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GLOBALIZATION, NEW TECHNOLOGIES, AND INTERCULTURAL FLEXIBILITY: COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE OF KOREAN ADOLESCENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

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TAE-SIK KIM
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GLOBALIZATION, NEW TECHNOLOGIES, AND INTERCULTURAL FLEXIBILITY: COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE OF KOREAN ADOLESCENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

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BY

Dr. Eric Kramer, Chair

Dr. Glenn Hansen

Dr. Elaine Hsieh

Dr. Todd Sandel

Dr. Charles Self

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Globalization, New Technologies, and Intercultural Flexibility: Communication and Culture of Korean Adolescents in the United States

Abstract

This study aims to comprehend the contextual backgrounds, communicative behaviors, and cultural consequences of South Korean adolescents who are sent to the United States for the purpose of education. Globalization, the recent economic affluence of Koreans, and a long tradition of 'education fever,' has created a new trend of sending young children and adolescents alone to the United States in order to learn English. Three different levels of socio-cultural and historical backgrounds are provided in order to explain this phenomenon: the modern Korean perspective on education, the contemporary world of globalization, and Korean developmentalism. This study is composed of four basic research questions: (1) Why are these young adolescents sent to the United States by their parents?, (2) How do they live in the United States where everything is strange to them?, (3) how do they attempt to use new com techs to cope? (4) How successful are they at coping? and (4) How will their cultural identity be shaped? Based on these questions, this study conducts a series of in-depth interviews with young sojourners in Oklahoma City, Boston, and Dallas. The qualitative study, which is largely guided by grounded theory and phenomenology, divides into two main sections: the first section provides contextual background about their everyday lives in the United States. The second section mainly focuses on their communicative behavior and their use of new communication technologies. Findings of this research show that many of these young sojourners are suffering quite traumatically by living without parents and

proper peer relationships. Social media have proven to not be adequate replacements for these young people and their normative social and psychological development. Being completely isolated in the US context, these young people spend much time alone in their private space using the Internet and consuming Korean media content. Cultural consequences in relation to their identity formation reflect the complex nature of the globalized world and the limitations of social media to satisfy the social needs of young people. This study is eventually expected to provide a ground for a refutation of the functionalist tradition of intercultural communication research and to develop new perspectives on internationally relocated populations in the age of globalization and advanced technology.

CHAPTER 1. Introduction

This study originated from my personal experiences as an international graduate student in the United States. I am also the uncle of two nieces who relocated to the United States for the purpose of their secondary educations. Furthermore, I am an English tutor working to support the educational success of Korean high school students living in the United States. As an international graduate student I have experienced the loneliness that comes from living in a foreign land. I desperately miss my family and long time friends, not to mention the everyday things I have taken for granted like spicy foods and the non-stop night life of Seoul.

For me, learning a new language in my 30s has been a continuously stressful event. The experience has made me more humble, but it has also made me somewhat timid, particularly in situations requiring high levels of English conversation and comprehension skills. Nevertheless, I am very skilled in using various communication technologies. I often use this technology to contact family and friends, keep up with Korean politics and sport, and download the latest Korean music and movies. These activities often help me relax after an exam or a long paper.

I have become used to many aspects of American life. I enjoy watching American films, but I still prefer Korean comedy shows over Saturday Night Live. I often find myself asking the following questions: 1) Have I "adapted" to American culture? 2) Have I achieved communication competence in this English speaking culture? 3) Am I losing my Koreanness?

There was a time when I envied young Korean students who were able to come to the United States for their secondary education. I envied them because they were able, due to their family's affluence, to begin learning English "for real" while they were still very young (unlike me). Learning English as an adult has been one of the greatest challenges in my life. In spite of my own struggles, I still find it tiresome to constantly listen to the problems of these affluent Korean teenagers. Their complaints mainly originate from their living environment characterized by living with strangers. For example, my niece once complained about having to eat frozen chicken nuggets with her host family. Not surprisingly, many of these Korean students look forward to summer vacations when they can return to their homes in South Korea. However, it is not uncommon upon their return to the United States for them to complain about the fact that they did not really get a summer "vacation." Their time at home is primarily spent in SAT and TOEFL preparation institutes.

These young sojourners are objectified in many ways. For their parents, these students are supposed to glorify the family name by entering prestigious colleges in the United States. For businesses, these young students are sources of huge profits. Agencies for the early study abroad, private institutes for English education, mass media, and many schools and embassies of some English speaking countries will literally make millions off the ambition of these students. For academic researchers, these students are merely variables to be tested in an attempt to find relationships between the amount of cultural adaptation, academic

productivity, linguistic skills, age, parents' SES, and so on. The world often does not seem to genuinely care about the well being of these adolescents.

Communication technologies are often a respite from the pressures of cultural adjustment. Furthermore, these relocated students use these technological developments as a means of staying connected with a world they know and miss. Interestingly enough, one day, I received a phone call from a Korean mother, and she said: "I think my son uses the Internet too much. It harms his studying English and adjusting to the American culture. Do you think I'd better take his computer away from him?" I answered, "Absolutely not!"

Global Relocation of Korean Adolescents

Globalization and the rapid development of communication technologies help more and more people relocate themselves to other cultural regions for various purposes, including jobs and education. Although a massive relocation of large parts of the world population has occurred over the past two centuries, the recent flow of movement has become more intensive due to technology and globalization. Therefore, a lot of attention has been paid to this issue not only in academia but also in the private sector. However, most studies only focus on immigrant laborers or the diaspora that demonstrate the dark side of globalization and neo-liberal capitalism (e.g., Flanagan, 2006) or to suggest an effective way of assimilation of this population (e.g., Kim, 2000). Although there has been an increasing number of internationally relocated young students for educational purposes, most studies of this population have been conducted for pragmatic reasons, ie. demonstrating

correlations between policy, functional supports, and educational productivity (e.g., Yeh & Inose, 2003). The young students who study in foreign countries are generally seen as having stable socio-economic status in their home countries. Thus, they are not usually seen as social problems by sensational mass media or the academic market. Traditionally, international education has been embodied by young adults pursuing higher degrees, such as a doctorate or a professional degree like an MBA. The temporary nature of international relocation and relatively small number, compared to the whole population, of relocated students is part of the reason why they have not been analyzed in more critical and cultural ways. Instead, they are generally seen as an easy means by which predetermined hypotheses can be tested. However, we are now witnessing a new trend of massive global relocation for the purpose of education in East Asian countries, especially in Korea. The number of the relocated Korean students can no longer be ignored, and various socio-cultural changes caused by this trend have become apparent.

Ying (2005) reports that there are over one million international students worldwide, and about half of these students are studying in the United States. Surprisingly, one seventh of international students in the United States are Korean (http://www.ice.gov/SEVIS). Although most international students from other countries are college or graduate students, a relatively large portion of Korean international students are primary and secondary school students (Kim, 2005). The recent economic affluence of Koreans, along with a long tradition of *education fever*, has created a new trend of sending young children and adolescents to the United

States in order to learn English. This early international education has been covered not only by Korean news media but also by American mainstream media, such as *The New York Times* and the *Washington Post.* Although the number of students in foreign countries is small compared to the entire population of school age children, about 50 % of Korean adults reportedly want to send their children to other countries for the purpose of education (KNSO, 2008). This extraordinary eagerness for international education has spawned a mass of related industries, such as the private after school business called *Hakwon,* intensive English learning programs called *English Camp*, and early study abroad agencies. Therefore, the new trend has been a boon for mass media and educational policy makers. As will be seen in the preliminary study, however, the issue related to the early study abroad is still limited to educational productivity and economic concerns.

However, the fact that cultural differences and language barriers cause many serious problems can no longer be ignored. As a complex symbolic system each culture requires very subtle interpretive skills. In addition, people and culture are continuously interacting to create their own environments. Language is not a skill to master but a semiotic system which is comprised of numerous social usages. Parents usually believe that if their children speak English with perfect pronunciation and accent, they have mastered the language and can move on to the upper stages of their objectives. However, their children still suffer due to their lack of understanding of the nuanced cultural meaning of language. Unaccompanied Korean adolescents in the United States have experienced this kind of pressure. There are many studies and

reports on the psychological problems of international students, such as stress caused by strangeness and homesickness. Various studies reviewed by the present study contain critical information on the increases of stress in the process of cultural adjustment (e.g., Mori, 2000). In addition, many psychological studies report homesickness as a danger for mental health (e.g., Fisher, 1989). Being separated from familiar people and environments usually brings homesickness. These psychological and developmental concerns of the young sojourners call for an explorative study, which is not limited to economic and academic results of the early study abroad, but is instead comprehensive in understanding living environments and everyday lives of the unaccompanied young sojourners in the United States, as well as socio-cultural contexts of this phenomenon.

Contexts of the Study

Parents who send their children to a foreign country want their children to gain flexible citizenship, a concept initially introduced by Ong (1999). Flexible citizenship is believed to be a prerequisite condition to take advantage of economic and social status which is the so-called symbolic capital. Globalization and its infrastructure, capitalism, not only create physical relocation but also prompt people to pursue flexible identity to survive the competition. This globalized world is densely connected by a global network of players who dominate global political, economic, and cultural capital (Kramer & Kim, 2009). These players are not bound to a certain location and interest. Therefore, becoming global citizens who are

leading players of the global playground is the main purpose of Korean parents, who are firmly grounded in economic and social success oriented education.

This study provides broad understandings of the historical context of this phenomenon. It shows not only historical background of Korean educational culture, but also more comprehensive understandings of the Western-dominated modern world. The first part of background to the study mainly argues how the world has been shaped through the dominant forces of Western capitalist countries. The hegemonic Western power is importantly regarded as the most important context in creating universalized cultural taste, that is, monoculture (Kramer, 2003; Ong, 1999). The flexible citizenship mentioned before is a typical cultural product of this monopolistic world of globalization.

In relation to this long tradition of Western expansion, this study provides the historical understandings of Korean Social Darwinism and developmentalism in the second part of backgrounds of the study. Early Western capitalist expansion brought not only a new mode of production and market system, but also a mythical belief in the social Darwinistic human development into the underdeveloped world in which a desire of catching up to the developed countries became an important virtue. Social Darwinism has dominated the newly modernized country as an ideology (Park, 2007). The developmental dictatorship by military regimes in the course of rapid modernization and economic development furthered this ideology by urging development of everything, even human beings, in order to catch up to other advanced countries, which are believed to be superior. Under this ideological belief,

Korean people have succeeded in a rapid economic development and been proud of their survival of this infinitely competitive world.

Based on these two different levels of contextual understandings of modern history, the third part of the background presents historical and cultural understandings of Korean education. Korean educational culture, which is epitomized by "elite education" and "global education" in this study (See, Park, 2008; Ryu, 2008), is the product of Social Darwinism and its combination with a long tradition of education values of Confucianism. In addition, global education, which is mainly comprised of English education, has arguably become the most important property of Korean education. These all three parts of the background are expected to bring preliminary understandings of the extraordinary phenomenon of sending young adolescents to foreign countries by themselves, with the superficial purpose of education. However, these young adolescents' journeys to be global citizens reflect the global capital flow and status-driven child development, which has become a universal taste and fate in this competitive world (Ong, 1999).

Importance of this Explorative Study and Outline

Of course, the adolescents who have been sent to the United States still need close parental care and stable peer relationships for their proper development to become adults. However, in a country obsessed with global education, the meaning of adolescent development has been reduced to mere academic achievements. Therefore, despite the urgent need, cultural and psychological consequences of relocation for Korean high school students have not been seriously addressed.

In addition, mainstream intercultural studies have been dominated by a positivistic/functionalist paradigm in which maintains cultural adaptation or assimilation become predetermined variables (e.g., Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). Despite the rapid increase of global relocations and transnational communication via new information technologies, various positive assumptions are prevailing in both everyday life and academic domains. No matter how the young sojourners live in a foreign country, they are mechanically assumed to be culturally adjusted for their successfully functional lives. In this position, it is impossible to draw a fully comprehensive picture of every aspect of the everyday life of these young sojourners.

On the contrary, this study will provide a much more comprehensive picture of the aforementioned phenomena than has previously been offered. That being said, this study will largely be exploratory in nature. The study itself will be composed of four basic research questions: (1) Why are these young adolescents sent to the United States by their parents? (2) How do they live in the United States where various things are strange to them? (3) What are they doing in the United States in the age of new communication technologies? (How do they spend their time?) and (4) What are the cultural meanings of their relocations and technology uses? This study will primarily consist of a qualitative interview study with Korean young sojourners in Oklahoma City, Boston, and Dallas.

The qualitative study (interviews with Korean high school students in the United States.) is divided into two sections: the first section focuses on everyday

lives of the students in the United States, which provides the contextual background for understanding their everyday lives. The second section focuses on their uses of new communication technologies, which provides insights on the relationship between global relocations, technologies, and cultures.

The living environments of young Korean sojourners and cultural and psychological aspects of these living conditions will take up much of the first portion of the main study. As will be made evident through my preliminary analysis, Korean parents who send their kids abroad for the purpose of education are heavily influenced by social Darwinistic human development and neo-liberal ideology that stresses the importance of surviving global competition. Unfortunately for the children, the path to this type of success can be physically, emotionally, and psychologically traumatic. Various studies on international students have reported that these young sojourners face many kinds of problems caused by socio-cultural and linguistic differences (e.g., Thomas & Althen, 1989). While most of this previous research has covered post-secondary students, research subjects of the current study are still in secondary education, which is usually regarded as the years that parental care is still intensively needed. Therefore, this study pays extensive attention to this anomalous phenomenon since young Korean sojourners almost always live away from their natural parents.

As reported by many previous studies, international students tend to have difficulty making inter-ethnic friends (e.g. Kao & Joyner, 2004). Experiencing a different culture, language, and schooling system, these young sojourners are

expected to have limited peer relationships in the United States. Their lack of parental care and peer relationships, uncommon experiences with host family members, and different cultural perceptions and life styles in the United States. should be importantly considered in the course of investigating their communicative behaviors and cultural consequences. The first part of the qualitative interview portion of the study will be grounded in various psychological studies on international sojourners, especially on international students, and adolescent development, and will provide a contextual understanding of these sojourner's everyday lives.

The second focus of the main study deals with the use of communication technologies and channels by young sojourners. Deeply related to their living environments in the United States, their communication uses and media consumption are importantly considered. In the uses and gratification research in relation to intercultural communication, media use tends to be analyzed as an independent variable to predict cultural adaptation along with a strong assumption that sojourners seek to adapt a new culture (e.g., Reece & Palmgreen, 2000). However, as will be indicated in the first part of the study, the living environment plays a crucial role in the consideration of the communicative practices of the young sojourners. Furthermore, these unaccompanied sojourners are highly accustomed to using advanced communication technologies which enable them to reach wherever and whoever they want. The stress of loneliness of young sojourners and their

proficiency with advanced communication technologies are expected to create very distinct motivations for media and technology use.

This study will discuss the intercultural consequences of global relocation at a young age and the uses of communication channels via new technologies. Through the discussion, this study will redefine the meanings of cultural boundaries, local identity, and intercultural contacts. Communication competence is considered a precondition for cultural adaptation in traditional intercultural communication research (Gudykunst & Kim, 2003). Cultural adaptation to the host culture by new comers is assumed to be inevitable under the positivistic model of social scientific research. In the globalized world, the intercultural personhood devised by Gudykunst and Kim (2003) becomes a canonical personhood, which could be achieved by more contact with the host cultural and communication system and more uses of the host countries' media. On the other hand, a new perspective of intercultural communication argues that new cultural experiences are additive process of the integration between the old and the new (Kramer, 2000). Globalization and the rise of advanced communication technologies, combined with more frequent contacts between people from various cultures, are expected to create unpredictable cultural churning and fusion. Not surprisingly, the subjects of this study reflect the political economic logic of globalization. At the same time, they are also technologically adept. Therefore, this study posits that in-depth interviews with the young sojourners will be a good platform to evaluate these two extremely different intercultural communication theories.

In addition to these theoretical reviews, this study will also provide various suggestions to those who are seeking to address this problematic phenomenon. The findings of this study may provide new insight for Korean parents who are obsessed with a more limited meaning of educational success. The everyday lives and intercultural consequences of these globally relocated adolescents can also be a good source of information for policy makers working in to equip policies related to international secondary school education.

CHAPTER 2. Socio-cultural Background of the Study

Understanding the Contemporary World

Globalization and advanced communication technologies are two most important factors to consider when discussing the global relocation of Korean students. Globalization and advanced communication technologies have helped create a world that allows unprecedented flexibility for people as they are selecting where they will work or study. In order to understand this complex phenomenon this study will examine several issues, such as the delocalization of culture, individualized globalization, Western hegemonic domination, and flexible citizenship.

Modern globalization can be traced back to the excursions of several Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian merchants, explorers, and missionaries who looked for new paths to reach the East. However, European expansion was not just an expansion of the newly emerged free flow of capital and surpluses. The modern West disseminated its norms of modernity, which can be epitomized by scientification, objectification, and rationalization (Hobsbawm, 1989; Wallerstein, 2006). This Westernization has been accelerated by communication technologies and transportation as well as an ever-growing globalized world financial system. In this study, globalization is considered the primary factor in reshaping nation states, cultures, identities, and various socio-cultural practices. Culture was once described with adjectives like “pure,” “traditional,” and “local,” but these words lose their meaning with globalization and advanced communication technologies.

One example of this can be found in the globalized Islamic fundamentalism, which is analyzed by Roy (2004). According to Roy, the neo-fundamentalism we witness nowadays does not originate from a geographical center and religious tradition, but from the Westernization of religiosity. In the traditional understanding of culture, Islamic fundamentalism could easily be regarded as a local movement, a regional homogeneous culture, and a force of anti-globalization. It is common to see a culture as a fixed entity which has a distinct spatial and temporal boundary. However, as can be seen in the case of the Islamic neo-fundamentalist movement, which is emancipated from its religious spatial center, it is hard to classify and assume a single set of cultures in the globalized world. As Roy points out, Islam is already a Western religion not because of conquest by the West, but because of a massive global relocation of jobs. Islam becomes more globalized because of the flattening forces of global capital as pointed out by Friedman (2005). According to Roy (2004), the population which relocates to other parts of the world is neither the diaspora nor the assimilated. The intercultural research tradition tends to analyze globally relocated people by those dualistic aspects of migration, and it still sees culture and identity as a static whole, despite the increasingly flexible nature of the globalized world. “Globalization has blurred the connection between a religion, a pristine culture, a specific society, and a territory” (Roy, 2004, p. 24). This modernity, which has been globalized through the Western expansion, has created a world of objectivity, standardization, decontextualization, and so on. These ingredients of modernity with their positivistic beliefs reflect the dissociation of

human beings and their communities from their organic natures. A culture which once possessed its own intrinsic values, norms, and beliefs, now merely retains its label, which is nothing more than a name. Globalized identity politics and movements, as well as Islamic neofundamentalism, lose their "purit[ies] and holistic dimension[s]" (Roy, 2005, p. 259).

Communication technology strengthens this force of globalization in de-territorializing local culture and identity. Roy (2004) emphasizes the role of the Internet as a paradigm as well as a tool of the objectified neo-fundamental Islam religiosity. This networked religiosity is no longer interested in the internal meanings and essential ingredients of its culture. Instead, it only cares about standardized codes that can be adapted to any culture of the world. As a clone of Western expansion with its quantified and standardized capital and norms, globalized Islamic fundamentalism strives to disseminate a series of codified norms, instead of its religious tradition. The Internet is a very useful platform for these Muslims in the diffusion of these codes.

Castells (1996) also points out the disjunction between the local and the global in the network society. Castells argues that national identity is not based in a nation as a substantial entity, but in the images of communal languages in the network society. Advanced communication technologies reciprocally fortified with globalization dramatically transform the meanings of locality, identity, and culture. This new network of identity is not as exclusive as the former network of ethnicity and not as arbitrary as territoriality.

In the globalized world, “citizenship does not equate with nationality” (Castells, 2004, p. 54). Multinational businesses, global financial systems, and a massive relocation of workforces in the world have created this flexible citizenship and the world is now flattened (Friedman, 2005; Ong, 1999). The nation state still plays an important role as a unit of analysis and as a legal boundary for various political-economic practices. In this sense, the political-economic relationship among nation states is still relatively uneven and thus it is hard to accurately assess the world a flat. However, more and more individuals across the globe are uprooting themselves and relocating in order to seek more opportunities for work and for securing their futures. This relocation has created a kind of individualized globalization (Friedman, 2005). This global individualization is exacerbated by digital technology. The Internet as ‘a tool of low-cost global connection’ has given individuals the ability to move beyond traditional static entities, such as nation states and local cultures (Friedman, 2005). In sum, the global system is now a complex web of interconnected yet flexible individuals; flexible in terms of their cultural identification regardless of spatial location and socio-economic status.

Kramer and Kim (2009) argue that this individualized globalization is also characterized by a small number of global players who utilize this flexibility, along with their privileged socio-economic status and talent, to dominate the world. As a super class not confined by the traditional dichotomized notion of bourgeoisie and proletariat, these global players are now freely moving around the world seeking profits unrestrained by spatial boundaries or localized norms, ethics, and ideologies.

Furthermore, the global financial system which connects several cosmopolitan areas all over the world has created its own network of global power elites. (Kramer, 2003; Kramer & Kim, 2009). This network is not a fixed and static binding tie, but instead a very flexible and unstable one. In this world, the nation state sees its purpose as striving to provide 'a good business climate' to these global players (Harvey, 2006; Kramer & Kim, 2009). The nation state, which was formerly an entity to connect people and to provide those identities and cultures, is no longer an organic community, but merely one of many playgrounds and instrumental legal bases making up the flexible network of the financial system, cosmopolitans, and global communication technologies. Harvey (2006) emphasizes this re-territorialization by bourgeois power.

> Capitalism did not invent territorial administration. It seized hold of political-administrative structures and adapted, transformed and in some instances totally revolutionized them as it came to dominate as a political-economic system. If state had not existed, in short, capitalism would have had to invent them (Harvey, 2006, p. 105).

Although state regimes still set the legal boundaries of their nation states, they "are constantly adjusting to the influx of different kinds of immigrants" in order to maximize profits and minimize costs (Ong, 1999, p. 112). A nation state is no longer a patriarchal father. Now the nation state is better allegorized as a kind of marketing manager seeking to optimize players' economic and symbolic capital.

Flexible citizenship

In order to understand the new meanings of citizenship in the globalized world, it is necessary to keep in mind three different levels of citizenship: political, economic, and cultural (Miller, 2007). When conceived of as the right to reside and vote, political citizenship is not very different from the notions of social contracts proposed by early modern enlightenment philosophers such as Locke and Rousseau. In everyday life, the meaning of citizenship is often limited to political citizenship. While, early state interventionists were concerned with lifting up the marginalized masses via public funds, the emergence of the neo-liberal political economy in the late 20th century brought an end to government as an economic care provider for marginalized populations. The classical antagonistic formation between bourgeoisies and proletariat becomes obsolete as "workers [are] called upon to identify as stakeholders in business or as consumers" (Miller, 2007, p. 44). In the open market system, nation states are no longer care providers for the economic well-being of their citizens (Miller, 2007). This is the contemporary meaning of economic citizenship which is exclusively occupied by global economic players (Kramer & Kim, 2009). The contemporary meaning of cultural citizenship is accompanied with this neo-liberal economic citizenship. Unlike common beliefs, cultural citizenship is no longer aligned with custom, language, and shared history. "[N]eoliberalism posits that the rational calculator inside each person –whose only motivation is to maximize individual utility- must moderate his or her desire in the interest of harmony,

blending consumerism with citizenship" (Miller, 2007, p. 55). In this world, cultural citizenship corresponds to the needs of market.

The notion of flexible citizenship clearly reflects this market relationship and the contemporary meaning of economic and cultural citizenship. Flexible citizenship is an imaginary product of the contemporary interconnected world of global haves and have-nots. The notion of flexible citizenship refers to "the cultural logics of capitalist accumulation, travel, and displacement that induce subjects to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political economic conditions" (Ong, 1999, p. 6). While, in the traditional sense, the accumulation of capital is understood as a purely economic practice, socio-cultural practices in obtaining symbolic capital are also importantly regarded in the course of creating distinctions among individuals in the late industrial society (Bourdieu, 1993). Pursuing symbolic capital, which reflects homogenized cultural taste, is primarily related to the hegemonic dominance of the West in our everyday lives.

Contemporary Western civilization has expanded its "civilizing" forces by constructing a cultural hegemonic relationship with the rest of the world. And the Western taste has become a dominant cultural norm under this hegemony (Bourdieu, 1993; Ong 2006). This hegemonic network of global elites nullifies the more dualistic understanding of globalization as notions of core and periphery. As reviewed earlier, globalization is now a very individualized practice as opposed to a macroscopic relationship between a few cores and many peripheries. Local groups of elites are not subordinated by the power of the center. They secure their own

privileges in the globalized play ground, and pursue and learn the socio-cultural tastes of Westerners. Local elites reside in their local hegemonic centers, cosmopolitan cities, and freely move other cosmopolitan areas in the course of pursuing socio-economic capital (Harvey, 2006; Kramer, 2003).

