theory were considered in determining the final model (Lanza et al., 2007).

Next, to examine whether youth with different acculturation profiles have divergent outcomes in terms of important self-reported psychological and educational dimensions of adaptation, logistic regressions predicting self-reported depressive symptoms, no difficulty in school work and high educational aspirations, respectively, were estimated controlling for the acculturation profiles, perceived discrimination, quality of parent-child relationships and peer victimization as well as other demographic and socio-economic characteristics. The standard errors were clustered at the family level to adjust for possible dependence on the residuals across youth within the same household.

Table 1. Model fit indices for latent class analysis models.

	Adjusted BIC	SIC	AIC	Entropy
2 Class	2472.14	2557.92	2397.51	0.64
3 Class	1695.02	1825.29	1581.70	0.75
4 Class	1171.57	1346.32	1019.55	0.80
5 Class	1090.53	1309.77	899.82	0.76

AIC: Akaike's information criterion; BIC: Bayesian information criterion;
SIC: Schwarz Bayesian information criterion.

Results

Identifying acculturation clusters and associated characteristics

Table 1 demonstrates that the model fit improves drastically when moving from two- to three- class models and from three- to four-class models. Specifically, the adjusted BIC, SIC and AIC all decrease by a large amount and the entropy approaches 1. However, when comparing model fit estimates between the four- to five-class models, the four-class model appears to classify youth best as indicated by higher entropy values (0.80 vs. 0.76), but the five-class model has lower adjusted BIC, SIC and AIC estimates. The item-response probabilities for both the four- and five-class models were also considered to assess whether each acculturation cluster was distinguishable from the others based on theory and prior research (Lanza et al., 2007). Given that a couple of the clusters generated by the five-class model were less distinguishable in terms of a few key acculturation components, the four-class model was deemed most optimal and was retained as a grouping variable for all subsequent analyses.⁸

The response probabilities for each of the seven acculturation components are detailed by latent class profile in Table 2. Cluster 1 comprised 42.2 percent of the sample ($N=1,224$) and displayed complete Korean language fluency (i.e., 99 percent fluent) with very limited ability to speak or understand their mother's native language (i.e., 1 percent fluent). Youth in cluster 1 also did not express strong desire or intent to become fluent in their mother's native language. Specifically, the fraction of youth reporting any desire (i.e., very strong, strong) was less than a third of the cluster sample (i.e., 32.4 percent), the lowest among the clusters. These youth endorsed the least amount of interest in learning about their migrant mother's native country, with 16.1 percent reporting not or not at all interested and were the least proud of others such as peers or teachers finding out about their foreign mother (15.9 percent).

⁸Results available upon request.

Table 2. Probability of latent class membership and item-response probabilities within each cluster. (Unit: %)

	Cluster 1 <i>Assimilated</i> (N = 1,224)	Cluster 2 <i>Linguistically assimilated but psychologically diffused</i> (N = 1,042)	Cluster 3 <i>Integrated</i> (N = 352)	Cluster 4 <i>Marginalized</i> (N = 193)
Probability of latent class membership	42.2	37.7	13.2	6.9
Fluent in Korean language ^a				
- Speaking	98.8	98.3	97.2	3.8
- Listening	98.6	98.6	97.9	17.3
Fluent in mother's native language ^a				
- Speaking	0.9	2.7	84.1	11.9
- Listening	1.3	6.7	99.1	13.0
Desire to learn and become fluent in mother's native language someday				
- Very strong	15.6	65.0	71.1	30.5
- Strong	16.8	18.1	11.4	13.2
- Indifferent	37.4	13.4	15.2	34.7
- Not strong	14.6	1.7	0.6	9.5
- None/not at all	15.6	1.8	1.8	12.1
Interest in learning about mother's native country				
- Very interested	2.1	43.8	41.9	14.2
- Interested	14.0	38.6	27.1	19.8
- Indifferent	58.6	17.0	26.0	51.9
- Not interested	14.2	0.6	2.5	7.8
- None/not at all	11.1	0.0	2.4	6.3
Proud of others (peers or teachers) finding out about foreign mother ^b	15.9	68.8	54.4	26.3

Notes: ^aYouth are regarded to have answered "Yes" if their survey responses were 'very fluent (5)' or 'fluent (4)' as opposed to 'somewhat (3),' 'not really (2),' and 'not at all (1).'