Cosmopoly, conceived of as a combination of cosmopolitanism along with hegemonic homogenization of world culture, has created a monopoly of a single set of values, beliefs, motivations, and behaviors (Kramer, 2003). New regional centers and individuals who live and want to live there are overwhelmed by this monopoly. Asian post-colonial modernity is an exemplar of this hegemonic monopoly of capitalist culture. Instead of equipping themselves with the anti-capital or anti-Western ideology, Asian post-colonial elites pursue another type of strong capitalism and development under the hegemonic presence of Western capitalism (Ong, 1999).

The Asian modernity and its pursuit of global capitalism can be seen in its history of its educational culture. Degrees from prestigious universities in the West, especially in the United States, are now one of the most important cultural commodities in Asia, and may be converted into both economic capital and social capital (Ong, 1999). Under Western-centered capitalism, this uniform desire becomes a kind of common sense which is explained by Gramsci (1971): "conception of the world which is uncritically absorbed by the various social and cultural environments in which the moral individuality of the average man is developed" (p. 419).

The relentless investment of education as a way of gaining symbolic capital could more critically be understood by the notion of inclusion and exclusion from the neo-liberalist system, which is the dominant system of contemporary globalization. As Friedman (2005) points out, individuals who are "qualified" can be accepted in this world system regardless of their natural and cultural origins and physical locations. The desire to be flexible is not only based in the "catching-up" ideology, but also in "fear." In the globalized world, the marginalized populations, which consist of impoverished populations, various minorities, and immigrants, are often brutally excluded from the benefits of globalization (Ong, 2006). More importantly, they are not only excluded by the worldwide system, but also by their own national states, which still set the legal boundaries of their political citizenships. Flexible citizenship, fortified by the globalization and cultural hegemony of the advanced, in combination with fear of being excluded from the system, often pushes people to take tremendous risks in order to procure economic and social capital. Relocation for educational purposes to cities and cultural hegemonic centers is a typical phenomenon reflecting this logic of globalization. Korean educational exodus, which is the main topic of this research, is a typical case of the journey towards flexible citizenship. Korean educational culture reflects how the economic and cultural meaning of citizenship is deeply ingrained into the everyday lives of Korean people. This culture has created an extraordinarily strong elite-centered and global education.

Understanding Korean Modernization

Although Korean educational fever has drawn attention from journalists and academics for the last several decades, it was studied with an overly simplistic understanding of historical context. Many studies have looked for the causes of the extraordinarily competitive educational culture in a long tradition of Confucianism (e.g. Robinson, 1994). This simplistic approach also stems from the culturalist tradition which barely sees a culture within complex relations of other socio-cultural forces. Despite its cultural importance, Confucianism should not be considered the sole cause of the Korea's complex educational culture. The influence of Social Darwinism and developmentalism in Korea is also extremely significant in the shaping the educational values and what constitutes a desirable end for education.

Recently, the Korean president announced that Korea will be the host of the G-20 Summit in 2010. President Lee believes this is indicative of Korea's status as a major power in the world:

> [President] Lee did not hide his excitement over the decision by world leaders last week that Korea will host the G-20 Summit in November 2010. … 'I am standing here today because I want to talk about the fact that the Koreans are great and that the world is now recognizing that fact,' Lee said. He added that Koreans have made tremendous accomplishments over the past century. 'Significantly, our hosting of the G-20 Summit falls during the year marking the 100th anniversary of the forced annexation of Korea by imperial Japan. I am filled with mixed feelings,' he said. 'During the past century, we

> suffered the pain of watching our destiny fall into the hands of world powers because we were too weak. Korea has now, however, become one of the leading players in the international community recognized by advanced countries' (Ser, 2009).

This speech clearly reflects Korean developmentalism as ideology and national aspiration. Korea is widely known as a country that experienced rapid economic development. "Catching-up" to advanced Western capitalism has been and in many ways still is the national mission. This mission has been spread into every corner of Korean society. Modern industries have rapidly been developed with foreign aid, government subsidies, strong protection of domestic markets, and wide scale technological development. For a small and lately developing country, this strong top-down development has been regarded as the only way to catch up with advanced countries. The origin of this excessive developmentalism in modern Korea can be traced back to the late 19th century when Korea began to adapt Western ideologies, mainly Social Darwinism, in order to overcome their feeling of developmental inferiority (Park, 2007).

Western expansion with Social Darwinism

The concept of European expansion could be replaced by the notion of the modern capitalist market system's expansion. However, the global expansion of the capitalist system was not a purely market expansion. Weber (2003) considers the protestant ethic as one of the primary catalysts for the development of the capitalist economic system; thus, the expansion of the Western religions, mainly Protestantism,

heavily influenced the formation of a new unitary economic world (Hobsbawm,1989). However, this new religion was not the only aspect of Western culture disseminated to other worlds.

Modern Western civilization was grounded in newly acquired perceptions of space and perspective (Gebser, 1985). These perceptions have created the sense of "right" and directedness, and have become basis for a linear negation of the past (Gebser, 1985). As Mumford (1962) points out, the notion of progress had become a dominant doctrine of the upper class in Europe by the time of the Industrial Revolution. For those political and economic elites in the West, enlightenment rationality was believed to make the world more humane, more comfortable, more peaceful, and much richer (Mumford, 1962). Under this almost dogmatic belief in progress, Social Darwinism dominated the Western world which in turn fostered a breeding ground for social engineering.

Although the theory bears the name of Charles Darwin, Social Darwinism was drawn more from the Mathusian struggle for existence and the Spencerian survival of the fittest than from Darwin's theory of natural selection (Rogers, 1972). It was Spencer who used the notion of "survival of the fittest to describe the 'beneficial' effect of population pressure only on human society" (Rogers, 1972). While Social Darwinism is publicly infamous for background theory involving Nazi Germany, *laissez-faire* capitalism is more closely related to the origin of this theory (Hsü, 1986). The economic dominance of the Western world, especially of Anglo-America and its ever-expanding imperialism and influence in the late nineteenthand

early twentieth century, employed this theory to justify as well as to explain political-economic inequality.

Human beings who are dissociated from their natural wholeness in the perspectival structure faced a world in which "life was judged by the extent to which it ministered to progress, [and] progress was not judged by the extent to which is ministered to life" (Mumford, 1962, p. 185). This obsession with progress prompted people to struggle for individual survival, even at the expense of communal survival, which was/is the guiding principle of Social Darwinism.

Social Darwinism, based on bourgeois positivism was one of the primary impetuses for Western expansion. As indicated by Kramer (2003), those who actively pioneered new markets believed that "positivism is the most natural, rational, and best solution" (p. 270). Under this positivistic belief, Western capitalism became the fittest system, and the survival in this system was widely believed to be the objective of everyday life at every corner of the world. Korea was not an exception.

Social Darwinism in Korea

Park (2007) has analyzed prevalent Social Darwinism and its relation to Korean nationalism. He argues that faith in the survival of the fittest in Korean society can be traced back to the age of civilization called *Gaehwaghee,* which refers to the opening of the nation to the Western world and Japan. Although pre-industrialized Korean society possessed a central political system, its own alphabet, a legal system, and other so called conditions of civilization, the word *Gaehwaghee* is still widely used in Korean society to denote the beginnings of westernization and

modernization. Korean history textbooks distinguish two kinds of elites of this age: a group of civilization, *Gaehwa-pah* and a group of conservatism, *Cheoksah-pah,* which literally means the eradication of evil or heresy. Western culture and modernization is, in this view, equated with evil.

While elites of *Gaehwa-pah* played important roles in resisting the colonial expansion of Japan, they also admired the ways and spirit of Japanese westernization, which were firmly grounded in Social Darwinism. The United States., which was the arguably the primary culprit in exposing Japan to the outer world, was seen as a very attractive advanced country by those elites in the late Chosun dynasty. Park (2007) states that elites like Seo Jaepil, Youn Chiho, and Lee Syngman influenced the social Darwinistic development of the Korean nation state. Interestingly enough, they all had opportunities to study politics, religion, and philosophy in the United States. Lee Syngman, Ph. D. in political science from Princeton University, became the first president of Korea. Korean mass media and history text books have praised them as pioneers of Korean civilization. The inferiority complex to the advanced modern Western countries was deeply ingrained among these elites (Park, 2007).

Korean Social Darwinism was also deeply influenced by Korea's neighbors. Early modern Korean elites regarded the Western worldview, which at the time was rapidly spreading throughout the world, as the epitome of Darwinian fitness. The West became a universalized goal and the "royal road" that every backward country must follow. The ideology of *Gaehwa*, meaning the opening of the nation, which was believed to lead to modernization, was the result of the progressive lessons of

history (Schumid, 2002). Japan's rapid modernization after the Meiji Restoration was also an important model for early modern Korean elites to embrace Social Darwinism (Park, 2007). Meiji Japan imported Social Darwinism in active ways, applying the principle to such processes as the maintenance of national self-esteem and national identity building (Cross, 1996). More importantly, Social Darwinism in Meiji Japan was "a construction by the national elite as part of a broad strategy to address its own concerns" (Cross, 1996, p. 344). This indigenized way of importing Social Darwinism, and the dramatic success of Meiji Japan, strongly influenced modern elites in both China and Korea (Park, 2007; Svarverud, 2001).

Although Darwinism was originally imported to China by Yan Fu, it was Liang Qichao who formulated the social interpretation of the evolution theory (Svarverud, 2001; Xiao, 1995). The principles of Social Darwinism in China differed from the original principles in the Western world; survival in Chinese Social Darwinism was not the result of individual competition, but the consequence of a struggle between groups (Svarverud, 2001). In other words, Social Darwinism was adopted into Chinese society as a means of overcoming national humility and building a strong nation to survive. Many Korean nationalistic media translated and carried Liang Qichao's writings, spreading ideas like "patriotism for the sake of survival" (Tikhonov, 2010, p. 84). For Korean elites, Liang's writings became an important rationale for making people believe in the possibility of survival in a period of political economic upheaval.

The naïve understanding of Social Darwinism as a universal uplifting force made the early Korean elites "view the ideologies of capitalist modernity as a benign force" (Shumid, 2002, p. 37). While these ideologies were believed to bring national prosperity, it pushed many people into a more intensive struggle for existence. Moreover, social Darwinism was one of the primary rationales for the Japanese colonization.

In addition, since the end of the Korean War, the Southern part of Korea has been in a relatively one-sided relationship with the United States. The stationing of American troops in Korea has also played a crucial role in shaping Koreans' view of the outside world (Cummings, 2005). Korean modernization was promoted by the authoritarian central government's close relationship with the United States and was made possible with foreign aid, mainly from the United States. The emergence of a military dictatorship in the 1960s and transformation of Korean society into a militarily mobilized society created a strong top-down communication structure. Military regimes reflected excessive masculinity in forming the society and further emphasized the logic of the survival of the fittest. The early elites of *Gaehwa-pah* were praised as pioneers of "our great nation" by state authorities, and the United States was considered the exemplar for fitness in the increasingly cutthroat world. Ideological state apparatuses, such as schools, local communities, and mass media (under military surveillance), spread this military ideology into every corner of society (Cho, 2007; Cummings, 2005; Park, 2007).

Social Darwinism still prevails in Korea along with an ever competing system of globalization. Even after the Korean democratization in the early 1990s, Korean government has utilized globalization as a driving force to obtain national competitiveness (Shin, 2003). According to a survey, 81% of Koreans agree with that the world is an arena of competition among nations, and three quarters of Koreans believe that the survival of the fittest is a major principle of contemporary world (Shin, 2003). As Korea is opened up to a global level of competition, social Darwinism becomes an instrument to promote the national mission of globalization.

Path of catching-up development

As previously explained, social Darwinism in Korea was exacerbated by the developmental military regime that originated with the 1961 coup led by General Park. After the coup, "the Korean military fought no more wars, but in the next thirty years it provided a school for industrial discipline" (Cummings, 2005, p. 303). It is widely agreed that the military regime played a key role in the dramatic economic development. Korean economic development was promoted through deliberate planning, and state authority as the gatekeeper of development was largely possible through a series of mobilizations of social/public resources. Korea also benefited from international political interests. It had been geopolitically useful in restraining the expansion of the Soviet bloc; which was the greatest concern of American foreign Policy at the time (Gilpin, 1997). However, the most important force of economic development was organizational and institutional links between bureaucratic elites and major private sector firms (e.g. Amsden, 1989). The close

connection between them and their mutual power and prominence in Korean society became the basis for the catching-up model; which was simultaneously nationalistic and mercantilistic. The cartel of political and economic power elites combined with the rank centered tradition of Confucianism helped to create the obsessive elite-centered educational culture currently seen in Korea (Lee & Brinton, 1996).

Developmentalism was represented by the quantification of the nation's strength. There was a catchphrase, "export is patriotic," and the military regime honored the last day of November in each year as *national export day* celebrating the hundred million dollar exportation of 1964 (Cho, 2007). The quantification of national development was so successful that citizens commonly cited the annual growth rate of GDP and the amount of export. The quantified index of development was effectively disseminated by state authorities and mass media, (working in conjunction if not in direct control by the government). This quantification and obsession with linear progress clearly reflected the obsession of the West and modernity in Korea. People in this structure are degraded to mere a means for the production (Mumford, 1962). As Marx (1977) famously illuminated, people could only be estimated by their exchange value, which is a totally quantified value. Korean modern educational culture has not been free from this quantification of human beings. This developmentalism is a key to understanding the Korean educational culture which places extraordinary emphasis on elite education.

Education in Korea

During a recent address, while stressing the importance of United States educational reformation, President Obama stressed the fact that Korean students spend roughly a month more in school than American students (Lehigh, 2009). Koreans have achieved high levels of educational success and economic development in the last several decades. Therefore, it is not hard to find popular press reports and academic reports that deal with various aspects of Korean educational culture. According to those articles and studies, cultivating and training globalized citizen-elites is the primary purpose of Korean education (e.g, Sorensen, 1994; Park & Abelmann, 2004). Two recent news articles in well-known American daily newspapers elucidate the competitive nature of Korean elite education and a recent trend of English education:

> The college-entrance exam is a national obsession. More than 80% of South Korea's high school seniors go on to college, and the test heavily influences which institution of higher learning they will be able to attend and - after that - their career track to jobs with big companies and the government. (Park, 2008)
>
> South Korean national newspapers print weekly special sections on how to improve English skills. Daily newspaper inserts are filled with ads for English academy programs and their star teachers, with slogans such as 'How much English exposure will your child get today?' and 'Achieve the Harvard Dream!' (Cho, 2007)

A long tradition of Confucianism and the history of governmental driven economic development during the post Korean War era have shaped various aspects of Korean culture. Higher social status can be attained by "winning" in the highly competitive and stratified Korean educational system and by acing various entrance examinations (to include secondary schools and even civil service exams). Not surprisingly, Korean secondary school students reportedly spend much more time studying, including after school programs, such as cram schools and private tutoring, than adolescents in any other country in the world (Lee, 2003).

The political economic hegemony of the English speaking world has severely affected the Korean educational system. Additionally, a strong hegemonic relationship with the United States, which has been formed in the course of historical turmoil (i.e., the Korean War and a series of military coups) also greatly influenced the shaping of Korean elite education, placing an incredibly high value on English proficiency as a prerequisite to obtaining symbolic capital (Park & Abelmann, 2004). During the most recent wave of globalization, English education has been emphasized even more by governmental officials, civilian educators, and parents. This has led to an explosion of *early study abroad*, programs; programs where children are sent to English speaking countries to study English and to access world renowned universities (Lee & Koro-Ljungberg, 2007).

Brief review of Korean modern education

The Republic of Korea was established in 1948, equipped with various transplanted modern social institutions from the advanced world, including a modern

education system. The lack of public education during the 35 year Japanese colonial rule in Korea produced high levels of illiteracy among adult Koreans (Lee & Brinton, 1996; Seth, 2002). However, the introduction of a modern education system, which is comprised of 6-3-3-4 schooling (elementary, middle, high school, and college respectively), produced a rapid and widespread increase in public education over the next five decades. Currently, Korea's higher education enrollment rate is one of the highest in the world (Kim & Lee, 2006). In spite of tremendous changes in educational policy, the philosophy of equal opportunity has remained an important goal in Korean modern education (Seth, 2002). For instance, the government initiated a computerized system to randomize enrollment in all Korean secondary schools in 1968 as an effort to abolish elitist schools and districts (Robinson, 1994). Under this relatively stringent regulatory framework, "students equalized access to public and private education in the K-12 system, although wealth still determines the ability to utilize private after-school education and even access to public school teachers" (Robinson, 19994, p. 514). However, extremely high demand for education in Korean society has made it increasingly difficult to level the educational playing field. Private educational spending in Korea is one of the largest in the world (Kim & Lee, 2006). Moreover, the governmental deregulation of each level of schooling policy and private sectors of education, accompanied by the governmental introduction of globalization (*Seghyehwa*) in 1995, has accelerated the expansion of the private education market in Korea. Thanks to rapid economic development, the middle class has also expanded, creating an even larger demand for private education.

According to the annual report on education provided by the National Statistical Office in 2007, over 90 % of families in Seoul participated in some aspect of private education. 60.7% of families in Seoul participated in English education (KNSO, 2008). For those families, the Korean Peninsula is too small to provide enough "elite" and "global" education for their children. Therefore they send their children to English speaking countries.

Unaccompanied adolescents: Products of Korean education

> Just a week into his summer vacation, 15-year-old Min-Kyu Kim already has a tight schedule and ambitious goals … "I do what I have to do," he says, seated at his desk in a small room in Seoul. Nearby his mother prepares watermelon for an afternoon snack. Min-Kyu has just finished 8th grade at Hillside School, a boarding school for boys in Marlborough, Mass. He says he is happy to be back for the summer in his home country, South Korea. But he is not quite back at home, which is a 90-minute drive south from Seoul in Cheonan City. His temporary housing for the summer is a tiny studio in a Seoul neighborhood known for hakwons… Known for a Spartan style of education, the hakwons enforce study-till-you-drop policies, fine students for wrong answers and, in some cases, spank them. "We don't have good prep schools in Cheonan," said his mother, Eun-Joo Kim. "I feel bad making him study like this during his vacation, but what can I do? It's for his future and he really needs to improve his SSAT scores." Nothing gets you ahead in today's South Korea like mastery of English. So in recent years, rising

affluence and an enduring Confucian love of learning have combined to create what analysts call an "education exodus." (Cho, 2007).

According to the Student and Exchange Visitor Information System of the Department of Homeland Security, the number of Korean students who are not American citizens or permanent residents reached 115,852 in September, 2008 (http://www.ice.gov/SEVIS). These students made up 14% of the total number of international students in the United States in 2008; more than that of China and India. While decades ago Korean students in the United States were mostly post graduate students, currently about ten percent of Korean students attend primary and secondary schools (KAEC, 2011).

Globalization and economic development in East Asian countries has lead to a rapidly increasing international student population in the United States. In the past fifteen years, the number of young international students from Asia attending high schools in English speaking countries has dramatically increased (Kuo & Roysircar, 2006). Various studies on these students refer to them as *unaccompanied minors*, *parachute kids*, *little overseas*, and *visa students* (e. g., Kuo & Roysircar, 2006). Since studying in the United States costs much more than in Korea, access has generally been limited only to extremely wealthy families and graduate students able to procure some form of financial aid. However, rapid economic development in Korea has enabled many middle class families to send their children to English-speaking courntires to learn English, which makes it much easier for them to get into

American universities. Korean families now spend more than 4.3 billion dollars in foreign countries for the purpose of education (KNSO, 2008).

The Korean university entrance examination is infamous for its difficulty and competitiveness (Sorensen, 1994). Only a small portion of high school seniors may succeed in entering a few nationally prestigious universities. Entrance to these select institutions is believed to be essential to a successful future (Sorensen, 1994). On the other hand, degrees from renowned United States higher education institutions, such as Ivy League Colleges and big state universities, are also passports for the successful journey of life in Korea. Urban legends aside, the facts do tend to support this notion: 65.3% of high ranked bureaucrats in current Korean government have foreign degrees, and 75% of them have studied in the United States (Ryu, 2008). Compared to the Korean college entrance examination, entrance exams in the United States are believed to be much easier (Park, 2008). Many parents also believe that early study abroad will give their children an extra advantage because it may help their children learn English and accelerate their cultural adjustment (Ly, 2008). The competitive nature of Korean elite educational culture and social environment combined with a hegemonic political economic relationship with the United States has created an educational exodus.

In sum, globalization, Korean modernization, and the educational culture in Korea have combined into a context that has contributed to the extraordinary trend of sending young children to English-speaking countries. The extensive competition in a globalized world forces people to be more active in seeking advantageous places to

upgrade their socioeconomic status. There are three interrelated major forces of Korean modernization: Western expansion, Social Darwinism, and the developmental military regime. These modernizing forces commonly stress competitiveness in various senses, which has shaped modern educational culture in Korea in combination with a long educational tradition of Confucianism. Competition and success are two concepts representing Korean modern educational culture. Under these sociocultural circumstances, the trend of early study abroad has emerged to be an expensive yet effective means to achieve social privileges.

CHAPTER 3. Literature Review

The literature review of this study consist of three parts corresponding to research questions. The first part of the literature review is devised to provide extensive information about the living experiences of young international students. Many previous studies report that young international students often feel loneliness and homesickness because of cultural differences and the lack of interpersonal relationships with parents and old friends. The second part focuses on the relationship between new communication technologies and the young generation, along with a theoretical review of Uses and Gratification Theory (hereafter, UGT). Agreeing with the contextual approaches of UGT, this study claims that understanding the living conditions of international students can provide an important contextual background for investigating why and how young sojourners prefer certain media channels and content over others. The third part of the literature review provides theoretical understandings of intercultural communication. This study compares the functionalist tradition of intercultural communication to critical intercultural communication theories based on critical insights into a globalized world of new communication technologies. While the positivistic research tradition of intercultural communication posits cultural adaptation as a predetermined variable, cultural fusion theory argues that new cultural experiences are an additive process of the integration of the old and the new (Kramer, 2000). By reviewing these intercultural communication theories, this study aims to enlarge perspectives in

understanding the massive global relocation of population, its cultural consequences, and the influences of new communication technologies.

Living Conditions of International Students

Living in a foreign country

Having experiences in a foreign country does not always result in gaining the awareness or tolerance for sojourners (Shaules, 2007). Korean unaccompanied adolescents in the United States may also be exposed to multiple situations that are not easily understandable and acceptable to them. As this study indicates, different socio-cultural environments, including interpersonal relationships, educational systems, and languages, increase their stress. These adolescents may encounter various stressful events in their everyday lives from those social and cultural differences. As an example, they face the different temporal and spatial perceptions from people in the United States, which are regarded by Hall (1990) and Levine (1997) as ingrained cultural perceptions differentiating people in different countries. Life in Great Seoul Area, one of the largest metros in the world, is infamous for its fast speed and competitive nature of life. On the other hand, the public transportation system is good enough even for young children to use. Almost half of South Koreans live in this area, and thus most Korean unaccompanied adolescents in the United States are also originally from this area or other metros where several million people live. A large portion of these children currently live in suburban or rural areas in the United States because of cost of living and safety concerns. The lack of public transportation and relatively slow pace of the everyday lives in these areas may

create unexpected cultural barriers, which increases the everyday stresses of young sojourners. This is an example of cultural differences and its possible psychological consequences. It is necessary to find out the kinds of psychological problems young sojourners may experience because of cultural differences in order to understand the context of living in a foreign country at a young age without parents and a substantial network of friends.

Living without parents and old friends

Although there are several previous studies on unaccompanied children in foreign countries, most of those studies are contextually very different from the current study. For instance, Tartakovsky's (2007) study dealt with acculturative stress of unaccompanied Russian Jewish adolescents in Israel during their exchange programs. There are also periodical reports and special reports on unaccompanied adolescent illegal immigrants (e.g. Barnett, 2004). However, those cases are very different from Korean adolescents in the United States. In addition, although there are various studies on the importance of family in the proper development of adolescents, there are only a few specific interests in the developmental and cultural consequences of internationally separated family.

It is still important to point out that many scholars, such as Larson and his colleagues, have stressed the critical role of parents and family communication in adolescent development. For example, Larson, Branscomb, and Wiley (2006) focus on family mealtime for cultural socialization, socio-emotional development, and nutritional importance of adolescent development. Ochs and Shohet (2006) even

further this argument by stating that family mealtime is a "pregnant arena for the production of sociality, morality, and local understandings of the world" (p. 35). Larson (2000) emphasized understanding the contexts of adolescents' daily experience as a key component leading to positive development of adolescents. In particular, he points out family relationships and peer relationships are two important contexts of everyday life. Cochran and Brassard (1979) further the importance of family relationships in a child's development; even parents' social networks both directly and indirectly affect child development. However, the Korean adolescents have very limited contact with their parents. Because of time and geographical distances, they cannot build such contexts as mealtimes or experiencing parents' personal networks. Parental caring for this population tends to be comprised of telecommunicative interaction and money transferring, which has created the term "ATM father" (Ong, 1999).

In addition, peer relationships are regarded as "essential for expanding the child's construction of reality" and socialization (Hartup & Moore, 1990, p. 3). Likewise, it is easy to find research emphasizing peer relationships in the course of child development and socialization (e.g., Berndt & Keefe, 1995). However, as expected, inter-ethnic and inter-racial friendship are more difficult to shape in this age group (Kao & Joyner, 2004). Participants of this study are not only ethnically or racially different from other major groups of students in the United States, but also linguistically insufficient to make inter-ethnic and inter-racial friends in school. Different cultural meaning of friendship can also be a cause of hardship in making

friends in the United States. According to Bulthuis (1986), the concept of friendship in American culture, which is less permanent and lasting, is different from other cultures. It is very common for international students to experience misperceived initial kindness and amiable attitudes of American students toward them as serious friendships (Mori, 2000). Also, according to Lee and Larson (2000), Korean and American adolescents have very different daily experiences caused by different educational culture and social environments. These differences are also expected to interfere with forming friendship between adolescents of the two countries.

This lack of proper parental caring and peer relationships of Korean young sojourners is expected to cause some psychological issues, such as stress and homesickness, in their everyday lives. These psychological issues should be taken into consideration as important contexts.

Psychological health of sojourners

It is not difficult to find reports on mental health concerns of international students. International students should adapt to their new educational environment and strange socio-cultural settings because they have a relatively clear purpose for their move to the United States. This makes them different from other immigrant minorities (Thomas & Althen, 1989). Mori (2000), points out that international students may encounter additional stressors besides the normal developmental concerns because of the process of cultural adjustment. As young students, they have already struggled to find and define their own identities. However, they are forced to

increase their effort to ensure healthy educational and psychological development under the strangeness.

Listing several causes of difficulties, such as academic, interpersonal, and intrapersonal problems, Mori (2000) emphasizes the language barrier as the most significant prevalent problem for most international students. In order to acquire new language requires vast knowledge on the society and culture and strong linguistic ability. The lack of a full understanding of English causes extensive stress to follow academic and social performances. Because of a limited understanding of lectures and class activities, international students occasionally spend much more time than American students studying. In addition, most international students, even from other English-speaking countries, are scared of their unintelligible accents or use of different expression (Mori, 2000).

There are several studies on the difficulties of international students, which point out other factors of studying in foreign countries. Thomas and Althen (1989) describe the American educational system as a serious difficulty for international students. Different processes of course work and administrative differences, daily stresses, and bewilderments bring additional daily stresses of international students. Focusing on Asian international students, Ye (2006) suggests that "the greater cultural distance, the more stressful the adjustment is likely to be" (p. 3). Compared to other international students, Asian international students must make more of an effort in adjusting linguistic, educational, administrative, and interpersonal differences in the American educational environment because of the relatively larger

cultural distances. Yeh and Inose (2003) also point out that a loss of social support significantly affects the psychological well-being of international students. They present several related studies that demonstrate international students' deep sense of loss as those students are physically and mentally separated from their families and friends. It is important to note the kinds of psychological problems international students suffer: linguistic, educational, and cultural differences.

Stress from the strangeness

Although this study clearly opposes using the term acculturation because its procedural meaning and positivistic assumption, it is still useful to understand the notion of 'acculturative stress' as a probable experience young sojourners face in a new culture. In this case, acculturation could be defined more generally as a process of adjusting to a new environment (Roler, Cortes, & Malgadi, 1991). Geographical relocation creates stressful situations. One stressful situation is an enormous loss of a variety of familiarities such as language, food, climate, and spatial perception. Another is a long and hard process of cultural learning in a new place (Tartakovsky, 2007). The concept of 'culture shock' developed by Oberg (1960), could explain the migrant's or sojourner's cultural confusion and anxiety. The culture shock tends to be mediated by characteristics of the migrating group, nature of the host country, and personal characteristics (Ying, 2005). According to Berry et. al.(1992), the concept of acculturative stress is a particular set of "lowered mental health status occurring in the process of acculturation, feelings of marginality and alienation" (p. 284). In addition, they present "heightened psychosomatic symptom levels and identity

confusion" as typical elements of acculturative stress (p. 284). Berry and Kim (1987) categorized acculturating groups into five different categories: immigrants, refugees, native peoples, ethnic groups and sojourners. Importantly, Berry et. al. (1987) argue that "those only temporarily in contact and who are without permanent social supports (e.g., sojourners) may experience more mental health problems than those more permanently settled and established" (p. 494). According to their empirical research, a number of conventional predictors of stress appear for the student sojourners. In the measurement of stress, factors of student status and youth are shared with students of a host country. However, the student sojourners "do not establish supportive networks in the host society or among themselves" (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987, p. 503) because they cannot legally stay beyond their study. Since the present study's subject is Korean unaccompanied adolescent sojourners, the result of research of Berry and his colleagues is critical. Although most international college and post graduate students stay is voluntary, these young unaccompanied adolescents can be forced to come to the United States because they are under parental protections and economic support. This involuntary nature and lack of family and social support might influence more seriously on the process of cultural adjustment of young sojourners. Although several studies suggest that higher degree of acculturation may positively correlate with active utilization of mental health services (Atkinson & Gim, 1989; Ying & Miller, 1992; Zhang & Dixon, 2003) among international students, the involuntary nature of Korean adolescent

sojourners might disturb any kind of active involvements in the host country including counseling services.

Homesickness

Homesickness refers to both psychological and physical complaints in environments being separated from accustomed and loved things and people, such as family, friends, places, and foods (Fisher, Frazer, & Murray, 1984; 1986). Leaving a familiar environment, as expected, could be a stressful event, due to new needs of adjustment in a resettled place. In this new condition of life, people encounter homesickness. This homesickness can develop into severe depression (Eurelings-bontkoe, Brouwers, & Verschuur, 2000). According to Fisher (1989), more than 50 percent of the general population has suffered from homesickness at least once in their life. Globalization and the advance of transportation systems facilitate international movement in the world for seeking jobs, academic achievements, etc. While, in a traditional society, homesickness could only exist in domestic movement, the matter of homesickness becomes more of an international level problem. The increase of global mobility is not the monopoly of adult world, however, adolescents and young adults are also more exposed to this mobility than before. Benn, Harvey, Gilbert, and Irons (2005) point out the danger of homesickness especially for adolescents as follows: "Whilst homesickness is undoubtedly experienced across the lifespan, and may cause disruption of educational, vocational and social functioning, it may be most damaging during the developmentally sensitive periods of adolescence and young adulthood" (p. 1814). There are various studies on homesick

children or students who are separated from their family either within the same country (e.g., boarding-school children) or internationally (Baier & Welch, 1992; Carden & Feicht; Fisher, Frazer, & Murray, 1984; 1986; Fisher, 1989; Stroebe, van Vliet, Hewstone, & Willis, 2002; Tartakovsky, 2007; Ward & Kennedy, 1993). These studies provide valuable information on homesickness. The distance from home to new place to settle down is positively related to the degree of homesickness (Stroebe, van Vliet, Hewstone, & Willis, 2002). The present study is dealing with Korean adolescents in the United States. Despite the advance of transportation system, the distance from Korea and the United States. is still at least a 10-hour flight distance, and even 20-hours away from most small cities. Stroebe et al., (2002) also point out the degree of cultural differences as an important indicator of homesickness when they compare university students in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. Interestingly Stroebe et al., (2002) found that students who experienced problematic relationships with their parents tend to feel more homesick. These two findings are also useful to evaluate the consequences of Korean unaccompanied adolescents in the United States. The degree of cultural differences for Korean children in the United States. is likely very high compared to their neighbor countries like Japan and China, because of social norms, outlooks of people, languages and other factors. In addition, as mentioned before, the involuntary nature of these unaccompanied adolescents raise the possibilities of conflict between parents and their children.

This study exemplifies two kinds of psychological matters commonly occurred in the course of new cultural encounters. However, there could be more

factors and consequences related to psychological consideration in this kind of international relocation. For example, despite the lack of previous research, it is easy to expect that young sojourners may suffer from psychological pressure caused by higher academic expectations of their parents. Therefore, this study has open-end questions to investigate their psychological burdens originated from the relocations. This investigation is expected to provide important contextual understandings of communicative behaviors and patterns of Korean adolescents in the United States.

The Uses of Communication Channels

Understanding the digital generation

Technological development is also important in extending understanding of this study. Adolescents today are the so-called *Net Generation* (Tapscott, 1998). This generation has "new powerful tools for inquiry, analysis, self-expression, influence, and play" (p. 3). Palfrey and Gasser (2008) especially refer this generation to Digital Natives who were born in a new environment surrounded by various digital devices. As pointed out by Tapscott (1988), children can control much of their world on the Internet unlike their passive uses of television. Meyrowitz (1984) suggests that electronic media creates new meaning of physical presence of humans. The Internet, a latest technology of electronic media, is a technology purely reflecting the globalized world. Regardless of their physical locations on Earth, people may obtain virtually all information in the world including information about and from their home country. Various digital encoding technologies make it possible for the Internet to replace the traditional role of television. According to Grace-Farfaglia,

Dekkers, Sundararajan, Peters, and Park (2006), South Koreans mainly visit sites hosted by their own country (88.67%) and rarely in another language (2.5%). In the circumstance that there is no barrier to use home country Web sites, it is hard to expect that Korean high school students in the United States dramatically change their familiar ways of Internet use.

It is widely reported that Korea is one of the leading countries in information technology and its uses (Cheong, & Park, 2005; Choi, 2006, Lee & Chan-Olmsted, 2004; Oh, Ahn, & Kim, 2003). According to Lee and Chan-Olmsted (2004), Korea is ahead of the United States. in deployment of high-speed Internet and several other related technologies. It is also important to point out state-driven technological development in Korea for understanding the contextual background of technology among Korean youth. During the financial crisis in the late 1990s, the Korean government devised several projects related to the development of information technology and a boost to the economy. There has since been a rapid diffusion of new technology in Korean society. As a typical project of economic recovery and technological development, the government initiated the project called "Kukmin PC," which means "citizen PC." This project copied the "Volkswagen" model in Germany, by providing cheap personal computers to citizens through the network of postal office branches by subsidizing their costs with various computer makers in Korea. Because of projects such as this, Korean adolescents are exposed to various new technological environments, such as engaging in virtual social networks (Choi, 2006) and intensive uses of mobile communication (Yoon, 2006).

This higher technological literacy may become a ground of active choices and uses of media and communication channels. As Ruggiero (2000) stated, "new technologies present people with more and more media choices, motivation and satisfaction" (p. 14). In this situation, internationally relocated adolescents who are well accustomed to new communication technologies may become important research subjects to study their motivations and consequences of everyday uses of media and communication channels.

Uses and Gratifications research

The most important property of Uses and Gratification Theory (hereafter, UGT) is that this theory treats the audience as an active user of the media. This notion of active audience was the response to both early elitist media effect researchers and grand theoreticians who regarded mass audiences as passive victims (Blumler, 1979). UGT focuses on individual user's choice by asserting that different users can use the same media for various purposes (Ruggiero, 2000). Specifically, audiences' psychological processes during exposure to various types of mass media have been examined by many UGT related studies (Swanson, 1987). The main objective of UGT is to explain the psychological needs that shape why people use the media and how that motivates them to engage in certain media-use behaviors for gratifications to fulfill those intrinsic needs (Lin, 1999). Therefore, in this theory, people are assumed to be active users of media. As suggested by Katz (1959), the question, "what does the media do to people," can be replaced with the question "what do people do with the media?"

UGT has been widely criticized for two primary reasons: weak accountability and the de-contextual nature of research (Elliot, 1974: Elliot & Quattlebaum, 1979; LaRose, Mastro, & Eastin, 2001; Weiss, 1976). LaRose, Mastro, and Eastin (2001) point out that many UGT studies have low accountability, and this weakness still exists when applied to the Internet. Arguing that this low accountability is mainly caused by simplistic attention to gratification obtained, LaRose, Mastro, and Eastin (2001) suggest paying more attentions to the circulative relationship between the gratification obtained and the gratification sought. They try to combine UGT with social cognitive theory which does not follow unidirectional causation but considers environmental influences or internal disposition (Bandura, 2002). Similarly, Papacharissi and Rubin (2000) also stress examining motives for using the Internet and the origins of those motives. Flanagin & Metzger (2001) stress the importance of social and personal influence in shaping motivations for using communication technology. Ang (1995) defines several needs of the media selection. *Social integration needs* aims to build a new social relationship and to maintain existing relationship. *Personal identity needs* refer to learning about self and others. Finally, *entertainment needs* refer to time consuming to relax and to play. Those categorized motives are shaped by individual and social contexts of media users.

De-contextual nature of UGT was already criticized by the original theorists in the early stage of the theoretical development. Katz, Blumler, and Gurevitch (1974) point out that the social and environmental circumstance that lead people to use the mass media are not fully understood. Blumler (1979) later stresses that

people's media use is systematically according to their differing social situations. Although their terminologies are still based in the functionalist tradition, they already understand the fierce future criticism on the de-contextual nature of the theory. This criticism has been elaborated mainly by the interpretive research traditions including cultural studies, critical research, phenomenology, and hermeneutics (Ruggiero, 2000). Although the primary unit of data collection of UGT research is individual, the individual activity is necessary to be analyzed in social contexts (Ruggiero, 2000). Dobos (1992) also argues that the UGT should consider the importance of social context, because individuals' uses of media differ accordingly with the social structure.

In sum, as a response to a fragmented scientific research tradition in mass media studies, the sophisticated contemporary research trend calls for more serious consideration of socio-cultural context in understanding individuals' behavior relating to the media selection. The cross-theoretical approach as reviewed earlier is also suggested to complement the weakness of UGT.

In the case of Korean high school students in the United States, their environments, which could be characterized by the term, *unaccompanied sojourner*, the lack of cultural understandings, high pressures of academic performance, and so forth, might create several distinctive motives of media use. As indicated previously, unlike traditional UGT research, the current research may expect that there is virtually no limitation of using home country media with this advanced technology regardless of physical location. Therefore, Korean adolescents' motives to use

Korean contents of media and communication can be actualized with the active uses of various channels of Korean media and communication available on the Internet. In this circumstance, the Internet in intercultural communication should be carefully considered in order to further current understandings of the UGT tradition.

UGT in the age of IT and globalization

The assumption about active users of media in uses of gratifications theory is especially useful in the present study, which contains two fields of communication research. First, UGT is fit for explaining users' behaviors on the Internet as interactive media (Newhagen and Rafaeli, 1996). In addition, as argued by Rayburn (1996), the Internet is "intentionally" consumed and Internet users purposefully choose which sites to visit because a wide range of materials is available on the Internet. Ruggiero (2000) classifies three important properties of the Internet as media: interactivity, demassification, and asynchroneity. Since the Internet does not confine its users as a mere consumers or audience, it strengthens the notion of active audience (Ruggiero, 2000). Moreover, demassified users also have a variety of choices in using communication channels. Media content is always available on the Internet, regardless of time and space, and the choices of channels and contents are far more expansive than before. Individuals might become a producer of media and communicate with various people including family members and friends. These complex functions and characteristics of the Internet allow various studies to apply UGT in analyzing different aspects of the Internet use such as online news (Althaus & Tewksburry, 2000; Maddex, Tewksburry & Weaver, 2001), political information

(Johnson & Kay, 2002), interactive advertising (Ko, Cho, & Roberts, 2005), online marketing (Luo, 2002), violent content (Slater, 2003), addiction (LaRose, Eastin, & Lin, 2003; Song, LaRose, Eastin, & Lin, 2004), international comparison (Grace-Farfaglia, Dekkers, Sundararajan, Peters, & Park, 2006) and intercultural communication (Hwang & He, 1999; Klein & Liu, 2005; Lee, 2005; Reece & Palmgreen, 2000; Ye, 2005).

Second, as Hwang and He (1999) point out, UGT is useful in understanding "the relationship between the mass media and immigrants who are particularly active in their use of media for their survival needs and have a wide array of media to choose from in the host society and in their native communities and countries" (p. 8). In other words, under specific contextual circumstances of being strangers and the lack of cultural and linguistic understanding, immigrants and sojourners tend to use various media actively to communicate with others and to gain information in order to survive in new environments. Hwang and He (1999) also find that many Chinese immigrants frequently use Chinese language television and newspapers either to gain information both about China and the United States or to entertain themselves during their free time. Observations of the Chinese immigrants show that those immigrants rarely have everyday communication with their neighbors and still intensively use the Chinese language with family members and other Chinese immigrants. In this example, they often utilize several ethnic media such as Chinese language newspapers and television programs. Their uses of host society media are only bound to instrumental purposes, such as improving English skills (Hwang & He, 1999).

Other studies also support these findings with different cases of immigrants showing their preference for native language media in order to obtain information and maintain their cultural identity, though the exposure to the host language media forces more acceptance of the host culture (Lee, 2004; Lee & Tse, 1994; Walker, 1999). Lee (2004) indicates that new communication technology, such as satellite television, plays an important role in maintaining cultural identity among Korean immigrants. On the contrary, Reece & Palmgreen (2000), in their research on Indian sojourners, find that Indian students in the United States demonstrate their motive for acculturation and their motives are positively related to the exposure to American television. Many studies on immigrants and sojourners support this finding under the assumption that acculturation is a primary need of immigrants in host societies (e.g., Lee, 2005).

Most studies in this area commonly argue that there is a positive relationship between acculturation and the uses of host language media. However, it is important to stress that these studies tend to set acculturation as a single, ultimate goal or a primary motive of media use. In those cases, acculturation becomes a pre-determined dependent variable which is tested to verify linear relationships between communicative behaviors and their cultural consequences. Under this functional assumption, research may create a simplistic linear model of the influence of media uses and the amount of acculturation. However, the present study does not aim to produce simple causal relationships between motives, uses, and gratifications. Also, it does not try to measure "the amount" of needs, uses, and acculturation.

The current study is not devised to refute those findings, but to look at different aspects of media use by international sojourners, which have been ignored under positivistic models of cultural adaptation. Unlike previous research on media use and acculturation, this study focuses not only on patterns of media use, but also on living environments and past experiences of research participants in order to optimize contextual understandings of motives of media use by young sojourners. There could be a number of motives in using media. Since culturally ingrained sensory system greatly influences people's motivations and behaviors (Hall, 1990), physically relocated individuals might use their native language media to entertain themselves and to maintain their identity. There is no absolute linear fate which immigrants or sojourners must follow. Various motivations which include improving language skills, cultural adaptation, maintaining identity, entertainment, and so forth exist in media use by international sojourners. As found in some research on psychological problems of international students (Cemalcilar, Flabo, & Stapleton, 2005; Ye, 2006), international students might have strong motives for maintaining their cultural identities and for seeking information from social support networks in their home countries. These motives lead them to use the Internet, especially their native language Web sites.

The second focus of the study, with this understanding of culture and communications, will investigate motives of the uses of media among young Korean sojourners, based on the understanding of their individual and social contexts. Their

motives and patterns of media use are expected to reflect their living conditions in the United States and cultural experiences in both Korea and the U.S.

Intercultural Consequences of Globalization and New Technologies

Positivistic understanding of globalization and culture

Technological civilization in the modern Western world has formed a series of "positivistic" notions and norms, which are widely prevailing habits of the contemporary world. Many thinkers have criticized this one-sided force as it makes human beings and their communities more mechanized, standardized, and objectified (Gebser, 1985; Marcuse, 1991; Mumford, 1962). In the industrial society, technology and mass communication have created an equalization of class distinctions. This equalization is functioning as the ideological pill to mitigate conflict between social classes (Marcuse, 1991). Once assumed as the *social taste* to make distinctions among people with their symbolic capital, the taste becomes a universal taste for all members of a given structure (Bourdieu, 1993). As exemplified by Marcuse (1991), the standardized mass products, including media, provide equal opportunity for both the workers and their bosses to consume same products. This assimilation does not indicate the disappearance of class and the nature of distinction, but functions to preserve the existing order through colonizing desires in everyday life. This is what Marcuse (1991) called *one-dimensional culture* and what Kramer (2003) explained as the emergence of *monoculture*. Although Marcuse does not pay much attention to the global level of distinctions and the process of assimilation in various aspects of culture, this can easily be applied to the economic and cultural globalization.

Since the European expansion of early capitalist society, the world has been divided into socio-economic core and socio-economic periphery (Wallerstein, 2000). Since the early stage of capitalism, various theorists and activists, such as Marx, Lenin, and more recently Wallerstein, have fiercely criticized the insatiable expansion of imperialistic capitalism (Lenin, 1939; Marx, 1977; Wallerstein, 2000). This economic deterministic position of globalization and its socio-economic consequences contributed to the development of several related theories, such as dependency theory and cultural imperialism (Said, 1994). While these views are all based on the dualistic division of the world, more individualized aspects of globalization began to take into account understanding globalization and the massive wave of relocations and new world-wide communication technology revolution (Castells, 1996; Friedman, 2005). Although there have been romantic prophets of diversified forces of globalization, the interconnected world society does not seem to be very positively diverse.

Emerging monoculture

While McLuhan (1989) dreamed the emergence of a global village, which was grounded on his belief in the possibilities of a medium of communication to create a tribal world society, the world is more like a global city where stratified inequality is prevailing and relentless competitions are dominating (Kramer, 2003). The belief in cultural hybridization oversees an important point in its optimistic view of the rise of new culture and identity. Although Appadurai (1996) expects the intercultural exchange and the incorporation of cultural elements through various

scapes of cultural practices, he ignores the class stratification which is linked to the global capitalist system (Ong, 1999). People under the globalized world tend not to hybridize to each other, but are divided into those who are included as the benefiters or excluded (Ong, 2006). The optimistic expectation of the emergence of huge movements of networked identities as the counter hegemonic forces (Castells, 1996) is not realized yet. Moreover, various attempts to make networks of alternative identity politics, such as the Zapatistas movement, which is the model of this expectation, are diminishing and fractured. Individuals remain not as creative parts of the world, but instead as "a passive target for compliance gaining, [and they] must continually adjust to it" (Kramer, 2003, p. 238).

This view of the emergence of monoculture in the globalized world shares its basic idea with the notion of totalitarian pluralism of Marcuse (1991). Although pluralism has been praised as a positive diversity in the multicultural society from the functionalist point of view, it is praised more as an "efficient" principle of the social division of labor. The objectified individual is dissociated from their cultural nature and organic essence as a subject (Gebser, 1985; Kramer, 1997). The clear division of subject and object, originated from the Cartesian dualism in the modern West, still firmly dominates everyday lives of every corner of the globalized world as well as academic arenas. More importantly, this dualistic understanding is working as the ontological basis of mainstream intercultural communication research tradition.

Intercultural communication theories

Functionalist tradition

In intercultural communication research tradition, the functional positivism is grounded firmly by providing various simplistic research questions such as "how much a certain group of sojourners adapt to 'host' culture in a certain situation." Therefore, various problems derived from the intercultural setting, such as culture shock and cultural conflicts, become main topic of intercultural communication. Consequently, various solutions to the problems, like intercultural competence and effective communications (Kim, 2001), are also major topics in this tradition. In other words, like other behavioral studies, intercultural communication has paid a lot of attention to the dualistic approach to problems and solutions. As reviewed in the section of the media use research, the relationship between behavioral pattern of media use and the amount of cultural adjustment, adaptation, and assimilation has been a popular, but simplistic, research topic (Lee, 2004; Lee & Tse, 1994; Reece & Palmgreen, 2000; Walker, 1999). This research trend represents two important aspects of Cartesian dualism. First, sojourners are assumed to be objectified individuals who are expected to adjust (or adapt, and ultimately assimilate) to a larger system. Second, an individual culture is a distinctively static entity in this sense, and thus there exists dualistic distinction between home and host or self and others. Moreover, others, who are regarded as strangers, do not remain as a plural diversity, but instead are divided again into those who successfully adjust to the host culture and others who failed.

Those who successfully adjust to a new host culture are called *intercultural personhood* by Gudykunst and Kim (2004). Their understanding of cultural adaptation in the process of communication is not different from the theory of stages of psychological development by Piaget. The functional and positivistic theory posits that the interactions between children and their environments lead to different, advanced stages of psychological development (Mooney, 2000). Kim (2001) occasionally uses positivistic terms, such as identity "transformation" and intercultural personhood "project." The linear and directional development is another copy of the enlightenment project in the early age of modern West. In this sense, a stranger who encounters a new culture becomes an object to be enlightened. Similarly, Gudykunst and Kim (2004) argue that "just as natives have acquired their cultural patterns through interaction with others, strangers over time acquire the new cultural patterns by participating in the host communication activities" (p. 361). Although they utilize Hall's analysis of culture in explaining intercultural communication, their unidirectional notion of cultural adaptation, which is regarded as a progress, does not share the basic idea with Hall (1990) that humans and their environments interactively shape each other. That is to say, this approach "[does] not characterize societies as dynamic processes" (Kramer, 2000, p. 193).