^bYouth are regarded to be proud if their survey responses were 'very proud (5)' or 'proud (4)' as opposed to 'somewhat (3),' 'not really (2),' and 'not at all (1).'

Given that cluster 1 youth displayed high Korean language fluency, yet were extremely limited in communicating in their mother's native language with little desire to improve and demonstrated low levels of interest and pride in their maternal native country, leads us to label them "assimilated."

Cluster 2 comprised 37.7 percent of the sample ($N=1,042$). As did youth in cluster 1, this group was distinguished by near complete Korean language fluency (i.e., 98–99 percent fluent) but limited capacity to speak and understand their mothers' native language (i.e., 3–7 percent fluent). However, in contrast to youth in cluster 1, a large proportion of these youth expressed strong desire to learn their mother's native language and become fluent (83.1 percent). In addition, this group had the greatest proportion of youth who felt proud of others finding out that their mother is foreign-born (68.8 percent) and demonstrated the highest levels of youth who were very interested (43.8 percent) or interested (38.6 percent) in their mothers' native country. Cluster 2 was labeled "*linguistically assimilated but psychologically diffused*" since they demonstrate the potential disconnect between low foreign linguistic competency and high psychological endorsement of maternal heritage culture. Taken together, this cluster appears to represent a contingency of Korean multiethnic youth who are uncertain about their place in society and strongly aspire to become integrated in their mother's heritage culture yet lack the skills or ability to do so (Berry et al., 2006).

Cluster 3 evinced an integrated orientation in terms of both linguistic competency and psychological endorsement of maternal heritage culture. Although relatively small in size, consisting of 13.2 percent of the sample ($N=352$), these youth demonstrated high language fluency in Korean speaking (i.e., 97 percent fluent) and listening (i.e., 98 percent fluent) as well as in speaking (i.e., 84 percent fluent) and listening in their mother's native language (i.e., 99 percent fluent). Linguistic fluency in both languages was supplemented by high levels of desire to become even more fluent in their mother's native language, with 82.4 percent of youth expressing very strong or strong desire, while 69.0 percent of youth expressed interest in learning about their mother's native country. Again, the majority of youth in this cluster felt proud of others finding out that their mother is foreign-born (54.4 percent). This group's overall profile maps onto the "*integrated*" pattern of youth acculturation denoting those who seek to maintain both the heritage and host cultures.

Finally, cluster 4 comprised 6.9 percent of the sample ($N=193$) and represents youth who were not fluent in either Korean or their mother's native language. In sharp contrast to the other clusters, only 3.8 percent and 17.3 percent reported themselves to be fluent in Korean speaking and listening, respectively, despite being born and raised in Korea. However, this did not mean that they were fluent in their mother's native language. Only 11.9 percent and 13 percent of these youth reported fluency in speaking and listening in their mother's native language, respectively. Less than half of the youth in cluster 4 expressed some desire to learn and fluently speak their mother's native language (43.7 percent), while a significant portion displayed indifference (34.7 percent). This group endorsed mediocre levels of interest in learning

about their mother's native country with only 34 percent of youth expressing any interest, and at the same time, was not very proud of others finding out that their mother is foreign-born (26.3 percent). In sum, these youth appear to match, to a large extent, the "*marginalized*" pattern of youth acculturation where there is little interest and capacity to maintain the maternal heritage culture but also lacking in the endorsement of Korean culture.

Table 3 presents a summary of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the sample by acculturation profile. Gender, age, maternal ethnicity, maternal education levels, maternal resident status, urbanicity and satisfaction with father-child and mother-child relationships (as reported by youth) were found to significantly vary across the four clusters at the 1 percent level. In contrast, proportions of youth across clusters did not vary significantly from what would be expected by chance for variables including maternal employment status, household monthly income, perceived discrimination or peer victimization.

Clusters 2 and 3 were found to have higher than average proportions of females, whereas clusters 1 and 4 reported relatively high proportions of males. This is somewhat consistent with results from Western immigrant youth studies, which found that although females tend to report more acculturative stress than males (Berry, 1997), they were more often represented in the integrated profile and less likely to be marginalized (Berry et al., 2006). Cluster 1 and cluster 2 each had the lowest and highest proportion of youth between the ages of nine and 12, respectively, whereas clusters 3 and 4 displayed close to average age distributions. Despite earlier research indicating that youth's acculturative problems often increase with age (Berry, 1997), the relationship appeared to be more nuanced for Korean multiethnic youth. This could be due in part to the sample being native born to a Korean native father and thus requiring little, if any, culture shedding regardless of age. In terms of maternal ethnicity, cluster 1 contained higher than average proportions of Chinese, Chinese-Korean and other Asian mothers, cluster 2 was found to have slightly higher than average proportions of Japanese mothers, cluster 3 had higher than average proportions of Japanese, North American and European mothers, and cluster 4 had higher than average proportions of Japanese and other Asian mothers. The distribution of maternal ethnicity by acculturation clusters indicates that youth with mothers from developed countries are disproportionately concentrated in the integrated clusters, whereas those with mothers from developing countries are disproportionately concentrated in the assimilated or marginalized clusters. Similarly, cluster 3 reported higher than average proportions of mothers with college or graduate level education, whereas cluster 4 had higher than average proportions of mothers with a high school degree. Since education is a factor consistently shown to be associated with positive adaptation (Berry, 1997), the finding suggests that multiethnic

Table 3. Demographic and socio-economic characteristics of youth by acculturation cluster. (unit: %)

	Cluster 1 N = 1,224	Cluster 2 N = 1,042	Cluster 3 N = 352	Cluster 4 N = 193	Total N = 2,811	χ^2 (p-value)
Female	44.0	52.1	48.3	36.3	47.0	$\chi^2 = 24.40$ $df = 3,$ $p = 0.000$
Ages 9–12 (omitted group: ages 13–15)	66.1	72.9	67.6	69.4	69.1	$\chi^2 = 12.72$ $df = 3,$ $p = 0.005$
Maternal ethnicity						
Chinese	14.3	7.1	9.4	3.1	10.2	$\chi^2 = 206.97$ $df = 18,$ $p = 0.000$
Chinese-Korean	21.2	12.1	8.5	10.9	15.5	
Japanese	23.0	39.3	44.0	47.2	33.3	
Other Asian ^a	37.7	35.6	28.1	37.8	35.8	
North American	0.3	1.6	3.7	0.5	1.2	
European	2.7	3.0	4.8	0.5	2.9	
Others	0.8	1.2	1.4	0.0	1.0	
Mother's educational level						
Elementary or less	3.9	2.2	1.4	1.6	2.8	$\chi^2 = 127.84$ $df = 12,$ $p = 0.000$
Middle school or less	14.2	7.0	5.7	4.7	9.8	
High school or less	52.2	47.0	39.5	57.5	49.1	
Four-year college or less	28.6	41.8	49.2	35.2	36.5	
Graduate School	1.1	1.9	4.3	1.0	1.8	
Mother is unemployed	63.5	64.0	61.1	58.6	63.0	$\chi^2 = 2.78$ $df = 3,$ $p = 0.428$
Monthly income (unit: KRW10,000) ^b						
less than 100	9.6	9.9	8.0	16.6	10.0	$\chi^2 = 23.93$ $df = 15,$ $p = 0.066$
100–199	31.2	26.9	30.1	28.5	29.3	
200–299	33.2	33.6	29.5	30.6	32.7	
300–399	15.3	17.7	17.3	15.0	16.4	
400–499	5.8	6.6	7.4	4.7	6.2	
500 or more	5.0	5.4	7.7	4.7	5.4	
Perceived discrimination	11.3	12.7	13.6	15.5	12.4	$\chi^2 = 3.75$ $df = 3,$ $p = 0.290$

(continued)

Table 3. Continued

	Cluster 1 N = 1,224	Cluster 2 N = 1,042	Cluster 3 N = 352	Cluster 4 N = 193	Total N = 2,811	χ^2 (p-value)
Quality of parent-child relationship						
Satisfied with paternal relationship	65.3	80.1	76.4	49.2	71.1	$\chi^2 = 111.34$ $df = 3,$ $p = 0.000$
Satisfied with maternal relationship	74.3	90.0	91.2	66.8	81.7	$\chi^2 = 143.31$ $df = 3,$ $p = 0.000$
Peer victimization	8.4	9.1	10.2	13.0	9.2	$\chi^2 = 4.60$ $df = 3,$ $p = 0.203$

Notes: ^aThe ‘other Asian’ group includes Filipino (20.5%), Thai (3.9%), Vietnamese (3.5%), Mongolian (2.4%), Taiwanese (2.4%), Cambodian (1.1%), and other Asian native (2%) women, comprising on average 35.8% of the total sample.