For Gudykunst and Kim (2003), social communication is a means of successful cultural adaptation to the host culture. Interactions with local people in the host society provide opportunities to learn about and then adjust to the host communication system. In this sense, one simple formula emerges: "an immigrant

with a mainly ethnic relational network tends to be less adaptive and probably less competent in the host communication system than someone whose associates are primarily members of the host society" (Gudykunst & Kim, 2003, p 365). The dualistic division between host culture as a static entity and a stranger as an objectified individual is introduced by this idea. Unlike their beliefs in the unidirectional adaptation force, according to Hall (1990), people perceive things through their own sensory system firmly grounded in their past experiences. Therefore, individuals who are interacting with a new cultural environment are not exclusively communicating with the new but incessantly communicate their own experiences and subjectivities.

In terms of mass media, Gudykunst and Kim (2003) provide another formula: "mass media of the host society increases over time and that such increased media use facilitates the adaptation process" (p. 366). This reflects the simplistic functionalist position of media use research and intercultural communication research traditions. This formula stimulated various behavioral and experimental studies, as mentioned in the section of media use research. This logic, as criticized by Kramer (2003), is that as "a person moves forward one end of a line, he or she must move away from the other end with equal and opposite moment" (p. 238).

The other aspect of mainstream intercultural communication research tradition is that it assumes a culture as a static entity that is a clearly distinguished set apart from others. This understanding is also based on the Cartesian dualism, which is composed of both extreme objectivism and relativism (Bernstein, 1983). In

adaptation research tradition, a culture becomes the objective world out there (Kramer, 2000). The dualistic thought of "out there" and "in here" makes a clear distinction between a home culture and a host culture as the exclusively different sets of culture. Therefore, someone from "out there" becomes an object to be transformed to be fit into "here". In order to overcome this dichotomized notion of culture, Kramer (2000) suggests two new notions of intercultural communication and its cultural consequences in the globalized world: cultural churning and cultural fusion.

Cultural churning and fusion

According to Kramer (2000), *cultural churning* does not see individuals as a functional part of the larger society. While adaptation theorists believe that there is only one directional influence from the host culture to new comers, cultural churning posits an interactive force between the two. Indicating the importance of understanding the interaction between people and their cultural environments, Hall (1990) also argues that "[t]he relationship between man and the cultural dimensions is one in which both man and his environment participate in molding each other" (p. 4). This process of interaction does not posit linear progress, which has widely dominated academic communities since Aristotelian logos existed (Kramer, 2000). Instead, according to Kramer (2000), there is no final goal or linear process in cultural churning, and thus this process is not predictable.

While Kim (2001) emphasizes that there are deculturation and enculturation in the process of cultural adaptation and identity transformation, this zero-sum assumption is criticized by the notion of *cultural fusion* which argues that individual

culture is not an object to be evolved into a fresh new entity. Instead, cultural fusion is an additive process and the process of integration between the old and the new (Kramer, 2000). In other words, the old does not permanently disappear, but is ever present in individuals' everyday lives, as Gebser (1985) maintains that the evolutionary process of human consciousness is more like a process of plus mutation rather than stage-like progress. Various anthropological studies have argued that a culture is deeply structuralized into members (e.g. Geertz, 1973), and thus a culture is not a component to be erased and transformed. Assuming a specific culture as an operating structure through webs of signs, Geertz (1973) emphasizes the notion of thick description in understanding cultural practices, and they are deeply ingrained on the ground of contextual and historical background. Likewise, Hall (1990) and Levine (1997) emphasize that different cultures have different perceptions of space and time. This different temporal and spatial perception is deeply ingrained into people, and thus it cannot be an unlearned sense. Shaules (2007) introduces the concept of *deep culture*, which refers to "the unconscious frameworks of meaning, values, norms, and hidden assumptions that we used to interpret our experience as we interact with other people" (p. 11-12). Unlike beliefs of functionalists, globalization creates more diverse contacts and reactions between cultures and individuals (Shaules, 2007). These diverse reactions of intercultural contacts may not yield transformative cultural changes, but instead create unpredictable results of cultural fusion.

Advanced communication technology, which itself is a form of globalization, fortified the process of unpredictable intercultural fusion and churning. Various studies show that media use and everyday life in a new environment does not clearly reflect the process of acculturation (Lee, 2006; Hwang & He, 1999). As reviewed before, according to Hwang and He (1999), many Chinese immigrants in the United States maintain their cultural habits related to media use, while at the same time showing their new cultural practice of using American media in accordance with their everyday needs. Even before the wide usage of the Internet, Meyrowitz (1984) suggests that electronic media creates new meaning for the physical presence of humans. Regardless of physical location of immigrants and sojourners, they easily maintain their old cultural practices through various communication channels.More importantly, they are used to a new culture even before they are relocated into the place because of the wired world of technology. In this circumstance, as Fusco (1995) says, the notion of cultural purity becomes something of a nostalgic fantasy. Accelerated flow of cultural property by globalization and the technological development has "nullified fixed identity and power relations between them" (Fusco, 1995, p. 26). The culture in this age is fluid.

This study's participants are exposed to this globalized world and various advanced communication technologies. When studying this kind of population, traditional understandings of culture and communication must be limited. Therefore, this study does not aim to find any kind of linear causality or to test predetermined variables which are usually based on the dualistic division of self and others, home

and host, and old and new. Instead, this study probes the flexible nature of everyday life, culture, and communication of young sojourners. It aims to further understand the organic and interactive relationships among global political economy, technologies, cultural changes, and everyday practices, and it expects to draw a vivid understanding of this complex flexibility with the unusual case of global relocation.

CHAPTER 4. Methods

The needs of a qualitative approach for global sojourners and their intercultural consequences arise from the complexity of globalization and the advanced communication technologies. Rabinow (1968) calls for contextual understanding of research on culture; "conversation, between individuals or cultures, is only possible within contexts shaped and constrained by historical, cultural, and political relations and the only partially discursive social practices than constitute them" (p. 239). Historically, quantification has been dominating scientific research (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), and this research tradition has made verification of a priori hypotheses a good science (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Guba and Lincoln (1994) present several critiques of quantification in social research, and these critiques could be useful rationales of the utility of qualitative data in social research. First, precise quantitative approaches necessarily exclude possible variables that exist in the context. Second, quantitative data cannot provide enough reference to the meanings, which are crucial to understanding human behavior. Third, they point out the problem of inapplicability of general data to individual cases. Fourth, the verification driven research tradition of quantitative methods may exclude the discovery dimension in inquiry (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Clifford and Marcus (1986) also point out that "the qualities eliminated from [Western] science were localized in the category of literature" (p. 5).

On the contrary, the qualitative researcher is called *a bricoleur*, reflecting the qualitative research process of assembling multiple images (Denzin & Lincoln,

2003). According to Denzin and Lincoln, this qualitative work shares several aspects with the concept of montage in editing cinematic images; "montage uses brief images to create … complexity, [and] it invites viewers to construct interpretation…" (p. 7). Likewise, qualitative research brings multiple images to build interpretations. The metaphor of a bricoleur also reflects the interactive nature of qualitative research. Complex contexts of researchers and participants, such as personal histories and social class, continuously interact in formulating qualitative research. Under this understanding of the qualitative research method in approaching the complex context of intercultural consequences, this study employs mainly the grounded theory method (hereafter, GTM), and considers hermeneutic phenomenology as the complementary method.

Grounded Theory Method

GTM reflected the research atmosphere in 1960s sociology; this method was an alternative way to avoid highly abstract sociology, and accelerated as a part of the growth in qualitative analysis (Goulding, 1998). The most important purpose, as well as the nature, of GTM is to avoid the opportunistic use of theories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Since developed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967, GTM has been widely used in sociology, health studies, management, communication, and so forth. However, the method has evolved from the original over time (Charmaz, 2006). Since then, GTM has embraced the position that "phenomena are not as static but as continually changing in response to evolving conditions" (Corbin & Strauss, 1994, p. 5). Researchers as the co-producer of phenomena are similarly assumed to interact

actively with participants in the constructivist approach, which is the most recently evolved form of this tradition (Charmaz, 2006).

Sampling in GTM is not a random-based process, but a clear directional process for the development of theory, as emphasized by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Therefore, samples of GTM are recruited, not in terms of specific groups of individuals or units of times, but "in terms of concepts, their properties, dimensions, and variations" (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 8). Along with these understandings of the purpose of sampling, groups of individuals or communities representing a certain phenomenon can be intentionally recruited by the researcher.

Charmaz's constructivist position of GTM stresses the interactive relationship between researchers and participants. The interactive interpretation directs the next process of data collection and this process becomes a major source of categorization and theory generation. Now, the concept of interaction in this process is interchangeable with that of interpretation (Charmaz, 2006). Corbin and Strauss (1990) present a clear process of data collection and analysis, which are interrelated processes. The process itself is not different from the original GTM; "the analysis begins as soon as the first bit of data is collected" (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 6). GTM stresses that analysis is necessary from the beginning of the research because the initial analysis should be a direction for the future data collections.

The next process of GTM is to develop categories, which is the first step of the theory generation. As stressed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), theory is grounded not in fact but in conceptual categories generated from fact. Through the constant

comparative process, data are coded to categorize behavioral similarities. Corbin and Strauss (1990) describe categories as "higher in level and more abstract than the concepts they represent" (p. 7). There may be several properties belonging to a category, and this category must be developed in terms of its properties. A category must reflect dimensions of the phenomenon it represents, conditions surrounding the phenomenon, and the consequences of developed concepts. A core category developed through this process should contain theoretical meanings and be available to trace back through data collected by researchers (Goulding, 2005). In the constructivist position of grounded theory, categories no longer emerge automatically from the data (Charmaz, 2006). Instead, the process of categorization is interactive between researchers and the data.

Phenomenology as a Complementary Method

While the developers of GTM intended to overcome the limited scope of the hypothetico-deductive research tradition, they also endeavored to establish a 'good science' at the same time. The weakness of GTM arises from this conflict between the scientific approach and the nature of qualitative research. Due to the contradiction, original GTM developed by Glaser and Strauss failed to distinguish between data and phenomena (Haig, 1995). Despite evolutions over time, GTM still bears its methodological weaknesses: insufficient descriptions of individual participants and phenomena. The generation of relevant categories and their properties pays too much attention to the labeling and grouping of participants and phenomena, instead of developing a 'thick description,' which is also important in

understanding quality of phenomena. Because of this limitation, other qualitative research methods are suggested to be used as complementary methods (e.g., Wilson & Hutchison, 1991).

There are several suggestions in particular where phenomenology and GTM can be used at different, complementary phases of the research (Wilson & Hutchison, 1991; Wimpenny & Gass, 1999). As a method of unveiling the dimensions of human experience, phenomenology examines what is distinct in each person's experience and what is common to the experience of groups of people in a similar circumstance. This methodological approach allows research to look at nuanced experiences of individuals. Therefore, hermeneutic phenomenology may provide a depth of personal understandings with the rich and insightful detail of hermeneutics (Wilson & Hutchison, 1991). As Berger and Luckmann (1989) explained, the most important assumption of phenomenology is that a person's experience is a socially constructed reality, and thus, the phenomenological approach is believed to provide comprehensive understandings for each participant. Moreover, hermeneutic phenomenology focuses on comprehension or the meaning of text and action. Basically, phenomenology is the study of the contents of consciousness and is a way of describing and analyzing these contents. This focus on individual experiences, situated in a broader contextual setting, makes researchers overcome the weaknesses of GTM. Since description is a key process of phenomenological methodology (Giorgi, Knowls, & Smith, 1979), the mixed use of phenomenology and GTM is

expected to secure a full scale description of phenomena and participants as well as the systematic categorization of data in the course of generating theory.

As explained previously, the global relocation and its consequences in recent years reflect the complex cultural meaning of globalization and technological development. Multifaceted aspects of sojourners' lives are the reflection of these complex, contextual backgrounds and their own experiences. In order to understand these multiple realities among participants of the research, rich descriptions and interpretations are essential as well as valuable. Phenomenology is interested in common features of the lived experience (Starks & Trinidad, 2007). This emphasis on the experience of the participants prompts researchers to develop thick descriptions (Wimpenny & Gass, 1999). This mixed qualitative method was expected to bring not only systematically categorized understandings of the phenomenon but also plentiful descriptions to draw detailed realities which are socially constructed in complex ways.

Research Procedure

This study is based on the interview data collected through 31 individual in-depth interviews in Boston, Dallas, and Oklahoma City. Interviews are widely used in both grounded theory method and phenomenology. These interviews are typically grounded in the theoretical tradition of phenomenology (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). This study did not aim to find correlations of a certain aspect of everyday life and cultural consequences. It sought to investigate the complex ways in which the contextual backgrounds of Korean high school students, their everyday

communications, and complicatedly reflected identities and cultures. The use of open-ended questions was expected to be helpful in understanding this complexity.

Participants

All participants were over 18 year old and either juniors or seniors. Since the first semester of an academic year begins in March in Korea, there usually are some technical problems when Korean students transfer to American high schools. Therefore, Korean high school students usually lose a semester to correspond to the American academic calendar. Moreover, many Korean high school students spend around a year for English practices before they transfer to American high schools. This is why Korean juniors and seniors are relatively older than American students. They had been in the United States at least one year, and did not live with their parents. Since the US government did not allow international students who were F-1 student VISA holders to attend public schools, all participants in this study enrolled private high schools.

The sampling of this study was purposive. The investigator recruited participants who were contextually related to the purpose of this study with helps of several a key informant in each city. This study also utilized snowball sampling. The investigator could recruit additional participants who were introduced by initially recruited participants. A key informant who was also a Korean high school student in Oklahoma City as well as a friend of the investigator's niece helped recruit first nine participants in Oklahoma City. In Boston, a Korean teacher who taught English to Korean students near in a private institute introduced eight students to the

investigator. A participant in Boston also informed the investigator to recruit another two students. In Dallas, a former student of the Investigator introduced two participants, and the two students helped the investigator recruit other four additional participants. Since all participants were close friends or students of key informants or friends of other participants, they well understood the process and purpose of this study. Understanding relatedness of the study to themselves, they were active in sharing their experiences and thoughts during the interviews.

Employing theoretical sampling, the investigator collected data by stages in Oklahoma City, Boston, and Dallas from 2009 to 2010. Data collection began in Oklahoma City with nine participants in mid 2009. The study was continued by 10 interviews in Boston in late 2009 and by six interviews in Dallas in mid 2010. This study also conducted another data collection with six additional participants in Oklahoma City in mid 2010. Each stage of theoretical sampling was guided by earlier stage of data collection and analysis.

While this study was not conducted with help of Korean ethnic churches in the three cities, a half of participants regularly attended Korean churches. Korean churches in Korean American communities in each US city played important roles as social centers among immigrants and sojourners. Previous studies identified several important functions of Korean churches; forming a pseudo-extended family relations, mediating between individuals and social institutions like schools and hospitals, supporting Korean nationalism, providing emotional support, and helping early settlement for immigrants (e.g., Ecklund, 2005). Therefore, many young Korean

sojourners could also make friends, find new host families, and obtain information relating to Korea at Korean churches.

Table 1

Basic Demographic Information

Name	Gender	Age	Current City	Current Host	Church	Years in the US
Bada	Female	18	Boston	American	N/A	5
Chang	Male	19	Boston	Korean	N/A	2
Dana	Female	18	OKC	Relative	Korean	6
Doosik	Male	19	Dallas	American	N/A	3
Dowon	Female	18	Dallas	Acquaintance	N/A	2
Giwook	Male	19	Dallas	American	Korean	3
Han	Male	19	OKC	Relative	N/A	3
Hana	Female	18	Dallas	Korean	Korean	2
Heeseon	Female	19	OKC	American	American	2
Hyun	Female	19	Boston	American	Korean	2
Inpyo	Male	19	Boston	American	N/A	3
Jaeha	Male	19	OKC	American	Korean	3
Jimin	Female	19	OKC	American	N/A	3
Jin	Female	18	OKC	American	Korean	3
Jisuk	Male	18	OKC	Korean	Korean	2
Jongsoo	Male	18	OKC	Relative	Korean	3

Jooho	Male	18	Dallas	Korean	Korean	2
Joon	Male	19	OKC	American	Korean	3
Lin	Female	18	OKC	American	American	3
Minkee	Male	18	OKC	American	Korean	2
Noah	Male	19	Dallas	Korean	N/A	2
Ryoo	Male	19	Boston	American	Korean	2
Saeho	Male	19	OKC	Korean	Korean	3
Seewon	Male	18	Boston	Korean	N/A	3
Sungil	Male	18	Boston	Korean	N/A	3
Song	Male	18	OKC	American	American	3
Soo	Female	19	OKC	Relative	Korean	3
Taewon	Male	19	Boston	Korean	N/A	3
Wonsang	Male	19	Boston	Korean	Korean	3
Young	Female	19	OKC	American	American	3
Yuna	Female	19	Boston	Korean	Korean	3

Note. The listed names are pseudonyms.

Research sites

There are no specific statistic data indicating how many Korean students study in U.S. cities. While universities have official demographic data of enrolled international students, secondary schools barely note official numbers of international students. The Korean government also releases information containing the total number of Korean students in the United States instead of more specific

data of numbers of students at certain schools and in certain cities. Therefore, it is impossible to find out how many Korean high school students there actually are. The official census data of the United States also only partially reflects the real number of Koreans in each city because many Koreans do not participate in the census, and many of them are still Korean citizens.

Despite the lack of official demographic information about Korean students in the Oklahoma City metro area, it was known that roughly 100 Korean students attended secondary schools in the Oklahoma City metro area, including Edmond, Moore, and Del City, in 2009 and 2010. Oklahoma City was not known as a popular destination for early study abroad. Therefore, there was no after-school institute for Koreans and no early study abroad agency owned by Koreans. It was known that 13 Korean churches served the Oklahoma City metro area in 2010. Private schools did not provide school bus service, and Oklahoma City ranked 84th among 100 urban areas in the United States (Lackmeyer, 2011). Therefore, young international students were dependent on their host families for a ride to school. In the first phase of interviews in Oklahoma City, many participants complained about the limited number of Korean friends in their communities and their monotonous daily lives caused by the lack of public transportation and few places to go in the city. Therefore, the next phase of data collection was conducted in a bigger city than Oklahoma City in terms of general population, population density, and the size of the Korean community.

Although the Korean American population in Boston is smaller than in other major cities such as Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago, Boston is well known in Korea as being the most popular destination for early study abroad. Despite the lack of official demographic information, it was easy to find various commercials and information identifying Boston as the most popular site. Unlike Oklahoma City, there were over 20 after-school institutes for Korean students and 11 study abroad agencies for Korean students in Boston at the time of this study (Bostonkorea, 2011). There were 75 Korean churches in the Boston metro area (Bostonkorea, 2011). These businesses were mainly located near the Cambridge campus of Harvard University and downtown Boston. Although four participants lived away from where the Korean businesses were densely located, they could easily reach Korean communities and downtown Boston by commuter train and bus. Based on Federal Transit Administration data, Boston was ranked as having the fourth-best public transportation in the United States (Kurtzleben, 2011)

The next phase of data collection was conducted in Dallas and Oklahoma City in order to elaborate findings from Boston and from the initial interviews in Oklahoma City. Dallas, one of the largest cities in the Southwestern region, has a relatively large Korean community. There were 116 Korean churches in the Dallas metro area at the time of this study. There were also multiple Korean business centers and several Korean education-related businesses. While Dallas is larger than Boston in terms of population, there were fewer education businesses than in Boston: 11 after-school institutes and 4 study abroad agencies for Korean students (Dalsaram,

2011). Unlike Boston, where the Korean community and education businesses are located close to each other near Harvard University and Cambridge Street, Korean businesses in the Dallas metro area are spread throughout multiple suburban centers like Carrollton, Plano, and Allen. The Dallas metro area ranked 99th among 100 urban areas in the United States (Lindenberger, 2011). Therefore, the living environment for high school students in the Dallas metro area was expected to be different from that in Boston. Because of time differences, six additional participants in the Oklahoma City metro area were recruited for comparison to data previously collected in the three cities. The investigator's niece, who attended an independent high school, introduced those six students to the investigator.

Data collection and analysis

During the first phase of data collection from nine participants in Oklahoma City, the investigator conducted one-on-one in-depth interviews, providing 23 open-ended questions from three categories: general questions about the participants, questions regarding the uses of communication technology, and questions regarding everyday communication and interpersonal relationships (Appendix 3). The length of interviews varied from one to two hours because the investigator did not restrain participants from telling their stories, even if the stories were not related to the study. All interviews were conducted at coffee shops or fast-food restaurants.

Based on the methodological guidelines of GTM, the investigator began data analysis as soon as the first data were collected. The first data analysis allowed the investigator to add more questions and categories to the interview protocol for the

next phases of data collection. For example, there were several students who had lived in the United States when they were younger for various reasons, and their early experiences influenced their current lives in the United States. Therefore, the investigator added questions like “Have you visited the U. S. before you came to study here?” In regarding the relationships between their uses of the Internet and their interpersonal relationships, the investigator also added the question “How many Korean friends in Korea, American friends, and Korean friends in the United States do you interact with on the Web?” because many participants strictly distinguished those three groups of friends. Instead of changing the third category of questions, the investigator added two more categories. The fourth category consisted of nine additional questions aimed to identify detailed cultural familiarities and changes in the young sojourners. The fifth category was also added to obtain data regarding participants’ cultural identities. In this category, some indirect questions like “Do you want to be an American citizen?” were developed in order to encourage participants to show a variety of their concerns about themselves. Therefore, the next phases of data collection in the three cities were conducted with five categories and a total of 52 questions (Appendix 1 and 2).

As previously mentioned, the investigator began data analysis as soon as the first data in Oklahoma City were collected. The first analysis directed the next stage of data collection. The investigator transcribed interviews verbatim in Korean for data analysis by the investigator. The length of the transcription of each interview ranged from 13 to 21 single-spaced pages. The investigator coded the data by

repeatedly reading the fully transcribed interviews in order to compare interviews and find similarities and differences in the data, which eventually led to finding common themes in the data. The investigator also selected and underlined important comments representing each theme. This process was conducted not only for refining the properties of each theme but also for describing the essential nature of the themes (Thorne, 2000). These underlined comments and their corresponding themes were reviewed by a fellow student, a native of Korea, at the investigator's university in order to insure reliability. There were several Korean terms participants repeatedly used to express their emotions, and they needed to be explained in order to translate those expressions into English in the text (Appendix 4). Excerpts from the findings of this study were translated by the investigator. During the process of data analysis, each participant was assigned a pseudonym.

CHAPTER 5. Findings

Contextual understanding establishes the groundwork from which comprehension of the cultural consequences of communication is built. This study examined various aspects of the young sojourners' everyday lives, from the point of their arrival in the United States, to their school life experiences, to their pastime activities during weekends. Living in a foreign country without parents in one's teen years is not a common experience for most adolescents of the same age (Kuo & Roysircar, 2006). In this research, many of the young sojourners encountered a variety of extraordinary experiences for their young age, such as lack of parental care, language and cultural differences, different lifestyle systems and traditions, and a limited number of friends. Grounded in these findings, this study stresses two main themes and a conclusive theme that explain the living environments of the young sojourners in the United States.

First, the young adolescents who separated from families and old friends in Korea experienced social isolation in the United States. More specifically, participants expressed their difficulties with such experiences as living with others at host homes and having limited peer relationships. Second, they also experienced strange environments that occasionally made them feel isolated and placed them on the defensive. High school students who mainly spent their time at host homes and schools, they encountered strange home cultures and educational systems. The relative lack of public transportation was also a big barrier that physically hindered the young students from becoming involved in social life. Under these socially and

environmentally isolated conditions, the young Korean students expressed their strong preferences for people and things from or in Korea over those in the United States. The young sojourners' lonely everyday lives and strong romanticization about Korea related closely to their needs for and uses of new communication technologies.

While the Internet has been spotlighted as a cutting-edge technology for enhancing various levels of communication and distributing information, this technology is also adopted by people as a playground in which they spend leisure time. People read constantly updated news, download new movies, and play numerous flash games on the Internet. The intensive use of the Internet by participants of this study was not unique compared to other groups of youth. Their uses of the Internet became a unique phenomenon when coupled with an understanding of their unique contextual backgrounds as teenagers who came alone to a foreign country for the purpose of education. The young international students showed marked purposes for Internet use. There were two main themes and a conclusive theme that explained their unique use of the Internet and media.