^bKRW10,000 is equivalent to USD9.26 (computed based on official exchange rate on 2 May 2015).

youth in the integrated cluster may indeed have better adaptive outcomes as compared to other multiethnic youth.

Cluster 3 had the highest proportion of permanent resident mothers and the lowest fraction of Korean citizen mothers, whereas the direct opposite was true for cluster 1. For the typical immigrant youth in the Western context, length of stay in the host society is generally positively associated with representation in both the integrated and assimilated clusters (Berry et al., 2006). However, keeping in mind that the sample youth are all native-born Korean citizens, it is quite interesting to see that maternal resident status continues to be significantly associated with youth’s acculturation profile. For example, youth who assimilate to the Korean culture seem to be more likely to have mothers who became naturalized Korean citizens, whereas youth who integrate both the Korean and foreign maternal culture are more likely to have mothers who obtained permanent residency yet have not become naturalized. Cluster 3 also had higher than average proportions of youth residing in urban areas (as opposed to rural areas), which is consistent with extant findings indicating that the ethnic composition and multicultural background of the surrounding neighborhood influences the way in which youth acculturate (Berry et al., 2006; Sam and Berry, 2010; Wilson, 1987).

Lastly, in agreement with prior studies on intergenerational discrepancy in acculturation and intergenerational conflict, youth experiencing greater incongruence between one’s own cultural values and their immigrant parent’s

culture were more likely to report less satisfaction in parent–child relationships (Ying and Han, 2007). Clusters 2 (80 percent) and 3 (76.4 percent) reported above average levels of satisfaction on the relationship with their fathers, whereas clusters 1 and 4 reported relatively lower levels of satisfaction. Across all four clusters, youth were generally more satisfied with the relationship with their mothers, and clusters 2 and 3 had proportions of satisfied youth at or exceeding 90 percent, while clusters 1 and 4 had proportions of satisfied youth below 75 percent.

Differences in adaptation by acculturation cluster

Results from the logistic regressions on self-reported depressive symptoms, no difficulty in school work and high educational aspirations are presented in Table 4. These models control for the three clusters (cluster 1 ‘*assimilated*’ was excluded), discrimination, quality of parent–child relationships, and peer victimization as well as for socio-demographic characteristics. The average percentage of youth experiencing depressive symptoms in the sample was roughly 21 percent, and these estimates varied widely across youth acculturation clusters—e.g., cluster 1: 22.2 percent; cluster 2: 18.1 percent; cluster 3: 17.6 percent; and cluster 4: 34.7 percent. Similarly, the average percentage of youth reporting no difficulty in school work was 75.1 percent for the total sample, while youth in clusters 1, 2, 3, and 4 reported 77.7 percent, 74.6 percent, 81 percent, and 50.3 percent, respectively. The average percentage of youth reporting high educational aspirations was 74.8 percent for the total sample, while youth in clusters 1, 2, 3, and 4 reported 76.3 percent, 75.5 percent, 76.4 percent, and 58.5 percent, respectively.

Findings report statistically significant differences in the odds of experiencing depressive symptoms, no school difficulty and high educational aspirations between youth in cluster 1 (assimilated) and those in cluster 4 (marginalized). Specifically, for marginalized youth, the odds of being depressed are 1.69 times larger than the odds for assimilated youth being depressed ($p = 0.005$); the odds of experiencing no difficulty in school work is only 0.33 times as high as the odds for assimilated youth experiencing no difficulty ($p < 0.000$); and the odds of expressing aspirations to obtain a 4-year college degree or more is 0.51 times as high as the odds for assimilated youth expressing high aspirations ($p < 0.000$). On the other hand, youth in cluster 3 (integrated) appear to do as well as youth in cluster 1 (assimilated) on all three measures of adaptation. Lastly, although youth in cluster 2 (linguistically assimilated but psychologically diffused) are no different from youth in cluster 1 (assimilated) in terms of the likelihood of being depressed and expressing high educational aspirations, they appear to be more likely to experience difficulties in school work. Specifically, the odds of experiencing no difficulty in school work is about 22 percent less than the odds for assimilated youth

Table 4. Relationship between acculturation and youth adaptation: odds ratios from logistic regression analyses.