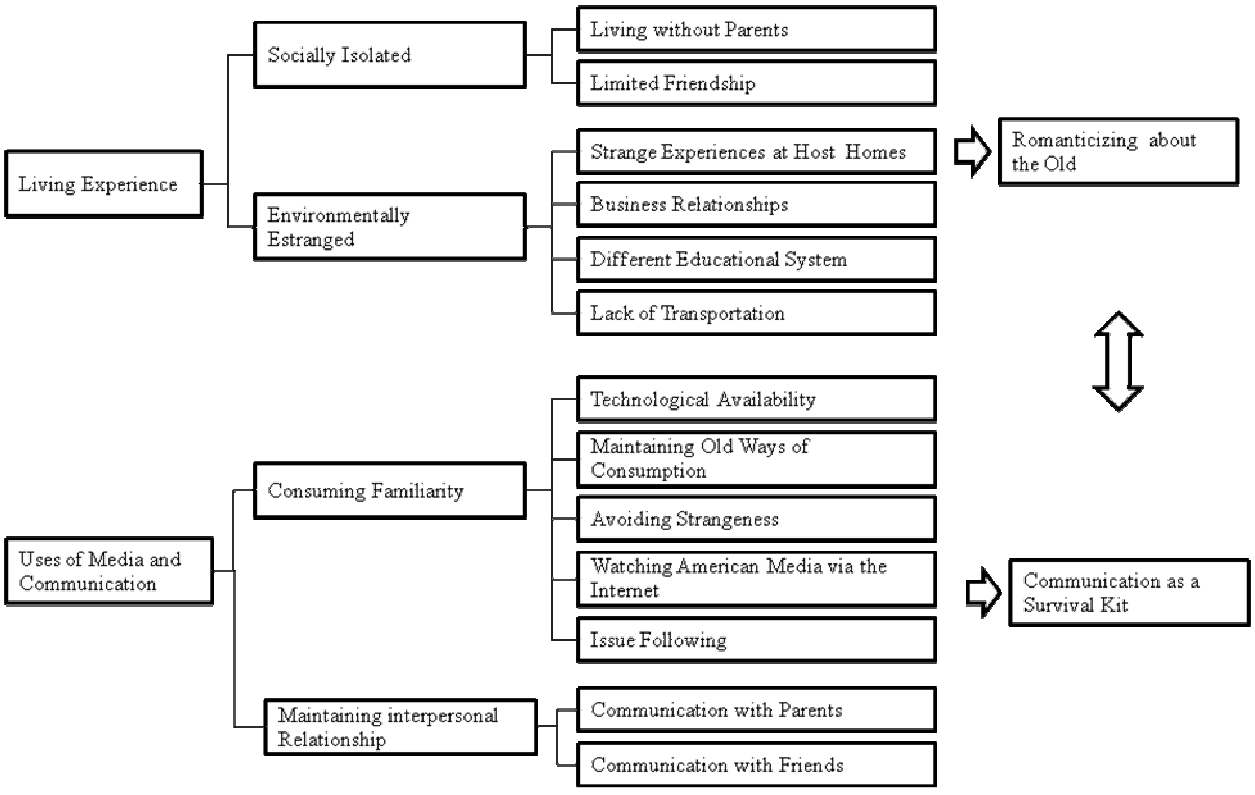
First, the young international students intensively consumed familiar media content that they had used when they were in Korea. They resided in so-called imagined communities by consuming familiarity. Second, various technologies based on the Internet became useful bridges linking the lonely adolescents to familiar people, such as parents and friends in Korea. Unlike their limited social relationships at host homes and schools in the United States, they became social persons in cyber

networks. By consuming familiarity and communicating with familiar people, the lonely young sojourners could relieve their loneliness and boredom.

In this chapter, each theme is fully explained with detailed descriptions, analyses, and direct quotes from the in-depth interviews. Each theme consists of subthemes closely related to the main theme. There are also two conclusive themes that represent the unique living environments of participants, and their uses of media and communication, respectively.

Figure 1.

Summary of Findings of This Study



Theme 1. Socially Isolated Young Sojourners

Living without parents

Living without parents in a foreign country was the most prominent contextual difference that distinguished this study population from other same-age adolescents. All participants in this study lived with host families, relatives, or parents' friends in the United States. Although all participants were over the age of 18 and did not require legal guardians, they all had legal guardians, partly because they were not accompanied by their parents. Regardless of the legal requirements, some American high schools require official guardians, even for international students over the age of 18, for safety reasons. The host families and guardians are usually expected to play parental roles. Despite their being older than their American classmates, international students are still high school students residing in a foreign country who need extensive care and protection. Therefore, understanding the experiences of living in a host home, the relationship with hosts and guardians, and the perceptions of different family cultures, is very important in developing this study that investigates the cultural consequences of young sojourners' routine communication and technology use in a foreign country. Since the young sojourners spent a large amount of their time with host families, their experiences and relationships with host families and guardians are important in understanding their living contexts.

Multiple host families

Other than Han, Song, and Soo, all participants in this study had experienced living with multiple host families. Some participants lived with a variety of different host families over a short period of time. There are several reasons why those young students changed hosts families, including the presence of a variety of everyday conflicts with host family members, cultural maladjustments, transferring to schools in another geographical region, early termination by hosts, and complications in the business relationship between the students, hosts, and professional agents. It is difficult to categorize these various reasons because of their interrelatedness. This study examines several typical cases affected by unstable conditions resulting from living with people who were not their parents at such a young age.

In case of Jisuk in Oklahoma City, he came to the United States with the help of a local agency that operated in conjunction with several Korean businesses. However, Jisuk had stayed with five host families in only one year. According to Jisuk, two of the host families did not take care of him very well: “The first host never heard my concerns about food. She just served similar foods that I never had eaten before.” He once lived with an employee of the agency. However, this particular host’s employment was terminated by the agency and Jisuk had to move out of her house. Finally, he canceled his contract with the agency and sought help from a Korean church. At the time of his interview with the researcher, he lived in an international household in which the mother was Korean and the father was American.

Table 2

Number of Host Families Participants Experienced for Past Two Years

Number of Host Families	Number of Participants
1	11
2	10
3	5
4	3
5 or More	2

Similar to Jisuk, Han, who lived in Dallas with a host family, had experienced five different host families in eighteen months and was currently planning another move at the time her interview was conducted. Her first experience was ended due to conflicts with a host child, with whom Hana was sharing a bedroom. The second host was too busy to take care of Hana. The host family was supposed to provide transportation to and from school yet did not, resulting in Hana's experiencing high levels of unnecessary stress. Trouble concerning money plagued her relationship with her third host family. According to Hana, although the host did not actually ask Hana for money, she was still stressed with worries about money because the host mom kept reminding her that she should charge Hana for certain services: "Even when she gave me a ride to a Korean grocery that was near her home, she kept saying that this ride might cost over $20." Not all of Hana's

experiences were negative. Her experience with her fourth host, who was the first American (Vietnamese American) host for Hana, was positive. She was happy with her everyday life in that host home. She had no problems over money, transportation, or cultural differences. However, she had to move to a Korean host home shortly because of a business relationship. Hana initially contracted with an early study abroad agency in Dallas that had contracts with multiple host families. Though she did not know the exact reason that her agency forced her to move to another host home, she suspected the host family was asked by the agency to pay more for being a member of the program. After a semester living with her fifth host, who was a Korean American minister, she planned to move to another place because of poor services. Hana complained that Korean American host families treated the host function as a business venture in which the Korean high school students became victims of the host family's efforts to extort money from the students. These extreme cases are not isolated incidents, as most of the participants shared stories that indicated a frequency of change in living arrangements due to instability experienced with the various host families.

Becoming a housemate: Another stress factor

Many host families the participants lived with were actively involved in the early study abroad business. Many of them were actively involved serving as host families for multiple international students, especially Korean students. In those cases, other housemate students easily became important actors shaping the everyday lives of the young sojourners. Regardless of the relationship with host family

members, some of those who shared their space with other international students endured hardship relating to conflicts that developed in a variety of interactions with others.

Yuna had a housemate who was also a Korean early study abroad student at her first host home in a small city in Pennsylvania before she moved to Boston. The foremost reason she relocated to Boston was not for educational purposes, but because of endless conflicts with her Korean housemate. They were forced to spend most of their time and space in their everyday lives together because of their identical situations and schedules. While college students who live with housemates are usually relatively free to choose their mates, these international high school students cannot not choose a housemate as their choice is decided by their hosts. She was extremely stressed by her situation and felt she needed to put in extra effort to understand everything about her housemate in order to not cause any problems. Her sojourning in Pennsylvania ended with bad memories, not only about the housemate but about the host family, too. She eventually moved to Boston for her second year of high school.

Similarly, Doosik only lived for a short period with his first host family, who had two other Korean high school students. According to Doosik, living with multiple Korean students had a poor effect on his academic performance, especially in the area of improving his English skills. While he did not have conflicts with his Korean housemates, as Yuna did, he expressed frequently losing control over his schedule and studying, and thus he wasted time and energy on meaningless activities.

Unlike the two cases discussed above, Dowon was indirectly affected by the presence of Korean housemates in her host home. The first host was a Korean American who also hosted two other Korean students. Since Dowon did not know much about the host system and culture, she was unable to offer an evaluation of the quality of her host family. The two other Korean students, who were older than Dowon, had several conflicts with the host family, however. The poor relationship between the host family and the other two Korean students caused the host family to terminate their hosting services, resulting in Dowon being forced to move to her second place. As explained above, the presence of housemates created extraordinary experiences in host homes for many of the students interviewed. Consequently, these experiences became crucial sources of everyday stress for the students.

Relationships with long-distance parents

While experiences at host homes and with people were direct stressors, psychological pressures caused by the high academic expectations of their parents were more like underlying factors of stress. Coming to the United States to complete their secondary education usually means the parents of the students are very active and interested in education. Unfortunately for the students, this parental interest in education tends to focus on the academic performance of the students, not on healthy adolescent development. This focus on academic performance is usually based on standardized test scores or grades. According to many participants, their parents have very high expectations of their children's academic performance. Although many participants expressed that they came to the United States in order to reduce the

educational burdens they faced in Korea, many of them still spent more time studying than American students do. Parents regularly monitored their student's performance by inquiring about the results of practice SAT tests and the number of vocabulary terms they memorized each day. Some of the participants (Doosik, Dowon, Heeseon, Jisuk, and Minkee) had personal counselors whom they had known for a long time. These counselors also regularly monitored the workload the students needed to complete every day or week. Additionally, most participants, except Noah and Wonsang, regularly attended intensive test-preparation—mainly, SAT and TOEFL—institutes every summer vacation and winter break in Korea. In the case of Noah, his father strongly believed that staying in the United States during the summer was a better way to improve Noah's English skills and academic performance. On the other hand, Wonsang was very close to his tutor, who paid careful attention to his academic work in Boston, and thus Wonsang thought he needed to stay in the United States during vacations. Therefore, no one in this study was free from the pressure of academic performance.

> My dad expects me to do study well. His expectation is way too high. I always feel guilty. He sacrifices a lot for me, but I can't pay him back for it. All my friends here will be in Korea during this summer but I won't. I need to improve my English-speaking and writing skills here. My dad thinks so, too. (Noah)

The pressure about academic performance was closely connected to the psychological burden about the money they were spending in the United States. They

thought they should be productive in their studies because their parents were spending a huge amount of money for their education. Despite its popularity, early study abroad is regarded as an extraordinary way to educate as it costs a lot more money than domestic education. This extensive investment, which includes the high cost of education and sacrifice by all members of a family, makes the young students feel that they need to achieve extraordinary accomplishments, such as earning acceptance into an Ivy League college. Although the direct cost of education for a young sojourner in the United States is not much higher than that in Korea once private after-school education in Korea is considered, it is much more expensive to educate a young sojourner in the United States once other noneducational factors are considered. For example, combining living and international transportation expenses easily results in a cost of at least $50,000 to educate a Korean student in the United States. According to all the participants in this study, this cost both symbolically and financially contributed to their everyday stress. Only Bada, Inpyo, Sungil, and Taewon articulated that they did not feel any psychological burden related to money. According to Sungil, he spent more money when he was in Korea because of a lot of tutoring and more frequently meeting with friends. Otherwise, most participants mentioned the psychological burden of money and feelings of guilt about the money sent to them regularly by their parents.

> I keep thinking I have to go back to Korea to reduce my parents' financial burden. I know that the best way of saving money is studying hard. But, the worries keep bothering me. I spend too much money. (Dowon)

Some students, like Yuna, Heeseon, Jisuk, and Minkee, stressed several times that their parents were not wealthy enough to easily send money to the United States. Wonsang also told of his family's economic crisis during his third year in the United States. It is impossible to fully learn of their actual financial status through interviews. Although some students more frequently mentioned their financial worries, they did not have problems in paying their tuition and living costs. Therefore, their worries might be interpreted not as real problems but as the psychological pressure they experienced related to the extraordinary amount of money being spent by their long distance parents. Those psychological burdens of academic performance and financial worries were occasionally related to their negative views of living in the United States.

Limited friendship

With few exceptions, most participants in this study were seriously concerned about the limited number of friends they had in the United States. First of all, various cultural differences and language barriers prevented them from establishing close friendships with American classmates. Due to different cultural experiences and assumptions, Korean adolescents barely understood American peer culture in their schools. They did not have enough opportunities to be involved in peer activities with American classmates because of language and cultural barriers. Most participants in this study attended private schools where many of the students had attended the same school since their elementary school years. While Korean students usually spend a lot of time at school and at after-school programs with classmates,

they spent a relatively short amount of time at school in the United States. This different educational culture also affected their peer relationships in their schools. Additionally, the relatively small number of Korean students in American schools also created complications regarding peer relationships among the Korean sojourners. At school, the sojourners had only a limited number of Korean classmates. While the presence of Korean classmates sometimes helped by providing stable personal relationships, it also became an important source of stress because they felt pressure to maintain good relationships with the limited number of Korean friends. Other than Korean American churches, school was the only place for sojourners to have Korean friends who may share various linguistic and cultural experiences. This limited environment created another everyday stress related to peer relationships.

Meaning of friends in the United States

It is difficult to make friends in a foreign country, which becomes a deep source of stress for young students. On the question about the most difficult aspect of living away from their home country, many participants reported loneliness caused by a lack of friends. In the focus group interview, Joon and Soo simultaneously complained that they did not have enough friends. The first problem raised by participants was that they lost many old ties in Korea. The second problem related to making friends was cultural differences. Many participants pointed out that the strangeness of Americans in the same age group as they, and superficial friendship among Americans, were the most important cultural differences. In the case of Dana, although she had many American friends compared to other Korean students, she did

not think they were true friends. Some male participants pointed out cultural differences as the culprit in their difficulty with making an American friend:

> I have two groups of best friends. One is in Korea and the other is at a Korean church here. I hate American teenagers. They are childish. They are under the delusion that they are cool or nice. They are pretending. They are bullying the weak and the outsiders. But they are cowardly. (Minkee)

Doosik also used the word *childish* when he mentioned American classmates. While this expression could be interpreted in many different ways, the living environments of the participants in this study shaped this kind of thinking. During the interviews, many participants tended to regarded themselves as independent students living without parents in a foreign country. For those students, American adolescents, especially from upper middle-class families, appeared to be overly protected by parents and teachers. They also pointed out that American classmates were childish because they were obsessed by certain things like football games and so-called stupid television shows. This expression also reflected the cultural differences between adolescents from the two countries.

On the other hand, Dowon, Hana, Heeseon, Jooho, and Wonsang shared their opinion that the meaning of friendship among American teenagers was extremely different from that of Korean teenagers. Wonsang did not believe that American students had experienced true friendship because he thought personal relationships among American classmates were very casual and shallow. Hana also pointed out the attitude of American classmates toward their friends. “They seemed to be friendly at

first, but they really weren't. They just acted like a friend. They were not interested in others. The concept of friend in America is very different."

In this study, all participants except Jongsoo attended private schools where the socioeconomic status of the students is not very diverse. In particular, the participants in Boston attended very expensive private schools where the majority of students were European American. Bada and Inpyo each had experiences at boarding schools and day schools in the Boston area. They especially expressed their dislike of European American classmates: "White girls always pretend to be kind; it's pretending. Many of them are actually racist. They treat us differently, I can feel it" (Bada).

American private schools are more or less closed communities; many students have attended the same school as far back as kindergarten. Most participants in this study transferred to their American schools between 8th and 11th grade. Jooho articulated the problem he first faced when coming to the United States: "Most of the classmates have been friends for a long time. They have known each other since kindergarten. How could I get involved among those? That was impossible." Some students felt isolated when they found out that many family members of students who came to concerts or homecoming festivals were also alumni of the school.

On the other hand, participants in Boston also shared the belief that they did not need to try to make American friends because of the presence of many Korean students in Boston, which is one of the most popular destinations for Korean students.

Taewon had not talked to American classmates for a long time. According to him, he had plenty of Korean friends in school and the Boston Korean community. He also said that in school he only talked to Korean classmates and other Asians. Although this study did not probe the issue regarding cultural similarity and distances among different countries, Taewon and Seewon especially expressed their cultural closeness to other Asians over American classmates. In this matter, the language barrier between Korean and American students seemingly hindered the formation of good relationships. Many participants reported that it was hard for them to have profound conversations with American classmates because of their lack of language skills. They only had casual conversations, which were limited to greetings and discussions about classwork. In these instances, as Doosik explained, he easily lost interest in what his American classmates were saying. Therefore, cultural-linguistic differences and different expectations combined to prevent participants from establishing American friendships.

Problems caused by limited number of Koreans

Though most participants in this study had sound relationships with other Korean students in the United States, they were not absolutely free from the stresses caused by other Koreans. The stresses and conflicts were mainly because of the limited number of Korean students in their schools and the relatively small Korean communities in certain cities in the United States. The limited number resulted in limited options of friends who shared the same language and culture. This extraordinary condition forced students to become extremely cautious in their

maintenance of interpersonal relationships with other Korean students. In this study, many participants shared direct and indirect stories about how repulsed they felt by Korean students who behaved like American students and actively tried to pursue friendships with Americans. If a Korean student had more American friends than Korean friends, he or she was regarded as Americanized, and was then victimized by being collectively ignored by others.

> Those who pretend to be Americanized think they are superior to us. I don't care. I just speak Korean or English as needed. I don't think they need to put on the appearance of being American. (Jimin)

Jin in Oklahoma City had suffered from conflicts with other Korean students in school. She initially tried to develop close relationships with American classmates because she thought that American friends would help her improve her English skills and cultural understanding. However, other Korean students did not like her behavior as it was different from typical Korean students in her school. Chang expressed his dislike toward Korean students in the United States in different ways; he did not like arrogant attitudes or the extravagant lifestyle of Korean early study abroad students, who were mainly from upper middle-class families. Though Chang was a child from a wealthy family, he was reluctant to attempt to understand other Korean students' way of life. This became a big barrier for him to make many Korean friends.

Other participants said they also continuously compared Korean classmates in the United States to their old friends in Korea. While some participants could easily establish close friendships in Korea, it was hard for them to establish close

friendships in the United States because of their diverse backgrounds and limited choices. During interviews, participants were asked which group was the best group of friends among (a) Korean friends in Korea, (b) Korean friends in the United States, or (c) American friends in the United States. Other than a few exceptions (Doosik, Jooho, Ryu, Song, Wonsang, and Young), most participants answered the first group as their best group of friends although they had already spent over one year without physical contact with those friends. This reflected their depending on the comfort of old relationships established in Korea, rather than developing new relationships in the United States.

The lack of direct parental care and limited peer relationships were the price for their early study abroad in the United States. Throughout the interviews, many participants frequently stressed their situations, saying "because I don't have parents here" or "because I don't have many friends." Social isolation was the main cause of their everyday loneliness and boredom. The lonely adolescents spent most after-school hours in their private rooms alone. Their lonely everyday lives were also partly related to the next theme.

Theme 2. Environmentally Estranged Young Sojourners

This study examined participants' daily experiences at host homes, schools, and after-school activities. Many participants commonly encountered difficulties in negotiating different customs, cultures, and systems at homes and schools. Meanwhile, they were commoditized by the so-called early study abroad business in the United States, which caused their uncomfortable experiences in communities.

They also experienced a very different social atmosphere, mainly caused by the relative lack of public transportation in the United States. After a series of data collections and analyses, this study found that the students' usual places, like homes and schools, occasionally made them feel estranged from their living environments. Along with their limited interpersonal relationships, their strange experiences in everyday settings became important contextual backgrounds of their loneliness in the United States and their romanticization about things and people in Korea.

Strange experiences at host homes

Most participants, except those who had lived in English-speaking countries before coming to the United States for their secondary education, suffered from having insufficient English skills to communicate with their host families. According to many participants, they were initially worried about language skills only at school. However, their insufficient English skills created more problems in the host homes than at school. English at school was firmly based on textbooks and ordinary lectures, and there were Korean classmates who helped each other. However, many participants in this study said they were reluctantly involved in situations in their host home in which they needed to use complicated expressions, but they felt it was difficult to express subtle emotions, opinions, and questions at home.

> At my first host home, I only spoke to them during meal time. Even at the table, I only used very simple English. I rarely asked my host mom to do something for me. I just did it myself. That was much more comfortable for me. (Jisuk)

Wonsang lived with families that had Korean host mothers and American host fathers. His experiences with these multicultural families were not easy. There was an extreme imbalance in communication with the members of the family. Since his communication and relationship were closer with the Korean host mothers because of food, topics of common interest, and language, he felt disconnected from the other family members.

Although Korean divorce rates have skyrocketed in recent years, single parenting is not very common in Korea. Because of the emphasis on traditional family culture in Korea, many people, including even members of the younger generation, tend to view divorced or single-parent families negatively. In this study, six participants lived or had lived with single-parent families. Hyun pointed out the unstable financial condition of her single host mom: "She seemed to need money desperately. With three children, her life looked so tough. She was always crazy about money. Though I understood her situation and felt sympathy for her, I knew I did not have to live there." On the other hand, Seewon lived with a single host father. Although his house dad was nice in many senses, he was not good at many of the household chores. Yuna had her worst experience at her second host home. The host family did not live together because they were in the process of divorcing. The host mother's husband occasionally came to Seewon's host home, which always resulted in a quarrel. With the exception of Minkee, who lived with a widow, participants who had experiences with single host parents remembered their experiences negatively. While there was no way to find out whether their negative opinions were

instigated by their prejudices or their experiences, it seemed that living with a single parent was a strange and difficult experience for them.

While Dana, Han, and Soo lived with their relatives in the United States, Chang and Dowon lived or had lived with their father's friends. Initially, this study did not aim to investigate cases where participants lived with relatives because of the expectation of an increased level of personal intimacy between the participants and the relatives. This increased level of closeness was expected to result in a difference from the cases where participants lived with host families. However, based on the first phase of data collection in Oklahoma City, this study did not find any meaningful differences between the two types of host family arrangements. While there were no problems caused by cultural differences, including language and food, when the participants lived with relatives, the experience of living without parents was not different from other participants. Moreover, Han said he felt more responsibility and psychological burdens in living with his aunt's family members because of his parents' relationship with the hosts.

Strange experiences with businesses in communities

Since participants and their parents had only limited information about American schools, cities, and environments, they strongly relied on professional agencies to find host families, choose schools, and handle many other everyday affairs. As indicated in various stories from the students, many participants in this study lived with or had lived with Korean American host families who were introduced to the participants by Korean study abroad agencies. Although Jooho and

Giwook were satisfied with services provided by their agencies, most students with a business relationship with professional agencies experienced stress related to the monetary relationship. Most participants in this study, in spite of their relatively young age, well understood their business relationship with the agencies, host families, and schools. They often thought of the business relationships negatively because they felt they had become targets for profit, particularly by professional agencies. Many participants viewed the professional agencies as necessary evils.

In Dallas, Hana, Noah, and Jongsoo were under contract with the same agent, who was formerly a professor at a Korean university. They called him professor Kang. According to them, the agent had complex relationships with many host families, local private schools, and private after-school institutes. He used his position to persuade his customers to become involved in related businesses, for which he charged an extra $500 for his services as an agent. Hana and Noah explicitly complained about his aggressive business practices, which resulted in extra money being extracted from them. Nevertheless, they chose to not raise concerns about him because they were worried that their words could spread across the whole Korean community rapidly; they wanted to avoid conflicts that might occur between people who knew him and themselves. Especially for Hana, this relationship was the largest cause of stress during her life in Dallas.

For the young sojourners, Korean American adults were initially reliable people because they were fellow Koreans and knew a lot about American society and culture. However, this high expectation turned into disappointment. Their

disappointment with Korean (American) adults who were closely related to them was deeper than the disappointment with American adults. Like cases of Hana and Noah, many young sojourners were worried that their bad relationships with some Korean adults might affect their relationships with other Korean Americans in their community negatively.

The young students did not have to deal with this kind of situation in Korea under their parents' protection. For the young adolescents who had little experiences in the business world, relationships with adults occasionally became heavy stressors, which led them to seek support from people and media resources in Korea.