	Depressive symptoms	No school difficulty	Educational aspiration
Cluster 2 (Linguistically assimilated but psychologically diffused)	0.95 (0.12)	0.77* (0.08)	0.90 (0.10)
Cluster 3 (Integrated)	0.87 (0.16)	1.11 (0.18)	0.92 (0.15)
Cluster 4 (Marginalized)	1.68** (0.32)	0.33*** (0.06)	0.50*** (0.09)
Perceived discrimination	1.96*** (0.28)	0.58*** (0.08)	0.96 (0.14)
Satisfied with paternal relationship	0.79*** (0.05)	1.24*** (0.07)	1.06 (0.06)
Satisfied with maternal relationship	0.70*** (0.05)	1.10 (0.08)	1.18* (0.08)
Peer victimization	4.05*** (0.64)	0.50*** (0.08)	0.64** (0.10)
Female	1.24* (0.13)	0.95 (0.09)	0.93 (0.09)
Ages 9–12	0.69*** (0.07)	0.74** (0.08)	1.27* (0.12)
Mother is Chinese	0.84 (0.18)	2.18*** (0.46)	1.98*** (0.39)
Mother is Chinese-Korean	1.16 (0.19)	1.30 (0.22)	1.50* (0.24)
Mother is Other Asian	1.20 (0.16)	1.04 (0.12)	1.07 (0.13)
Mother is North American	1.58 (0.90)	1.31 (0.74)	1.40 (0.86)
Mother is European	1.93* (0.62)	1.34 (0.42)	1.86 (0.66)
Mother is of other ethnic background	2.51* (1.00)	1.53 (0.81)	2.94 (1.79)
Mother’s education: elementary school or less	0.53* (0.10)	0.89 (0.10)	1.39 (0.10)

(continued)

Table 4. Continued

	Depressive symptoms	No school difficulty	Educational aspiration
	(0.16)	(0.27)	(0.45)
Mother's education: middle school or less	0.75	0.82	0.84
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Mother's education: four-year college or less	0.85	1.31*	1.26*
	(0.10)	(0.15)	(0.14)
Mother's education: graduate school	0.71	1.34	1.21
	(0.29)	(0.55)	(0.67)
Mother is employed	0.90	0.98	0.96
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Monthly income: less than 100 (unit: KRW10,000)	1.39	1.01	0.85
	(0.27)	(0.17)	(0.15)
Monthly income: 200–299	1.19	1.30*	1.06
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.13)
Monthly income: 300–399	1.00	1.21	0.91
	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.14)
Monthly income : 400–499	1.23	1.52	1.09
	(0.28)	(0.34)	(0.24)
Monthly income: 500 or more	1.12	2.14**	1.45
	(0.28)	(0.62)	(0.42)

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

The omitted categories include: youth in cluster 1 (assimilated); not bullied; did not perceive discrimination; not satisfied with paternal relationship; not satisfied with maternal relationship; male, ages 13–15; mother is Japanese; mother is high school graduate; mother is unemployed; and monthly income is between 100 and 199.

All standard errors are presented in parentheses.

reporting no difficulty and this estimate is statistically significant at the 5 percent level ($p = 0.021$).

Discussion

The present study examined the acculturation patterns of children of migrant wives in Korea adopting a multidimensional approach using LCA. It sought to investigate whether there were differences across acculturation profiles in demographic and socio-economic characteristics as well as in factors associated with acculturative stress including perceived discrimination, quality

of parent–child relationships and peer victimization. Lastly, the study estimated the effects of acculturation profiles on youth’s psychological and educational adaptation.

Findings revealed that there were four distinct profiles of multiethnic youth with similar acculturative styles: assimilated; linguistically assimilated but psychologically diffused; integrated; and marginalized. In contrast to prior research on immigrants in Western societies, among Korean multiethnic youth the assimilated cluster was the most prevalent acculturation style (42.2 percent), whereas the integrated cluster formed a relatively small group (13.2 percent) (Berry et al., 2006; Brown et al., 2013; Tahseen and Cheah, 2012; Ward and Kus, 2012). In some sense, these results are not surprising and even expected since one’s acculturative strategy is largely dependent on the policy promoted by the host society and the attitudes of those in the dominant group (Van Oudenhoven and Eisses, 1998), which, in the case of Korea, could be largely characterized as assimilationist by encouraging immigrants to fully incorporate the Korean language and culture. It appears that the majority of youth from multiethnic families responded to such a contextual environment by showing a strong orientation toward the Korean society or at least a balanced one between the maternal ethnic and Korean cultures. Interestingly, however, youth in the assimilated cluster were characterized by relatively low levels of satisfaction on both mother–child (74.3 percent vs. 90.0 percent) and father–child relationships (65.3 percent vs. 80.1 percent) as compared to youth in the integrated cluster, indicating that intergenerational conflict or gaps in acculturation may have compromised assimilated youth’s self-perceived family cohesion (Ying and Han, 2007). Such internal conflicts may be related to the value parents place on maintaining the maternal heritage culture as well as to the amount of support they provide. In fact, information on the degree to which the father encourages youth to use the mother’s native language at home was collected as part of the NSMF youth survey (using 1–5 Likert scale ratings). Simple cross tabulations revealed that only 18.4 percent of assimilated youth were encouraged to use their mother’s native language at home (i.e., strongly encouraged or encouraged) by their fathers, as compared to 60.4 percent of youth in the integrated cluster.