Strange experiences at schools

When this study investigated differences relating to education between the two countries, it looked at both school systems and after-school activities. For adolescents, school is a place where a large part of their everyday lives is spent. This means school plays a large role in shaping many different aspects of everyday life. As mentioned many times in this study, most participants attended private high schools, which are extremely different from Korean high schools. In Korea, although there are also both public and private schools, the meaning of *public* and *private* is limited to the ownership of the school only; students are randomly assigned to schools by school district offices. Therefore, most participants in this study had no experiences in American types of private schools, which are relatively small and typically closed communities. Grounded in in-depth interviews, this study presents

several characteristics about American private high schools that are probably causes of the unique feelings young Koreans often experience.

Most of the participants in Dallas and Oklahoma City attended Christian high schools. Most participants identified themselves as Christian and regularly attended church, usually Korean American churches, and even those who did not identify themselves as Christians in Korea attended Korean Churches in the United States. This will be discussed later. Although it was difficult to determine accurate religious attitudes with a single interview, most participants seemed to be satisfied with the religiosity of their schools. When asked about the religiosity of their schools, many students began their answer with "Because I am a Christian . . . . " However, some of the participants complained about conservative policies and excessive Bible study. Nevertheless, their complaints did not focus on the Christianity of their schools, but on the policies, such as dress codes and long mission trips, and on the Bible as a subject they needed to study.

The most distinguishing difference identified by the participants between Korean and American schools concerned classroom structures. In Korea, students who are in the same class, called *Bahn*, rarely move to other classrooms in order to take different subject classes, but instead, teachers of different subjects move among the classrooms. In other words, students in a classroom take the same subject with the same classmates virtually all the time. In addition, students' lockers are located in a classroom in Korea, and at most schools, students are provided school meals in their classrooms. Under this system, students may spend a lot of time among the

same students. According to my participants, the Korean system is more advantageous in terms of the opportunity to establish friendships, especially very close friends, than the American classroom system.

> That is very strange to me. I hover around my school once every hour. I casually am greeted by some Americans, but it's always awkward. I miss my school in Korea. We had many fun things. (Hyun)

Required sports activities in American education is the aspect of American schools the participants liked most; they especially liked the variety of choices of activities in contrast to Korean high schools. However, those activities also sometimes became sources of segregation from American students. In this study, only Jooho and Giwook were actively involved in the American football team at his school in Dallas, while Sungil played baseball from the time he arrived in the United States. Some participants in Boston played soccer as their sports activity. Jooho said that his time participating in sports at school was the most enjoyable and best opportunity to make American friends. On the other hand, Sungil never socialized with his teammates after the sports activities, even though he maintained good relationships with them during the activities. Giwook also had no real friends among his American teammates.

In some school districts in America, there is a rule that students who are transferred from other states or other countries are not allowed to participate in official games with other schools for their first year. Although most Korean male

students in this study were soccer lovers, Taewon and Jaeha said they lost interest in soccer because of this rule.

Sports activity sometimes became a point of stress for Korean female students, who rarely had chances to participate in sporting events in their Korean schools. In Korea, where college preparation is always the first priority for students, parents, and school authorities, arts and sports education are often ignored. Many schools illegally replace these subjects with extra English classes, mathematics classes, and Korean literature classes, which are the most dominant subjects in the Korean SAT. Nevertheless, male students are active in organizing various sports games like basketball and soccer on their own. However, female students in Korea tend to not participate in those activities. Some female participants complained about their lack of athletic ability, which they believed most American girls have: “I am so stressed out when I have to be a tennis partner of my teammates. They are so good at tennis. I’m not. I just do it because it is a requirement. They might laugh at me often” (Heeseon). Therefore, for some, sports activitiese were a new source of stress that they had never experienced in Korea.

In addition to those two differences, school systems in the two countries are different in other ways, such as lunch time, examinations, and so on. Interestingly, although those differences at school were regarded as stressors they faced every day, no one indicated that those different systems were major sources of their everyday stress. For the young adolescents, who had been well disciplined as hard-working students or had been told that they should be disciplined students in a competitive

world, school always tended to be just a school. Regardless of whether the work or atmosphere in school was difficult for them, they tended to think these things were worthwhile experiences for their future. Therefore, their school hours could be separated from their everyday life.

While there were positive aspects from this issue, it was not without its problems. Although it is beneficial for sojourners to feel free from the pressures of school affairs, many of them clearly excluded school experiences from their lives. Because of this mindset, they did not feel a need to make friends, maintain positive relationships with teachers and staff, and learn about American school systems. Nevertheless, the participants continued to worry about their poor English skills, which they believed could improve had they been more involved in school activities.

> Sometimes, I feel like a ghost at school. I once thought I could make more friends as times went by, but what I learned was the complete opposite. I was rarely greeted by American classmates at school. Now, I just have lunch with Korean friends. I only ask my Korean friends about homework. I just want to graduate school soon. Getting good grades here is very easy. I only need a high SAT score, that's it. That is the purpose of school for me. (Heeseon)

Although schools are regarded as the main educational institutions for most people in the world, after-school institutes in Korea play a crucial role in shaping Korean educational systems. In order to understand the influences of new educational experiences on the young sojourners, it is also important to compare their experiences of after-school education and the patterns of after-school time

consumption in the two countries. Korea is infamous for its competitive education. Most primary and secondary school students are very involved in additional private education after their regular school hours.

All participants in this study also attended private after-school institutes called *Hakwon* in Korea, resulting in little time after school at home. Although this extended private education was perceived negatively by young students because they interpreted it as an additional intensive working experience, it was positively remembered as an enjoyable time spent with many close friends. Most students were educated at private institutes until about 11:00 p.m. every night, after which their journey home was usually with their friends by foot or on public transportation, such as bus and subway. In this study, in spite of the educational burden of the extracurricular work, many students romanticized about the after-school hours because they involved spending time with friends both at *Hakwon* and on the streets.

The number of participants who liked or disliked their open schedule after school in the United States was similar. Some of the participants enjoyed flexible schedules after school in the United States, which they compared their everyday schedule in Korea, which was tightly organized with extra-learning schedules.

Contrarily, there were those who disliked their open schedules after school and complained about the disorganization of their everyday lives. Some of these participants said they had never scheduled anything for themselves in Korea. Their schedule in Korea, which was filled with private afterschool classes, was mainly organized by their parents and counselors from the private institutes. When asked

about their time after school in the United States, many of them told me they were concerned about the amount of time required to study. Some of them even asked me what kinds of programs, texts, teachers, or work requirements they needed to be aware of.

> I don't know what to do after school. After I am done with homework, I do nothing. I am just killing time. I always feel that I am supposed to be studying. I may need to attend *Hakwon*. Do I? (Minkee)

For these passive adolescents, time management after school hours was a big challenge. When they lost control, they would mindlessly surf the Internet and easily became Internet zombies. When they were in Korea, they were highly restricted in their use of the computer at home. They circumvented this restriction by playing computer games and surfing the Internet at Internet cafés, which are located everywhere throughout Korea and are cheap enough for the young to afford. Although they were out of their parents' sight to do what they wanted to do in the United States, they did not seem to be very happy with freedom.

Strange experiences caused by restricted movements

This study was conducted in three different geographical areas, and living environments in those three geographical areas were not identical. Detailed aspects of the differences in everyday life varied across the three areas. In the cases from Oklahoma City, many participants raised issues concerning places to go, which meant that they did not have many choices of places to go during their free time. In Dallas, some participants complained about the long distances when traveling in the

city area because of the large land size. On the other hand, many participants in Boston were worried about wasting money, in part because they had too many Korean-related places in which to socialize with other Korean friends, and in part because of high living costs.

Many participants in Oklahoma City and Dallas even indicated that inconvenient transportation was the number one contributor to everyday stress. Even in Boston, despite its relatively good transportation system, some participants complained about insufficient transportation and high transportation fees. Everyday life was affected by the lack of public transportation systems in the United States, which is very different from Korea. For the young students from Korea, where public transportation is well connected, American public transportation is substandard. Most participants—except Minkee, Yuna, Chang and Seewon—were originally from the so-called *Soodogwon*, the Great Seoul Metro Area, in which half of South Koreans live. In this area, they could easily use the subway, commuter trains, public buses, public town shuttles, and even relatively cheap taxi services. Because the area is densely populated, many public and commercial facilities are conveniently located. Their different experience and expectations about transportation tended to increase the sojourners' stress; when asked questions about transportation, answers usually began with the phrase, "When I was in Korea . . . . "

Young Korean students usually pay between $700 (some in Oklahoma City) to $2,500 (some in Boston) to their host families. This fee usually includes accommodations, meals, and everyday transportation to and from school. As

indicated previously, no student had a specific contract regarding rights and responsibilities of living in a certain host home because of the unofficial nature of the business. Because of this ambiguous relationship, most participants did not have a clear understanding of whether they could ask host family members for transportation to places such as the grocery store or the movie theater. Many participants in Dallas and Oklahoma City said they felt uneasy whenever they asked host-family members for transportation to someplace other than school. Thus, they sometimes chose not to buy something at a grocery store or not to socialize with friends at a mall. On the other hand, most participants in Boston had a different problem—transportation costs. Public transportation costs in Boston are relatively expensive compared to those in Korea. Also, the young students frequently used taxis to reach Korean businesses to meet with friends. While all participants in Boston lived on the outskirts of the city, where their parents believed it to be safer and more conducive to a better education, most of the participants' destinations were located in downtown areas. Therefore, most participants in Boston, except Wonsang, who tended to not to go out in order to save money, were worried about transportation costs.

In this study, only Doosik had his own car, thanks to his father, who stayed with him as an exchange professor in Dallas. He surely did not have the same transportation problems raised by other participants. However, he complained about places to go in Dallas. He said, "Texas is just boring. That's it." This issue was also raised by participants from the other two cities. In a focus group interview,

participants complained together about the lack of places to go and hang out. Even in Boston, participants complained about their limited choices of places to go. Some participants, like Sungil and Bada, even explicitly wanted to live in New York City, which they believed to be a place that is more fun than Boston, and similar to Seoul.

Considering the various complaints expressed by participants from all three cities, it is logical to conclude that most participants of this study faced transportation-related problems, such as the mode of transportation, destinations, and so forth. Because of this issue, many participants spent large amounts of time at home, which was unusual behavior for them in their home country. Feelings of isolation and loss of control over their free time became dominant themes in their everyday lives.

Theme 3. Romanticizing about the Old

The socially isolated and environmentally estranged young international students showed strong inclinations toward Korea-related people and experiences in their everyday lives. This study found their preferences for Korea were more like a romanticization about things and people in Korea because many participants often compared their unhappy experiences in the United States to their glorious past experiences in Korea. This study regards this psychological behavior of romanticizing about old experiences as a conclusive theme of the contextual backgrounds of the young sojourners because the romanticizing behaviors were deeply rooted in the two previous themes; as continually indicated before, their dissatisfaction with their living environments, people, and educational experiences

were important stress points in their everyday lives in the United States. Facing these stressful moments, the young students would glamorize their past experiences in Korea.

Loneliness and homesickness led the young sojourners to compare their present conditions of life to their past experiences in Korea. During the interviews, many participants became very excited when they told their stories about Korea. They compared not only their experiences in the two countries, but also everyday goods they used; some were dissatisfied with the designs of American stationery (Jin and Dana), some did not like American teenagers' fashions ("I am sick of Abercrombie" Ryoo said), and Jimin in Oklahoma City disliked all things at Walmart. According to many participants, they had a lot more choices of clothes and stationery in markets in Korea, and they also thought commercial goods in Korea were much fancier than those in the United States. To adolescents who grew up in a rapidly changing society, American society seemed stagnant.

Moreover, this study unexpectedly found that the young Korean students in the United States even romanticized about their educational experiences. They especially yearned for their after-school hours in Korea, which was a poor educational environment from which they wanted to escape.

> I didn't like to go to *Hakwon* after school in Korea. But I now think it was not that bad when reminding it. At *Hakwon*, I made so many new friends and we had a lot of fun things to do, like play a short computer game at an Internet Café on the way home from *Hakwon*. (Hana)

The young sojourners mainly satisfy their longing for Korean things by using interpersonal communications via communication technologies and consuming familiar media content mainly from Korea. The next section of findings and analyses deals with the two activities.

As reviewed earlier, Korean educational culture is characterized by words like *testocracy* and *educational hell* that are commonly mentioned both in academic studies and media coverage on Korean educational problems. Many participants in this study also showed their own and their parents' concerns about the extremely competitive nature of Korean education when they decided to come to the United States for their secondary-school education. Knowing this circumstance, it is expected they might have bad memories about their Korean educational experiences. Contrary to this expectation, however, they tended to romanticize about their experiences and everyday lives in Korea. Many participants expressed their preference for their lives in Korea, and some of them even expressed an eagerness to return to Korea.

Nevertheless, it is also important to point out that their responses to questions related to their experiences and everyday lives in Korea were not entirely consistent. While they were still strongly critical about their educational experiences in Korea, they romanticized about their intimate relationships with claessmates both in school and *Hakwon*. They also remembered very positively their everyday schedules of after-school hours and free time; although they had tight schedules for various extra-studying activities during their open time, they still had more chances to socialize

with friends at various places near their schools and homes. Although it is taken for granted that their educational experiences were not positive memories for the young sojourners who sought alternative educational environments in a foreign country, some participants bragged about their experiences in Korea, even at educational institutions such as school and *Hakwon*. Despite the overall negative view on Korean education, some participants could also find positive and enjoyable aspects of Korean education, especially when they compared their experiences in Korea to their thought-to-be stagnant school experiences in the United States.

As previously explained, the young sojourners romanticized not only about their own experiences in Korea but also about various things related to Korea, such as Korean-style fashion items, television content, Web sites, and so on. While this was mainly because of familiarity, some participants showed that their preference to *Korean things* was a taken-for-granted result of their psychological repulsion to *American things*, which was caused by their unsatisfactory everyday life in the United States. Mass media content and information on the Internet were a few channels for the young sojourners to obtain preferred products from Korea. They specifically showed their strong inclinations toward Korean media content and Koreae-related information in their uses of media and communication. Likewise, the young sojourners' contextual backgrounds of everyday life were deeply related to their communicative behaviors on the Internet.

Theme 4. Consuming Familiarities

Every Saturday morning, many young Korean students in this study watched the most popular Korean television reality show, *The Infinity Challenge*, which was aired on the evening of the same day in Korea. Unlike previous generations of immigrants, they did not have to wait two to three weeks to watch videotaped television shows. The Internet has become the most important technological platform for globally relocated sojourners to consume familiar images, sounds, and texts. Participants of this study, who were very familiar with new technology, adroitly found and consumed what they wanted to watch, listen to, and read. The young Korean students, who were socially inactive in the United States, preferred spending time alone in their private space, time which was filled with using the ready-to-use technology. They actively sought ways in which they could download media content or directly watch streaming content from Korea. Their strong preferences for things and people in Korea were explicitly revealed in their patterns of media consumption. More importantly, these patterns of media consumption were not new for the young students. Instead, many participants maintained their usual ways of consuming media content, which had been formed in Korea. In other words, the young sojourners consumed familiar media content by using ready-to-use technologies.

Technological availability

This study focused on which media content participants most frequently consumed, how the participants obtained that content, and the reasons the participants consumed some specific content more extensively than other content.

These interrelated questions were expected to identify not only their patterns of media use, but also the contextual meanings of their media use. These inquiries were also expected to contribute to the understanding of the role of advanced communication technology in intercultural uses of media content. Most participants in this study actively consumed various forms of media content from Korea. Although many of them also watched various American television shows on the Web, they more actively watched Korean television shows via the Internet and accessed various forms of multimedia content provided by Web services based in Korea.

In order to comprehend the patterns of media use by the Korean high school students, it is important to note that some of the young sojourners did not clearly distinguish television and the Internet as different media. They used the phrase "watching television," even when they meant watching multimedia content on the Internet, because the content was originally developed for television. There was no participant who lived with a host family who subscribed to Korean satellite channels. Nevertheless, most of the participants who consumed Korean television content through the Internet said, "I watch Korean TV." In these cases, the distinction of media format or device is no longer theoretically meaningful because of the convergence of media technologies. These young adolescents, who adroitly used the Internet, obtained what they wanted to watch, read, and listen to in a variety of ways; while some of them paid money for multimedia content, others illegally downloaded electronic files. They actively shared their downloaded content with their friends, using Internet instant messengers or external hard drives. On the other hand, some of

them found an alternative way to watch Korean television shows on pirate Web services based in China. For the young sojourners, there was not a distinct national border, and at the same time there was no clear distinction among media technologies.

With the exception of Han and Young, all participants in this study actively watched Korean reality television shows, such as *The Infinity Challenge*, *One Night Two Days*, and *We've Gotten Married*, which were very popular reality television shows in Korea for several years. The young participants could easily access these television shows through various Internet services for Koreans overseas, such as Dabdate, Joon-media, and TV-Dosa, which are illegal streaming services in Korea because of copyright violations. These services immediately update newly aired Korean television shows, using foreign servers based mainly in China. On the other hand, some participants, such as Jimin and Sungil, used subscription-based services.

According to Wonsang, most of his Korean friends in the United States used external hard drives to store recently released movies, Korean television shows, and electronic files of Korean and Japanese cartoon books. According to Wonsang, he could more easily share electronic files with Korean friends in the United States thanks to the enlarged storage capacity of small USB jump drives. Wonsang and his friends also shared information about where they downloaded the multimedia content.

Since pirate file-sharing services were frequently shut down by Korean governmental officials, the young students became vigilant in finding alternative

sources and actively shared new information and files with fellow Korean students. According to Wonsang, many Korean students in the United States constantly shared new information about electronic sources of Korean media content through interpersonal communication via social media and Internet instant messengers.

In sum, there were three main channels through which the young sojourners could reach Korean media content: Web-streaming services, subscription-based services, and file-sharing services. All these services were free or very inexpensive (for instance, Dabdate charged $1.00 per month). The low-cost technologies were welcomed by the Korean young sojourners, who desperately looked for activities to do during their lonely free time.

Maintaining old ways of media consumption

The programs the young participants routinely watched could mainly be classified into five different types of media content: Korean reality television shows, Korean weekly soap operas, American television shows, sports clips, and movies. As mentioned earlier, all participants, with the exception of those who never watched Korean media content, most actively consumed Korean reality television shows. Many participants identified "familiarity" as the reason they intensively certain shows intensively. Many participants, including Doosik, Jaeseok, Jisuk, Seewon, and Taewon, said that their habitual watching of those shows could be traced back to their time in Korea. According to Taewon, he could watch some television shows during the weekend because of his relatively flexible schedule. During weekdays, he could watch only few shows because he usually arrived home at midnight after a

heavy day of schooling. Most television shows that aired on Saturday and Sunday in Korea were very familiar to the young sojourners. They were familiar with the stories and structures of those shows. Therefore, according to many participants, it was not difficult for the Korean adolescents to find interesting and humorous points in the shows. Jin, Soo, and Sungil also actively sought related information about the shows on the Internet.

Dowon, Inpyo, and Jooho raised an issue about Korean sensibility when they talked about the relationship between familiarity and media consumption. They said it was easier for them to identify with Korean television dramas. They were more interested in the love stories, crime scenes, and family conflicts in Korean television dramas than in American television shows. Inpyo commented on Korean sensibility in terms of Korean family values and friendships:

> When watching Korean reality TV shows, I can feel these shows try to deliver some messages like family value and real friendships. I think they are our common sensibilities. People reflected on American shows are so rude and selfish.

Many participants also pointed out the relationship between technological availability and their preference for Korean media. In other words, they did not have to consume American television content when Korean media content was available to watch.

As indicated above, many participants compared Korean television shows to those of American television when asked about their pattern of media consumption.

This study found that their familiarity with Korean reality television shows increased in relation to the strangeness of American reality television shows. In other words, the relative familiarity of Korean television shows in contrast to the American counterparts caused them to consume the Korean content more actively.

Avoiding strangeness

Cultural and linguistic differences were the two main reasons that many participants lost interest in American television shows. Even if they had easily consumed American cultural products in Korea, they still felt many cultural differences. Some participants explicitly expressed their dislike of some American reality television shows targeting adolescents. Bada especially complained about the sexual content of various shows provided by MTV:

> MTV is dirty. I don't understand how they could show that kind of content. My American classmates talk about shows on MTV all the time. We are too young to talk about the shows because all the shows on MTV are about sex, which is inappropriate to us. Some people said that Korean TV shows become more and more suggestive, but compared to American shows, Korean shows are much more gentle.

Many participants did not only express their uneasiness with sexual content, but also pointed out the different sense of humor. They identified the different languages and cultures of the two countries as the main reasons they avoided American comedy shows, including sitcoms and some cartoons. Since most young participants mainly consumed television shows simply for fun, they wanted to watch

funny shows without having to think too hard. However, it was hard for the young sojourners to sufficiently understand the flow of the shows. According to Inpyo, he did not understand contexts that should be known in order to laugh. Similarly, although Jooho had no problem with English while watching shows, he felt strange with the acting, conversations, and facial expressions of television comedians, as well as with the flow of the stories. Dana also said,

> I don't watch American TV comedy shows. I can't laugh. I think that's because I didn't watch it when I was little. Anyway, these days Korean comedy shows like *the Infinity Challenge* are really really funny.

As previously explained, the availability of Korean media content was also the main reason they did not watch American television shows, which required better English-language skills and cultural understanding. According to Dowon, there was no reason to watch American television, which required more effort to understand the context, because she could easily consume Korean media content:

> I don't enjoy American TV without any specific reason of my dislike. They are no fun. In the beginning of my American life, I tried to watch American TV shows because all the people told me that they would be helpful for me to improve my English. But, I gradually avoided them. I can easily watch Korean TV shows, which are more fun and familiar.

For the young sojourners, unfamiliar content was not the only source of strangeness in American television. Differences in television broadcast practices were also identified by participants as a source of strangeness. Many of the Korean

students found commercial breaks, which are not allowed in Korea, to be one of the strangest practices in the United States. Many participants, like Jooha, Seewon, Sungil, and Yuna, explicitly pointed out the frequent commercial breaks as a main reason they avoided watching American television shows. Since the young participants were used to watching television shows via the Internet, they were accustomed to fully controlling their media consumption. That is to say, they could easily pause, resume, and replay programs. On the contrary, they could be distracted by many commercial breaks during an American television show. They were not used to these commercial breaks and felt it was a waste time to watch them. Instead, they could download their familiar television shows through the Internet.

Watching American television shows on the Internet

Although this study classifies two different kinds of television content according to the national origins of the shows, this classification was not valid for the young sojourners. Many of them were also familiar with American television dramas such as *Prison Break* and *Grey's Anatomy*, and they actively consumed these shows. However, they did not watch these shows by using television sets, but instead they watched certain American television shows the same way they watched Korean media content. That is to say, they downloaded American television shows with Korean subtitles, or used Korean Web-streaming services that provided these American shows regularly.

While Han, Jimin, and Young watched American television shows such as *Family Guy*, *American Idol*, and *Gossip Girl* through television sets, all of them said

that their watching of these shows was not consistent, but casual and sporadic. On the other hand, those who watched American television shows via the Internet actively downloaded all the episodes of certain shows. Yuna watched all the episodes of *Prison Break* using Korean-streamed Web cast services. She had also watched the show before arriving in the United States. For those who had watched American television shows in Korea, such as Inpyo, Sungil, and Yuna, their watching of these American shows could also be described as consuming familiarity.

Most participants who watched American television shows through the Internet identified three reasons for using the Internet instead of television. First is the availability of Korean subtitles for American television shows on the Internet. Since most students reported that their English skills were not sufficient to understand subtle American everyday conversations, Korean subtitles helped them to enjoy television content. For instance, Sungil, who most liked *Grey's Anatomy*, said he could understand only a third of an episode without Korean subtitles because of many uses of jargon and fast conversations. There were multiple sources from which the young sojourners downloaded subtitles because many online social network groups that specialized in American television shows voluntarily produced and distributed Korean subtitles. Therefore, the availability of technology and content also contributed to the young sojourners' uses of Internet sources of television shows.

Second, using the Internet for watching television content allowed students to handle their schedules more flexibly. Many adolescents who were familiar with watching television shows on the Internet felt uncomfortable with the fixed schedule

of television programs. Jooho specifically expressed that he began to download electronic files of American television shows after missing the season premier episode of his favorite show, *Prison Break*. No participants in this study had their own television sets in their rooms. They shared a television set with host family members and other housemates. Therefore, it was also hard for them to watch the programs they liked. These living conditions are related to their third reason for using the Internet in consuming American television content.

Third, Jin, Joon, and Yuna explicitly said they did not want to watch television with host family members. According to Joon, although he occasionally spent time with host family members watching television, he was still awkward with the situation:

> I sometimes watched American TV shows like *American Idol* with my host mom and dad, but I don't feel comfortable with that. They don't pressure me and it is, of course, a relaxed time; nevertheless, I am not comfortable on the couch. They are elder persons and actually not my family members. I feel I must be nice and humble in front of them.

Jin had different reason for not liking to watch television shows with host family members. Her old host mother and father always watched old-fashioned shows, which were too boring for her. The Christian family also blocked channels she liked, such as MTV and Bravo. In these circumstances, the young sojourners preferred for watching television shows in their rooms by using their personal computers.

Issue following: Don't feel left behind

Consuming media content was not the only activity on the Internet for the young sojourners. They were also active information seekers. According to many studies on the uses and gratification of the Internet, information seeking is one of the most common uses of the Internet. For the young international high school students, the Internet was the most popular source from which they sought necessary information for their studies and everyday lives. At the same time, many participants used the Internet in order to obtain updated information from Korea, which was not closely related to their everyday needs in the United States. Many participants, including Doosik, Jongsoo, Minkee, and Ryoo, specifically expressed that these activities prevented them from feeling left behind. Although they admitted that their seeking Korea-related information was not directly related to their everyday needs, they insisted that knowing updated information made them feel involved in Korean society. The strong preference for Korea-related information was also reflected by their responses to the question, "what is the home page of your Web browser?" Many students set Korean portal services as their default home pages of Web browser.

Table 3

Default Home Page of Web Browser

Name of Web Service	Number of Participants
Daum, Korea	5

Google, USA	4
Nate, Korea	2
Naver, Korea	16
Yahoo, USA	2
Blank	2

According to the participants, there were different kinds of information they especially wanted to obtain, such as electronic sources of music, gossip and news about Korean entertainers, and Korean social events. Song was the only participant who listened exclusively to American popular songs. Searching for new music videos and files on YouTube and ITunes were his routine. Saeho, whose dream was to be an opera conductor, actively sought related information on the Internet. Other than these two participants, all participants in this study routinely downloaded MP3 files of popular Korean songs, sought new information on Korean singers and music, and watched Korean music videos. The continuously changing nature of the entertainment industry forced the adolescents to keep their eyes on newly released songs, boy (or girl) bands, and music videos. Advanced portable musical devices like IPod and smart phones also enabled the young students to pay more attentions to new musical trends in Korea.

One of the popular targets of information seeking was gossip about Korean entertainers. There were abundant news items and many stories about Korean celebrities on the Internet, especially on blogs, online newspapers, and various

Internet forums. Jin was one of the most active participants, who searched for information on her favorite Korean actor:

> I'm a big fan of an actor, Jang Geun Seok. I search for information about him over the Internet. I downloaded his movies and TV series. Do you know Tel-Zone service at *Daum*? Tel-Zone has all the information I seek: entertainers' photos and gossip. New information is updated every moment. I feel I need to follow it. Visiting Tel-Zone is part of my daily routine.

It is also important to report that many young participants paid attention exclusively to Korean popular stars, instead of American celebrities. Joon took this unbalanced interest for granted because information about Korean celebrities was easily shared with Korean friends, whom he most frequently contacted. According to Joon, multimedia content containing Korean celebrities was helpful for catching up with new Korean cultural and fashion trends. Sungil actively sought information related to Korean television shows that he watched because information related to newly aired television shows was a good resource for his everyday conversations with Korean friends.

On the other hand, Song, Lin, Jongsoo, and Minkee expressed their strong interest in Korean politics. In the summer of 2008, there were candlelight vigils in Korea for over two months to appeal to the Korean government's decision to import U. S. beef. Health concerns, combined with critical views about the Korean rightist government, were raised, especially by the Korean youth generation. The young sojourners usually obtained information on the issue from *Daum*, where the most

sensitive information and discussions on the issue were shared by Internet users. While these participants were mainly passive audiences for information distributed by online forums, Ryoo was more active in expressing his opinions on the Internet. He occasionally posted his opinions regarding Korean politics on some online forums, and had multiple experiences of collecting the most responses from other Internet users, which increased his self-esteem. For Ryoo, being involved in Korean social and political events by using Korean online forums was an active way of building his presence as a Korean, which Ryoo always maintained was an important purpose.

The young sojourners actively sought newly updated information about and from Korea. Although these activities clearly exemplified their need for keeping up with their long-time interest in things occurring in Korea, as some participants indicated, this active attitude toward seeking information from Korea also helped them forget about feeling separated from familiar people and experiences. Some participants also believed that obtaining Korea-related information and consuming Korean media would help them maintain sound relationships with Korean friends.

Developing issues to talk about

Even if advanced communication technologies allowed the young sojourners to reach their distant friends, conversations with distant friends could be limited to certain topics or casual greetings. Therefore, many participants made special efforts to develop issues they could talk about with friends in Korea. In their search for

topics of conversation over the Internet, the young sojourners actively consumed Korean media content, which was available on the Internet.

Many participants in this study indicated that their primary reason for watching Korean television shows was to develop topics to chat about with their close Korean friends, both in Korea and the United States. First of all, new episodes of a television show were good sources to help the young sojourners to initiate or continue conversations with their old friends in Korea. Since they did not share their everyday lives with Korean friends in Korea, they tended not to have enough topics to talk about with their old friends. Some participants in this study identified television-related topics as the most popular sources of their daily conversations with their old friends via the Internet. Soo especially expressed her lack of topics to discuss with her friends:

> Television is a kind of connection with my old friends in Korea. Though we talk with each other frequently, I sometimes feel that we don't have many things to talk about. After talking about boyfriends briefly, television shows and stars became the only topics we can share. Because I watch Korean TV shows almost real time, I can share my opinions, feelings, and gossips with my friends in Korea.

Jimin more actively used Korean television shows as topics of conversation with her peers in Korea. She used the phrase "develop topics" in order to stress her efforts to maintain old relationships by using television-related topics:

> I actually develop topics to talk with my old friends in Korea by watching Korean TV shows. There are plenty of topics I can develop when watching the shows, like fashion styles of stars, the funniest moment of a show, the most disgusting character, and so on. It is very fun to share these things with my old friends.

On the other hand, Doosik tended to feel left behind when he did not watch Korean weekend television shows because he could not actively join conversations with Korean friends in his school. According to Doosik, many of his Korean friends in Dallas spent much time watching Korean popular television shows during regular weekends because there were not many things to do in Dallas. In this situation, young Korean students became active audiences of Korean television shows and shared related information and gossip with classmates after weekends.

In case of Jongsoo, English Premier League Soccer was a means of maintaining his friendships with Korean friends in Korea. He watched English pro soccer matches every Saturday morning during the soccer season. He also learned information about the league and watched streamed Web casts containing highlights of matches at Daum, one of the largest portal Web site in Korea. To know updated news about soccer was important for him to maintain his relationships with friends in Korea.

Television content that participants actively consumed was closely related to their patterns of peer relationships. Most participants in this study had closer relationships with friends in Korea or Korean friends in the United States than with

American classmates. Under this contextual background, the young sojourners sought information and media experiences that could be welcomed by their intimate groups of friends. This unique pattern of interpersonal relationships with Korean friends would be fully explained in the next theme of findings.

In sum, most participants were very active media consumers using their personal computers. As explained previously, this pattern of media consumption was based mainly on the availability of technology and digitized content. However, the young sojourners' contextual situations, which were described throughout the first findings section of this study, also played important roles in shaping these unique patterns of media consumption. Most participants spent large amounts of time in their own rooms. They did not actively interact with host family members and American classmates. Their levels of cultural and linguistic understanding were not sufficient to enjoy American everyday life. These conditions shaped their everyday lives in the United States, which forced them to more actively use available technologies and the abundant media content on the Web. In this case, technologies were actively adopted by the young sojourners, who desperately needed the technologies in their globally relocated lives.

Theme 5. Maintaining Interpersonal Relationships

Instant and constant connectivity is a unique technological characteristic of the Internet that led the unaccompanied young sojourners to intensively use technology in their long-distance communication with family members and friends in Korea. Unlike previous generations of international sojourners, who had no

options other than telephone and post mail to reach their homes, the young sojourners could contact familiar people in Korea by using the Internet. Participants of this study listed several different means of interpersonally communicating on the Internet. The young students who were well accustomed to new technology flexibly utilized the Internet instant messenger, social media, the Internet phone, and email. As international students who were not social enough in the United States, some participants exclusively communicated with Korean people in both Korea and the United States. Many students maintained their interpersonal communications with Americans in practical ways to obtain necessary information for their everyday lives.

Communication with parents

For many young sojourners, family communication was the most important activity of their mediated interpersonal communication. As previously reported, the young students were heavily dependent on their parents in their various everyday affairs. In many cases, the young students desperately needed to interact with their parents, not because they had a special issue to discuss, but because they simply wanted to share many of the trivial things and issues happening every day with their parents. Many of them complained strongly about the lack of direct parental care and close communication with their parents. Therefore, with some exceptions of a few male participants, most participants used various communication technologies intensively in their constant interactions with their parents.

Gender differences

Although this study did not intend to study gender differences in their communication with family members, the differences were easily detected during a series of interviews. According to the in-depth interviews, female participants more frequently communicated with their parents than did male students. The female participants, Dowon, Hana, Hyun, Jin, Soo, and Yuna, communicated with their mothers almost every day. In these cases, their mothers usually called the participants instead of the participants calling their mothers because of the relatively high cost of international phone calls. Since their communication with their mothers was on a daily basis, they did not have specific topics to discuss with their mothers, but instead they shared almost everything that happened to them each day. Some of the participants, such as Jin and Dowon, regarded their mothers as their best friends with whom they could most frequently communicate. Other participants, who communicated less intensively with their parents than did Jin and Dowon, also agreed with that their mothers were the best persons with whom they could talk. Soo said,

> My mom called me almost every day. I also called her occasionally. So we sometimes called each other three times a day. Even if we talked a lot, I still have lots of things to tell her. She wants to know what happened to me every day. I also have many things to talk about and ask my mom.

On the other hand, some male participants, such as Han and Giwook, only called their parents once a month, while others, like Jaeha, Joon, and Saeho, talked to

their parents every other week over the phone. Even Minkee and Wonsang, who communicated with their parents more frequently than other male participants, usually called their parents only once a week. Instead of direct phone calls, Minkee and Wonsang used electronic mail and the Internet instant messengers as their main communication channels for reaching their parents. As indicated before, this study did not specifically investigate gender differences in using different technologies. However, some male students identified the lack of interesting topics to share with their parents as the reason for the infrequent communication. Even Han expressed that he was not comfortable communicating with his mother when he did not have a specific topic to discuss with her:

> I don't call my mom a lot. I only talk to her once a month when I need some money. I am not comfortable talking with my mom because we don't have many things to share. Our conversation is always very casual. I don't think I have a problem with my mom. Other boys who are the same age as me do the same. If I were in Korea, I wouldn't be different.

Although there were gender differences in the frequency of communication with parents, most participants reported that they did not feel a barrier to communication with family members. Since they could use many different communication technologies, they could easily share issues, needs, and concerns of their everyday lives with their family members.

Technologies connecting long-distance families

This study collected data in three cities. Most interviews in Oklahoma City were conducted in early 2009, while interviews with participants in Dallas were conducted in 2010. Despite the small time difference, a newly introduced, low-cost technology was heavily utilized by interviewees in 2010. In Korea, the 070 Internet phone service became very popular in late 2008 as a carrier aggressively marketed as a free service among 070 subscribers, regardless of where they lived. Since most Korean international students returned to Korea only during summer vacation, the participants in early 2009 had not had the opportunity to use the Internet phone from Korea unless their parents had sent it to them. In this study, no participants who joined the interviews in early 2009 used the Internet phone. Although some of them used Skype, which was also a kind of the Internet phone, they used it as a type of Internet instant messenger.

On the other hand, with the exception of Giwook, all participants in Dallas whose interviews were conducted from February 2010 to July 2010 used the 070 Internet phone for their communication with family members. The reasons they actively adopted the new technology were its convenience, affordable plan prices, and devices. When using the 070 Internet phone, a user does not have to enter the international area code or a long-distance pass code that most international phone card services require. Although these features did not seem to be big differences, many users of the Internet phone service in this study praised it as "really convenient." As previously mentioned, female participants in Dallas, Dowon and

Hana, used the Internet phone heavily in their daily communication with their mothers. They agreed that the new technology increased their frequency of communication with their parents so much that it made them feel closer to their parents. Since they also could send text messages in Korean to friends and parents by using the 070 phone, they sometimes felt as if they were in Korea. This psychological closeness helped them escape their everyday stresses. Male participants in Dallas, Doosik, Jooho, and Noah, called their parents more frequently than many other male participants did, thanks to the 070 Internet phone. Doosik said he did not call his parents many times before he bought the phone and plan. Noah reported its positive effects on his relationship with his parents:

> I wasn't a very friendly son to my parents, and because I wasn't living with them, I didn't feel close to them. After I started using the 070 phone, my parents called me every day and I feel that I became more friendly to my parents. They also showed deeper interests in my everyday life here.

The Internet phone was not the only new technology the young sojourners actively adopted in their family communications. Most participants intensively used the Internet instant messenger services, email, and social media. Many participants utilized multiple methods of the Internet communication with their parents. Dowon, Jooho, Minkee, and Yuna used both email and the Internet instant messenger for their family communication. Others, like Heeseon, Noah and Wonsang, used multiple instant messenger services in their everyday communication with their parents. Despite the small number of participants, it is interesting to point out that

Bada, Hyun, and Yuna all reported that they used email only for communication with their fathers. They did not provide specific reasons for this communication pattern. Hyun said only that she had rarely talked to her father by phone in her whole life. On the other hand, Heeseon used video calls heavily through multiple Internet messenger services, such as NateOn, MSN, and Skype, because she wanted to see her little brother, who was six years old at the time of her interview. While many participants in this study did not open their Cyworld Mini Hompy to their parents for privacy reasons, Heeseon and Soo opened these private Web sites to their mothers. They both said that interactions with their mothers on Cyworld made them feel more intimate with their mothers. Soo said,

> I didn't know my parents also used Cyworld. When I found out, it was strange to me because I always thought Cyworld was only for young people. So when I read or leave messages from or to my parents, I feel closer to them. If I still lived in Korea, I would not allow them to be my friends on Cyworld.

Since many participants actively communicated with their parents, the investigator asked a related question about the differences of intimacy with their parents after arriving in the United States. However, no participant reported a change in their feelings toward their parents. Most participants who did not frequently communicate with their parents said that they also did not have very close communication with their parents even when they were in Korea. On the other hand, participants who communicated with parents extensively also had a close relationship with their parents when they were in Korea. Therefore, neither physical

distances from their parents nor new communication technologies meaningfully affected their relationships with their parents. However, it is still important to point out the very fact that the convenient, cheap, and fast communication technologies were ready to be used by those who wanted to reach family members overseas.

Communication with friends

In this study, all participants, with the exception of Song and Young, thought they were not social enough in the United States. Many participants romanticized about their social lives in Korea because they often felt that their social life dramatically decreased in the United States. Unlike their real life in the United States, they actively tried to build and to maintain online social relationships through a variety of social media and instant messaging technologies. This study examined various ways the young sojourners maintained social relationships by asking related questions, such as what kinds of social media they used and for what purposes, how often they called or texted friends using their mobile phones, and who was registered in their contact lists on phones and messenger services. Based on these questions and criteria, this study categorized several important needs, patterns, and consequences of the young sojourners' interpersonal communication through various communication technologies.

Constantly connected by social media

As Mark Zuckerberg, the CEO of Facebook, named *TIME Magazine*'s Person of the Year 2010, stated, social media is now one of the major functions of the Internet. According to Facebook, there are more than 845 million users of

Facebook in the world (Protalinski, 2012). Although Facebook has dominated the world social media market for years, there are other social media services based in Korea. Among them is Cyworld, the largest social media service in Korea, with over 26 million members (Ham, 2012)

This study initially asked participants whether they used social media, and soon found that most participants exclusively used Cyworld; only a few of them used both Cyworld and Facebook. Other Korean and American social media services were not mentioned by the participants. All participants of this study, except Bada and Han, had their own Cyworld Mini-Hompy, a free, ready-made homepage. While users of Facebook can see all the activities of their friends, Cyworld is based more on a closed networking system among the users of 1-Chon, which is the buddy system used within Cyworld. Most postings on Mini-Hompy are open for the users' closed network. In this study, those who owned their Mini Hompy were asked how many 1-Chon friends they had and how they characterized each group of 1-Chon friends. Other than a few exceptions, they all had more than 100 friends. Taewon, Sungil, and Yuna, had more than 500 friends on Cyworld.

About half the participants in this study, including Dana, Heeseon, Jaeha, Sungil and Taewon, maintained close online relationships with Korean friends both in the United States and Korea by using Cyworld. The other half utilized the service exclusively for contacts with their friends in Korea. This pattern of social media use was different from that of Internet instant messenger use. While many participants frequently utilized Internet instant messengers in their communication with Korean

friends in the United States, their use of Cyworld focused more on the relationships in Korea. Soo pointed out that various kinds of multimedia content, including photos and pictorial journals she and her friends posted on Cyworld, helped her share everyday experiences and memories with distanced friends.

> I intensively communicate with my old friends in Korea, using Cyworld. We leave messages virtually every day. They and I often post pictures and chat about the pictures. I also write a short journal every day, and my friends comment on my journal. Whenever I read their short messages on Cyworld, I think like they are my real buddy.

For some participants, Cyworld was the only means of communicating with their friends in Korea, who were usually high school seniors or college freshmen at the time of the interviews. While Jin had frequently called her Korean friends during the year before the time of her interview for this study, Cyworld became the only choice for her to contact distant friends because they became busier with their college lives. Similarly, Doosik said,

> I no longer call my friends in Korea nor chat with them via the messenger. They are all busy with their test preparations because they are now 12th graders. I know how tough a Korean 12th grader's life is. So we only use Cyworld. They sometimes leave some messages for me. I do that, too. That's my only way of maintaining friendships.

As previously mentioned, Facebook for those young sojourners is not as popular as Cyworld. Lin was one of those who had both a Facebook and Cyworld account. However, she rarely visited Facebook:

> Cyworld is my daily routine. If I skip a day to log into Cyworld, I feel uneasy. It is a part of my life. But Facebook is not that important to me. I have several American friends on Facebook, but I don't visit their Facebook a lot. It is just a connection.

Like Lin, while many participants used Cyworld intensively to maintain their relationships with Korean friends, they did not frequently use Facebook, even if they had their own Facebook account. Yuna also clearly compared these two different social media. According to Yuna, her information and personal postings on Facebook were easily exposed to many other users whom she did not know. On the other hand, Yuna felt secure on Cyworld because she could make a closed community exclusively with some close friends.

Some participants, such as Hana and Yuna, brought an interesting point of view—that this difference could have originated from the different meanings of *friend* and *friendship* in the two countries. As reported in the previous section of findings, many participants experienced different peer relationships and meanings of *friend* in the United States. When using American social media with American friends, Soo and Yuna felt the differences again on the Internet. Yuna said,

> Most friends added on my Facebook are not real friends. Some of them never even greet me at school. They just "collect" friends. I think it is their culture;

> for example, they are kind to me at the beginning of a school year, but then they never greet me. When they need to talk to me, they become nice friends again. I don't know why. But on my Cyworld, I have many close friends both in Korea and the U.S. I feel I connected with them when using Cyworld. We are also good friends at school or in my town.

Although there is no national border on the Internet, which connects people all over the world with each other, there are still cultural borders on the Internet. As discussed above, many participants in this study relied strongly on using Korean social media and connecting with Korean friends via the Internet. Even some participants who were relatively active users of Facebook, such as Hana and Wonsang, utilized Facebook to communicate with their Korean friends in the United States. They used the American-based service in communicating with Korean friends.

More instantly connected

Since Cyworld service is interlocked with NateOn, which is the largest Internet instant messenger service in Korea using both services provides an easy means of communication with friends. In this study, Han was the only participant who did not use NateOn. Most participants utilized the messenger in their routine communication with friends both in Korea and the United States. Since NateOn has been widely adopted by Koreans, using NateOn meant that the young sojourners could constantly and instantly communicate with people in Korea. Heeseon said that NateOn was her main route to reach Korean friends. If one of her friends updated her own Mini Hompy, NateOn notified her about it. Therefore, it was a very easy way

for Heesoen to see friends' latest photos and journals. Consequently, NateOn was not only a messenger delivering her friends' messages to her, but also a tool that kept her informed about the everyday lives of her old friends. Many other participants also routinely used NateOn the same way Heeseon used it. Since the messenger is interlocked with Cyworld, most participants who used the messenger had more than 100 friends on their accounts. Although most of them interacted with only a few of their friends who had been added on the messenger, they sometimes used it for video chatting with friends. Yuna, who frequently had video conversations with her friends in Korea, praised its positive influence on her stressful and boring everyday life in the United States:

> I had conversation with friends in Korea every day. They usually initiate a conversation with me. We don't talk about anything special, but instead our conversation is like a daily chat. We even used a Web cam during conversations. While the video conversation sometimes makes me miss them more, it is always fun and I feel like they are my true friends.

For the young sojourners, the Internet instant messengers were also an economic tool for their daily communications with distant people. The international phone call is generally too expensive for some participants, whose budgets are strictly controlled by their parents or guardians. Others who could afford to use international phone services also wanted to avoid extra costs for their overseas communications. Also, the young sojourners in the United States wanted to avoid

late-night phone calls that are necessary due to the time difference between the two countries.

Although all participants of this study had accounts on MSN messenger, only a few of them actively used it as their main tool of communication. Bada and Han used MSN messenger in various ways to connect both with Korean friends in the United States and American friends, especially Han, who was always logged into the messenger service when using his computer. On the other hand, some participants rarely accessed the messenger service. There were some participants who used MSN messenger in a limited way to communicate with American friends, but most of them were not frequent users of the messenger service. Their rare use of the messenger service could be related to the idea that their relationships with American classmates were more superficial in nature. Chang was one participant who used the Korea-based messenger service and the American one separately:

> I used both NateOn and MSN. But on my MSN, I only added American friends. I added them on the messenger because I sometimes need their help for my homework. But I rarely use MSN because I don't have anything to talk about to them other than homework.

Unlike other participants, Jaeha reserved his use of MSN messenger for his communication with Korean friends in the United States. According to him, almost all Korean international students like him were registered on MSN messenger because they sometimes needed to communicate with American classmates to ensure

they did not miss any school work. Therefore, MSN messenger was a useful channel for Jaeha to communicate with other Koreans in the United States.

Although all participants in this study had their own accounts on MSN messenger, they more frequently used NateOn. This difference reflected their unbalanced peer relationships between Korean and American friends. NateOn was highly utilized by the young sojourners in their constant communication with their friends in Korea, who were frequently referred to as the best group of friends by the young students. On the other hand, most participants used MSN messenger in a purposeful way; for the young sojourners, MSN messenger sometimes played a role as a sort of an emergency contact in the United States.

The young international students who were physically separated from parents and old friends could maintain long-distance interpersonal relationships by using various technologies on the Internet. While some students felt they and their old friends had drifted apart, many others successfully maintained their intimate relationships with old friends through frequent communication with them. As seen in the case of participants in Dallas, the young sojourners actively adopted a newer technology in order to facilitate their interpersonal communication with people in Korea. In their everyday lives at host homes and schools, the young students had no dynamic social relationships with Americans, so most of them sought intimate interactions with Koreans both in Korea and the United States. In their private rooms, new communication technologies were always ready for them when they wanted to be social with old friends and familiar people.

Theme 6. Communication as a Survival Kit

Many previous studies found that international students easily feel loneliness and homesickness (e.g., Stroebe et al., 2002), and participants of this study often expressed their homesickness, saying, "I want to go back home in Korea." As seen in three themes related to the young sojourners' living experiences in the United States, their insufficient social lives, strange everyday lives, and psychological pressures were combined to increase their negative feelings. Consequently, many participants identified interpersonal communication as the most important means to manage feelings of isolation and loneliness.

For example, Lin sometimes felt she had lost all of her friends in Korea because she was separated from them. Whenever she was worried about her interpersonal relationships with old friends in Korea, she tried to reach them by using phone, messengers, and email. On the other hand, Ryoo talked to his mother when he felt lonely. According to Ryoo, his mother was the best person to encourage him to do his best. Through intimate communication with his mother, he was reminded of his parents' endless efforts to support his expensive journey of studying abroad. Minkee specifically pointed out that his loneliness originated from insufficient communication with family members and friends in Korea. For Minkee, therefore, interpersonal communication via various technologies was an activity to escape loneliness. As previously reported, 070 Internet phone service helped the young sojourners maintain close relationships with family members. The low cost and easy accessibility of the technology enabled the separated families to communicate more

frequently than they had before. Those who used the new phone service expressed the psychological comfort brought about through their use of the phone.