Consistent with initial expectations, the results did not endorse a separated style of acculturation, which was proposed and confirmed by Berry (1997) and other researchers studying Asian immigrants to be quite prevalent (Farver et al., 2002; Tahseen and Cheah, 2012). Instead, the study documented a cluster that was characterized as linguistically assimilated but psychologically diffused (37.3 percent). The linguistically assimilated but psychologically diffused profile represented immigrant youth with contradictory acculturation attitudes similar to the “diffuse profile” proposed by Berry and colleagues (2006). Specifically, youth in this group displayed low levels of proficiency in their maternal native language but also reported high identification with and

interest in the maternal heritage culture. They were also as fluent in Korean as youth in the assimilated cluster. This inconsistent pattern suggests that these youth are somewhat ambivalent in forming their ethnic identity across the two cultures and therefore may be experiencing tension created by the incongruence of self-identity and ability/behavior (Williams et al., 2002). The last cluster was labeled the marginalized cluster (6.9 percent) and represented a segment of the Korean multiethnic population at the greatest risk for maladjustment. Specifically, this was the only group that reported that they were not fluent in Korean despite having been born in Korea. Also, their limited linguistic ability in Korean was not buffered by fluency in their mother's native language placing them in a uniquely disadvantaged position in which access to resources from either culture is potentially blocked or restricted. Although these youth were not significantly economically worse off than youth in the other three clusters, they expressed extremely low levels of satisfaction regarding the relationships they had with both their mothers and fathers. For this group, it appears that poor Korean linguistic capability coupled with heightened intergenerational cultural dissonance may have nurtured a situation in which youth feel disconnected to their peers and teachers in the mainstream society, but also lack the familial or social support that may facilitate their psychological and educational adaptation.

The study confirmed the hypothesis that youth in the integrated cluster display no relative advantage in adaptive outcomes as compared to youth in the assimilated cluster. However, integrated youth were not any more disadvantaged than assimilated youth. Such results corroborate findings from earlier studies that dual ethnic youth who incorporate aspects of both heritage cultures are not psychologically or educationally disadvantaged (Ward, 2006), despite the lack of a protective effect. These results also contribute to previous research by explicitly testing the external validity of such an acculturation paradigm, which had been restricted to Western multicultural contexts, and confirming that the hypothesis holds even in a highly monolingual and mono-ethnic setting such as Korea.

The study also provided evidence in support of the hypothesis that acculturation profiles of Korean multiethnic youth vary across maternal ethnicity by showing that youth in the integrated cluster had disproportionately high fractions of mothers from developed countries as compared to youth in the assimilated or marginalized clusters. The results suggest that the specific mixed group membership may be an important element to consider when studying the acculturative strategy and adaptive processes of multiethnic youth (Manuela and Sibley, 2014). This may be especially true in an environment like Korea where natives have been argued to display strong dual ethnic bias when interacting with foreigners from developed versus developing countries (Kang, 2010). Although significant differences in the experience of discrimination among youth across clusters were not documented in this

study, it is conceivable that youth whose mothers are from developing countries may have been more likely to be exposed to indirect pressures to incorporate the Korean culture than those with mothers from developed countries leading to divergent acculturative pathways. Clearly, more research is needed to examine the interplay of Korean ethnic biases, acculturation and adaptation among multiethnic youth.

Finally, consistent with past research, results on the association between youth's acculturative style and adaptation revealed that marginalized youth were at greater risk of both psychological (self-reported depressive symptoms) and educational (difficulty in school work and low educational aspirations) problems than assimilated youth. This is consistent with the notion that youth in the marginalized group are rejected by both the dominant and heritage society, which implies the presence of hostility and reduced social support (Berry, 1997). Compared to assimilated youth, linguistically assimilated but psychologically diffused youth were at greater risk of experiencing difficulty in school work, but no differences in depressive symptoms or educational aspirations were found. Given that youth in this group are extremely fluent in Korean, they potentially have access to resources from the dominant culture, which may serve some protective function for their psychological or socio-cultural functioning, unlike the marginalized youth. In contrast to most extant studies, results from the present study did not confirm that the integration strategy leads to the most adaptive outcomes for youth. In fact, youth in the assimilated and integrated profiles were found to be indistinguishable on all three domains of adaptation. This seems to confirm that youth's relative preference for a certain type of acculturation strategy as well as the resulting adaptive outcomes vary with respect to the society of settlement and its situational contexts (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Sam and Berry, 2010). Results from this study indicate that access to the maternal heritage culture does not function as a protective factor among integrated youth in the Korean setting. This could be related to a number of factors, including the assimilationist characteristic of the national policy, the attitude of members of the host society and/or the potentially limited resources available in co-ethnic communities upon which recent immigrants tend to rely.

Conclusion and policy implications

To the best of my knowledge, this study was the first to examine the relationships between acculturation patterns and youth's psychological as well as educational adaptation using a multidimensional acculturation measure on native-born multiethnic children of migrant wives in Korea. Nevertheless, there are some limitations of this study. First, the cross-sectional nature of the data makes it difficult to draw definitive conclusions about the direction of the relationship between acculturative profiles and adaptive outcomes.

Second, although the use of secondary data on a large nationally representative sample of Korean multiethnic youth improved both the precision and external validity of the estimates, given that the NSMF youth survey was created to examine the overall well-being of youth in multicultural families, the measures of acculturation were not as detailed as those available in other datasets collected primarily to test patterns of acculturation. For example, these measures of acculturation did not contain information on youth's identification with the Korean ethnic culture beyond linguistic abilities limiting one's understanding of youth's acculturative processes. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that other studies examining different aspects of acculturation to the Korean culture, such as identity or behavior, may uncover different acculturative styles. Finally, the present study described and analyzed youth using a within-sample approach and thus, could not be compared to those of Korean natives. This implies that information on multiethnic youth's adaptation in absolute terms remains unclear: for example, the adaptive outcomes of youth in the assimilated or integrated clusters may be very poor relative to the average Korean youth. Future research and inquiry that incorporates a Korean ethnic sample should be necessary to better elucidate the relationship between acculturative processes and multiethnic youth adaptation.

In conclusion, this study indicated that acculturation patterns might be of vital importance in understanding the psychological and educational adaptation of multiethnic youth from migrant wives in Korea. The study suggests that it is not so much the availability of more cultural resources, but congruence between one's linguistic capability and cultural orientation that promotes better adaptation in these youth. In the Korean context, being fluent in Korean appears to be a necessary condition for healthy youth adjustment, and strong orientation toward the maternal heritage culture should be complemented with a supportive family environment encouraging the use of maternal native language so as to achieve fluency.

The findings of the study suggest the importance of supporting multiethnic youth to appreciate the maternal heritage culture since Korea is rapidly transitioning into a multicultural society (Kim, 2009). Dual ethnic identity formation has been found to facilitate both the psychological and socio-cultural adaptation of youth within these plural contexts (Berry et al., 2006). However, this study does indicate that policies aimed at promoting better adjustment of multiethnic youth should consider the fact that among youth who are linguistically assimilated, there is a sizeable portion of youth who are somewhat confused about their cultural identity and therefore may be at increased risk of adaptive problems if these internal conflicts are not resolved. Lastly, special attention and resources should be targeted towards the marginalized group of youth who, without proper intervention, seems to be on the path to downward assimilation accompanied by negative long-term

outcomes (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Given this group's lack of linguistic skills as well as poor adaptive outcomes, the development of programs that concurrently address their complex needs and promote school engagement seems crucial. School-directed efforts to increase parental involvement in education may be necessary in this case since the migrant mothers' unfamiliarity with the Korean education system may hinder contact. In addition, government agencies and schools should collaborate and coordinate services to ensure that marginalized youth are getting specialized services appropriate to their stages of integration. Partnerships between schools and the local community or businesses should also be explored given the potential these endeavors have in terms of promoting community participation and building social support (Gibson and Carrasco, 2009).

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