While interpersonal communication via advanced communication technologies was an active and instant way of overcoming loneliness for the adolescents, mass media and social media were also useful outlets for the young sojourners to overcome their boredom. Hyun and Yuna both explained that encountering strange culture and everyday life in the United States aggravated their loneliness. When feeling loneliness due to strange experiences, Yuna actively used Korean media content to alleviate her bad feelings. Hyun more specifically pointed out that a quieter life in the United States, which was caused by her separation from her family members and friends in Korea, made her lonelier. She sought help from Korean media content, through which she could see familiar scenes and people. Similarly, Dana said, "Whenever I get depressed, I watch a Korean TV show. I can forget everything with that. That makes me relaxed and happy." Many participants, including Dowon, Inpyo, Jooho, Seewon, and Wonsang, watched Korean weekday television shows all at once during weekends. According to Dowon, she did not have many things to do during the typical weekend, and this unmanaged free time occasionally contributed to her loneliness. For Dowon, watching Korean television shows was a useful way of reducing loneliness.

For some participants, Internet use was the only major activity they performed after school. Many of them expressed that they did not have anything to do at their host homes but use the Internet. According to these findings, habitual and

excessive use of the Internet could be their unconscious strategy for coping with perennial loneliness. Many participants did not clearly distinguish between boredom and loneliness. Regardless of the psychological differences between these two states of mind, the young sojourners tended to think that their boredom and loneliness had the same roots, which could be summarized as their isolated life at host homes and insufficient peer relationships. When they were bored or lonely with nothing to do and no one to interact with at their host homes, the Internet became a good friend, a way to fill their free time. In other words, their excessive use of the Internet during free time was a natural way of coping with chronic boredom and loneliness.

However, this unconscious strategy was not always successful: in the case of Lin, this intensive use of the Internet was not helpful in relieving her depression, which was caused by a lonely life in the United States. However, she had no choice but to use the Internet:

> I log into Cyworld when feeling depressed. You know, living in Oklahoma means that loneliness is a mundane undertaking. I aimlessly wander around Mini-Hompys of many friends. But, I get more depressed when I see pictures of friends at Cy. It doesn't help me at all. I lost many friends because I'm living here. Even if I leave messages at their Cys, they ain't gonna be my true friend again. That makes me sad. Then I watched Korean TV shows on the Internet. I just try to forget the depression. I don't know what to do. I just sit in front of the Internet.

According to some participants, their parents or host family members occasionally regulated their Internet use by pushing them to study hard. About a third of the participants, including Jin, Jisuk, and Saeho, tried not to use the Internet by themselves in order to improve their English skills. However, Jisuk was stressed and lonelier when he had no access to the Internet. He felt that his friends were disappearing. Likewise, no one in this study successfully managed the time of their Internet use. The Internet, as Jin described, was a necessary evil for the young sojourners. They lived together with the Internet in a foreign country.

Using media: Across the border

The young international students spent tremendous time in their own rooms in host homes. As continuously reported in this study, they were almost always online in their rooms, using the Internet, watching various kinds of media content, and seeking information. More specifically, they intensively consumed various online resources regarding Korea, people in Korea, and Korean culture. They could be directly connected with family members and old friends through advanced communication technologies. This geographically distant interpersonal communication was also mainly performed in their rooms. Although the young sojourners routinely conversed with American people at both school and host homes, their interpersonal communication with these Americans was not actually regarded as a vital interest by them. Many of them reported that their interactions with Americans were a sort of required task for their foreign lives. On the other hand, the young sojourners become more active in their interpersonal communication with

Koreans both in Korea and the United States. Technologies in their private spaces were always ready for them to contact parents and friends.

The young Koreans also sometimes watched American television shows, using television sets in the living rooms of their host homes. They also watched *American Idol*, *Family Guy*, and football matches with host family members. However, in the enclosed spaces of their rooms, they changed radically and became heavy users of Korean media content. They downloaded and shared electronic files of most Korean reality television shows. They even paid money in order to watch Korean media content so they could avoid buffering times and noisy sounds. Some participants, like Sungil, memorized daily Korean television schedules. They also downloaded Korean subtitles in order to increase their understanding of American television shows that they had watched in Korea. In their own rooms, they revived their old habits of media consumption. In sum, their usual consumption of Korean media content did not disappear in the United States. Moreover, some participants (e.g. Dowon, Taewon, and Yuna) admitted that they watched Korean television shows more frequently in the United States than when they were in Korea because of no parental restrictions, easier access to the Internet in private spaces, and more flexible schedules. The availability of technology and content were the accelerators of their virtual returning to Korea in their private spaces.

Although the young students suffered cultural differences, language barriers, and strange everyday lives in the United States, most of them had already spent over a year in a foreign country without major problems at host homes or schools. Many

students reported that their journeys of study abroad were successful in terms of academic performance. While they did not feel close to American host families, teachers, or classmates, they still interacted with them for various practical purposes. However, when they were left alone, they radically returned to their "ordinary" Korean lives with the technological aid of the Internet and other communication technologies. The lonely adolescents spent tremendous amounts of time in their private spaces. Familiar people and content delivered to them by technologies filled their time and spaces. For the young sojourners, the enclosed space became their own neighborhoods with familiar images and people, where they were from and toward which they were always oriented.

CHAPTER 6. Discussion

Uses and Gratification

As Heidegger (1977) claims, the essence of technology is nothing technological, but framed by the purpose of the human activity using the technology. While technology is often described by its technical functions and specifications, the essence of technology may be revealed differently by the purpose and context of the use. Therefore, in investigating the young sojourners' uses of communication technologies, this study looked closely at backgrounds, conditions, and consequences of the young sojourners' everyday lives in the United States in order to investigate the meanings of technology that are unique to them.

Similarly, a recent trend of UGT research emphasizes contextual backgrounds and social influences as important circumstances shaping motives and needs for using communication technologies (e.g., Bandura, 2002). In this tradition, interpretive research on context is expected to guarantee comprehensive understanding of interactive relationships among the motives for using and the uses of media (Ruggiero, 2000). Grounded in an interpretive approach aided by GTM and phenomenology, this study categorizes distinctive characteristics of the young sojourners' everyday lives. Their experiences created certain needs for communication and patterns of uses.

Wanting to be connected

This study intensively investigated the living contexts of Korean high school students who came alone to attend American high schools. As previously indicated,

their living conditions, characterized by the term "unaccompanied," were the starting point for understanding their communicative behaviors and identity formation. Unlike other adolescents, the young sojourners lived in others' houses and spent a tremendous amount of time by themselves. Therefore, the most distinctive context defining participants in this study was their everyday lives without direct parental care. Contrary to the popular belief that adolescents should be taken care of by their own family members, the young students lived with either American or Korean American host family members whom they had never met before. Compared to previous studies of unaccompanied minors (e.g. Tartakovsky, 2007), participants in this study could be sociologically classified as a relatively stable population because of their high socioeconomic status. However, most participants complained about psychological stresses and mental pressures, both of which were caused by their isolated daily lives.

Their extraordinary personal relationships were not limited to family relationships. The young participants commonly complained about the narrow range of their peer relationships in the United States. As revealed by interviews in this study, the young sojourners were seriously concerned about their unstable and limited peer relationships with American classmates and a small number of fellow Korean students. Using binary comparisons, many classic studies on cultural differences of friendship argue that American friendships do not stress long duration and high obligation (Garesis, 1995; Stewart, 1985). Those studies point out cultural differences as major barriers to intercultural friendship in the United States.

Although disagreeing with dualistic understandings of cultural differences, this study also found that the young sojourners faced difficulties in building close relationships with Americans because of cultural and linguistic differences. The insufficient social relationships of the young sojourners forced them to build rather exclusive relationships with fellow Korean students. However, because of the limited number of Koreans, their peer activities tended to be simplified. On the other hand, at home, many participants felt instability because of the temporary nature of their residency. Most of them could not build close relationships with host family members and housemates. In this situation, their isolated rooms at home were usually considered to be more secure from stresses that could be encountered during unexpected and undesirable moments with people who were strangers to them.

However, contrary to common expectations, they did not always think of their isolation as problematic. Many of them regarded the isolation as a voluntary choice rather than a forced situation; while they complained about their insufficient social relationships, they also eagerly embraced the physically isolated time because it allowed them to think more about themselves and familiar things and people in Korea. The time in their rooms was more secure time that was free from everyday stresses caused by living with strangers, having a limited number of friends, experiencing nowhere to go, and so on.

Moreover, the idle hours in their rooms were social moments for them, connecting them to familiar people, memories, images, and language through ready-to-use communication technologies. For many of them, active interactions and

communications with people began in their private spaces. Without exception, all participants in this study had their own laptop computers and subscribed to a high-speed Internet service. The well-to-do young international students were financially stable enough to have these common technologies in the twenty-first century.

The adolescents in the United States were still heavily dependent on their parents in many aspects of everyday life. More importantly, many participants talked exclusively to their parents when they had issues to share with adults, even though host family members and school teachers lived closer to them. While a few participants still preferred a traditional method of long-distance communication, international calls, many others adopted various new communication technologies, including social media, Internet instant messengers, and the Internet phone. As analyzed before, the Internet phone became the most popular technology for the young sojourners to communicate with their parents because of its ease and low cost. They did not have to buy international phone cards and put in a long pass code and area code. The cheap device became a more ready-to-use technology to gratify their needs of communication with their parents.

Their needs for interpersonal communication were more intensely expressed in response to their peer relationships. Despite the long distance, more than two-thirds of the participants pointed out friends in Korea as their closest group of friends. Keeping in touch with old friends in Korea was an important motive for Internet communication for the young sojourners, who had limited peer relationships in the United States. The young sojourners intensively used new communication

technologies that provided ways for more substantial interactions with distant friends than traditional telecommunication technologies did. The lonely adolescents wanted to see their friends' photos, send secret messages to their best friends, and chat about their favorite entertainers in more instant ways. These needs led them to actively use social media and Internet instant messengers. Especially for those who wanted to maintain close relationships with old friends in Korea, Cyworld and NateOn were the main routes for interacting with friends. Although some participants said the virtual activity sometimes aggravated their loneliness because of the lack of physical contact, many participants agreed that online peer activities helped them maintain close relationships with distant friends whom they still considered as their closest groups of friends.

Entertaining and information seeking

In UGT research, entertainment is regarded as important for satisfying the need to relax, along with the need for social integration (Ang, 1995). For those who had to spend plenty of time alone after school, entertainment through various media became an important means for coping with perennial loneliness and boredom. A television set in the living room at host home was not a medium they used freely because of uncomfortable relationships with host family members. Instead, they preferred more individualized media, such as the Internet. Their individualized consumption of media also reflected recent trends in media consumption by the younger generation in general. According to recent media research conducted by Nielsen, while today's young people still watch various television shows, as previous

generations did, they now watch them on computers and phones (Stelter, 2012). As Rayburn (1996) argues, the Internet is a new medium for the younger generation to use more intentionally and purposively than television. The young sojourners who were minors and guests at host homes used the Internet in more private and active ways.

For those who had been exposed to various popular cultural products and media content in Korea, consuming familiar media content became a distinctive motivation for using the Internet because through the new technology they could obtain what they wanted to watch and listen to without major barriers. The Korean adolescents romanticized about Korea in many senses. Watching Korean television was a typical way to satisfy their eagerness for familiar images, talk, and songs. Similarly, their need for and uses of Korean media content on the Internet also reflected "escapism," which is emphasized by Korgaonkar and Wolin (1999) as one of the important needs satisfied by Internet use. For the lonely international students who did not have many options for activities to do after school, watching familiar scenes and people on the Internet was a good means of escaping from psychological burdens.

In sum, these participants pointed out two important reasons they actively consumed Korean content: technological availability and familiarity. As typical Korean teenagers, the students still maintained their usual patterns of watching television by using low-cost new technologies. As many participants tautologically said, they watched Korean television shows because they could watch them. Media

convergence was not a new phenomenon for those who were from a society with a high technological literacy. Their media consumption through the Internet was no different a communicative behavior than watching television on a couch. Many participants also pointed out Korean cultural sensibility as a reason they preferred Korean media content. Since their media consumption mainly aimed to relieve everyday stress and to provide entertainment after school, the young sojourners preferred content that was easier to understand and laugh at. Most of them maintained their habitual behaviors of watching certain shows as they did in Korea. However, born and raised in a highly Westernized country, the Korean adolescents were also familiar with American cultural products and had already actively consumed foreign content through the Internet even before they arrived in the United States.

Classifying cultural products according to national origin is a common practice in the traditional approach to intercultural communication. As discussed later, however, this distinction was not valid for the young sojourners. Many participants in this study also actively consumed U.S.-based cultural products, especially television dramas. However, they did not watch these shows by using television sets but by downloading electronic files accompanied by Korean subtitles or by using Korean Web-streaming services. In those cases, their uses of American media content were another consumption of familiarity.

Information seeking was also an important motive for media use for those who routinely suffered as a result of the language barrier. They sometimes could not

express a question they wanted to ask the host family during mealtime. Some of them could not understand class lectures nor complete their homework by themselves. Many participants pointed out the language barrier as the most important obstacle hindering their ability to make American friends. Therefore, some participants at one time felt the need to use American media exclusively in order to improve their English skills. However, with the exceptions of Song and Young, most of them failed to gratify their need to improve their English by using American media. Jin even experienced depression after self-restricting Internet use, so she came back to using Korea-based Web services. This implies theoretical importance in the circulative relationships between gratification obtained and the gratification sought (LaRose, Mastro, & Eastin, 2001). Although the young sojourners once felt a strong need to improve their English skills by using certain media, they could not obtain sufficient gratification from that pattern of media use.

Fortified motives of use

In the tradition of social cognitive studies on UGT, rewards obtained from the use of certain media have been intensively probed. When a user achieves gratification by using certain media or content in response to his or her needs, the needs and motives for the use become fortified (LaRose, Mastro, & Eastin, 2001). This cognitive chain of motives, use, and gratification partly explains the excessive use of the Internet by the young sojourners. Their needs for the Internet were significantly affected by the chronic loneliness and boredom they faced in their limited social relationships and strange environments. According to them, their use

of the Internet in their private spaces occasionally became the only way of killing time. The gratification they experienced led the lonely adolescents to further use of the Internet. This was not different from such common behaviors as waiting for the next episode of a favorite television show. Compared to routine activities—such as watching television with host families and going to a shopping mall—communicating with family members and old friends, watching comedy shows they could fully understand, and seeking updated information about their favorite stars were more interesting activities for relieving their loneliness and boredom. While this explains theoretical implications of UGT in an intercultural setting, there are also theoretically important implications about "culture" in intercultural communication.

Globalization, Technologies, and Intercultural Flexibility

This study, which investigated globally relocated adolescents and their technology use, pays extensive attention to the meaning of "local" for the young sojourners, the flexible nature of culture and identity, and new ways of understanding intercultural communication. Global relocation means that a person moves to a geographically different place. Once relocated to a new place distant from their homelands, early immigrants and sojourners could have dramatically different sociocultural experiences. However, for three reasons, the notion of separate experiences in home and host country is no longer valid for contemporary sojourners.

First, in a globalized world, people easily make contact with other cultures because of mass migration and advanced technologies. In addition, a long-time

hegemonic relationship between the West and the rest, especially between the United States and the rest, has made it possible for people of the rest to experience American culture in their homes. Second, at the same time, contemporary sojourners are more able to maintain deeply ingrained cultural habits by using low-cost and ready-to-use technologies, compared to previous generations. Third, advanced technologies have changed the meaning of a *local* from a geographically specified one to an imagined place of complicatedly networked cultures, codes, identities, and norms. Further, the notion of cultural deterritorialization, developed from postcolonial experiences (e.g., Bhabha, 1994; Fanon, 1963; Said, 1978), explains new flexible meanings of *local* and *culture*. Considering these three critical understandings of culture and sojourning in this age, this study will suggest new ways of understanding intercultural communication that go beyond the binary division of home and host cultures and the limited concept of culture as a static entity.

Monopoly of the West

In order to fully understand the changed meaning of *local*, it is necessary to trace back to the days before the sojourners arrived in the United States. In this study, young Korean students who were born in the early 1990s had already experienced "other" cultures in their home country. Born and raised in a country with capitalist economy and an advanced level of national infrastructure involving new communication technologies, they could freely consume information and cultural products from all over the world, especially from the United States. For these so-called Net Generation adolescents, local experiences were radically different from

those of previous generations. In particular, the well-to-do adolescents were from a few metropolises in which they could experience the "hegemonic homogenization of world culture" (Kramer, 2003, p. 236).

Despite recent criticisms of cultural imperialism in response to changing global economic environments and technological developments, the basic idea of the theory is especially valid for Korean adolescents who grew up in a country under the hegemonic dominance of the United States. As Tomlinson (1997) notes, globalization is basically "the increasing of particular central cultures, the diffusion of American values, consumer goods, and lifestyles" (p. 174). The young students were able to experience cultural and consumer goods from the United States even before they left their home country.

Many young sojourners reported that they maintained their already established ways of American media consumption, such as watching American television shows on the Internet, using U.S.-based Web-search services, and downloading American popular songs on ITunes. Their pre-experience of American culture was not limited to the direct consumption of American cultural products. When asked about the differences between Korean and American media content, many participants could not clearly explain the differences. Although some participants pointed out differences in cultural sensibilities and language expressions, they nevertheless could find no differences in the forms and styles of media products from the two countries. The young students watched both *American Idol* and *American Idol*-style Korean television shows. Some participants also watched new

episodes of American television shows that they had watched in Korea. This "international" media consumption, however, is a mere indicator showing how people in this age are accustomed to American cultural products that have dominated the world for decades. On the other hand, a review of the sociocultural circumstances in which the young sojourners and their parents made decisions to study abroad gives more critical insight about how the young sojourners were already exposed to a globalized world dominated by the United States.

Many participants in this study remembered that their decisions to study abroad were not voluntary but were forced on them by their parents, who were worried about their children's future. Other participants who voluntarily decided to come to the United States were also heavily influenced by social atmosphere and mass media. According to them, they wanted to succeed through obtaining English skills and higher degrees in the United States. They also did not want to be left behind in an environment in which many classmates had already left for English-speaking countries. Their desire to succeed and their fear of being excluded by the system apparently reflected the logic of global capitalism, which is shared by people throughout the world (Kramer & Kim, 2010; Ong, 2006).

World system theory explains well how each society in the world of capitalism is homogenized in economic, political, demographic, and as cultural ways (Wallerstein, 2000). Most people in the world have already experienced European universalism followed by American hegemonic dominance in most domains (Wallerstein, 2006). In particular, political and economic elites in urban centers of

the world have long been aligned with dominant global orders. While the nationalist elites in colonial Africa actively imported Western ideologies in inventing national identities (Fanon, 1963), Indonesian local capitalists in Jakarta are no longer merely Indonesian but capitalists in the global market (Ong, 1999). The Korean young sojourners were typical cases that explained these hegemonic relationships and homogenizing forces of global capitalism. Born and raised in upper-class families in Korean urban centers, they experienced what Kramer (2003) called "urban/cosmopolitan escapism from local cultural attachment and identification" (p. 258). Notably, they were raised in a Korea that had unique political, military, and economic relationships with the United States. For these young students, contacting and consuming American cultural products were inevitable practices. The well-developed Korean media and telecommunication systems also became sufficient conditions of cultural exposure. In sum, having experienced cultures from the United States and having been exposed to limitless competition in a globalized world, the young sojourners could not be confined to the single category of their national origin.

Two flexibilities

After learning and experiencing homogenized forces of globalization in Korea, they arrived in a new country. They experienced real American daily lives that they had previously experienced indirectly through mass media and visitors in Korea. While facing various difficulties in a new country, they also became used to living with host families, attending American schools, and learning English. If that is the case, were they in the process of attaining "intercultural competence"? This study

found little evidence of those kinds of human transformations. Rather, the young Koreans in the United States became more flexible as a result of multiple cultural experiences. Their cultural flexibilities were twofold: first, they responded flexibly to the old and new cultures; second, they were flexible in response to the imposed order of a globalized world.

According to Hall (1976), behavior patterns, habitual responses, and ways of interaction, all of which are learned through cultural experiences, become hidden, unconscious forces to control an individual's actions. Therefore, culture is not an object that can be replaced by other cultures, but an ingrained trait that controls one's behavior. The young sojourners in this study had already learned certain social norms and cultural attitudes in Korea. They had also consumed universalized global culture, information, and logic. They then came to the United States and learned how teenage Americans interacted with each other, what Americans did during long commercial breaks on television, the normalcy of divorced families, and so forth. Once learned, new norms, ethics, expectations, and habits were added to the existing mechanisms controlling their everyday behaviors. Although they occasionally encountered conflicts between what they had learned in Korea and their newly acquired knowledge in the United States, they became naturalized to distinguishing what to do in some cases and what not to do in others. This flexible behavior was as natural as answering a phone call in English in the middle of chatting with Korean friends in Korean. As they added American English to "Languages I Know" on their Facebook profiles, their new cultural acquisitions were also added to their cultural

behaviors, identities, and perceptions. However, the additions did not mean the disappearance of their old behaviors, identities, and perceptions.

When asked questions about interpersonal relationships, many participants responded that they behaved differently with Americans than they did with Koreans. They learned that the greeting of an American classmate did not always mean intimacy, and that they had better say "thank you" even when they did not actually feel thankful in the United States. But, at the same time, they greeted only close Korean friends in a friendly way and seldom said "thanks" to Korean friends when they did not really feel appreciative. Spending more than a year in the United States, most participants did not have serious problems with these flexible attitudes toward people of different cultural backgrounds. Their cultural learning and adding processes were far from a stage-like developmental model, but instead were closer to a concept of plus mutation in which the old traits did not disappear (Gebser, 1995; Kramer, 2000).

Communication technologies and sufficient economic means made it possible for the young sojourners to visit Korea often and fortified this flexibility. They easily maintained their habitual behaviors, cultural perceptions, and identities through continuous interactions with family members and old friends, consumption of familiar cultural products, and the acquisition of related information. Most participants also visited Korea during summer vacation for more than two months every year. When asked a question about their experiences of visiting Korea, most of them said they were uncomfortable for the first few days. They identified heavy

traffics, crowds everywhere, people walking so fast, and so forth, as strangeness in their home country. However, once they had overcome jet lag, eaten homemade meals, and chatted with best friends, their Koreanness was completely restored. In this case, technologies that once provided them new cultural experiences became aids to maintaining hidden cultural dimensions.

There was also another meaning of flexibility among the young sojourners; flexible citizenship (Ong, 1999). As shown in the findings, most participants who experienced serious homesickness strongly romanticized their past experiences in Korea and people and cultural products from Korea. However, when asked about where they would live eventually, many of them reluctantly chose Korea. Compared to their romanticizing about Korea, their answers were not clear and confident. As unaccompanied sojourners who suffered loneliness, they were longing for intimate personal relationships. However, when they thought of their futures, the young sojourners were easily reminded of the initial purpose of their study abroad. While Seewon was the only participant who wanted to go back to Korea permanently whenever possible, all other participants said that although they would like to live with their family and friends in Korea, they could also live in the United States or somewhere else if there would be better opportunities. Many male participants were also explicitly afraid of military duty in Korea. On the other hand, Hyun wanted to eventually invite her family to the United States so they could live together there. Some participants had a desire to make money in the United States and live in Korea after retirement.

The reason for their complex attitudes toward their home country was not so different from the reason they chose the United States for their place of study. The competing nature of a globalized world, which the young sojourners had directly experienced, became an important context shaping this opportunistic attitude toward citizenship. They actively participated in the universalized competing system that was brought by globalization, in which "no one can 'opt-out' of the transformation" (Giddens, 1991, p. 22). Fortunately, the well-to-do adolescents could afford to pay for airfare to Korea at least once a year and to obtain higher technological literacy, both of which allowed them to satisfy their desires to be connected with things and people in Korea during their painful journey to survive in an age of limitless competition. In sum, the two interrelated forces typically defining this age, globalization and advanced technologies had created flexible creatures that exposed themselves to worldwide competition and clung to their roots. This flexibility was not a kind of intercultural competence, but a flexible response to the imposed logics of globalization and a desire to escape from the logics. Considering these opportunistic and flexible attitudes toward their home country and culture, this study could not classify these young sojourners with those who attach to their home country in a simplistic way. Their complex emotions and practical reasons could not be simply operationalized to be a model or a stage of identity change, which is an operationalization common to the functionalist approach.

Local across the Pacific Ocean

Deterritorialization is another product of globalization, which has developed to be a cultural logic of globalization in anthropology studies. Many scholars, including Tomlinson (1999), point out mass media as the main cause of cultural deterritorialization. Earlier than the trend analyzing current globalization, Anderson (1991) historically presented how print media played a crucial role in shaping nationalism, nation-states, and nationality among people who were geographically scattered by disseminating information printed in vernaculars. Gebser (1985) also identified dislocation from one's origin as a typical feature of the modern world. Appaduri (1996) elaborated more on this concept of deterritorialization by proposing five dimensions of global cultural flows: mass migrations (ethnoscapes), mass media (mediascapes), new technologies (technoscapes), financial integrations (financescapes), and ideologies of states (ideoscapes). He specifically pointed out that deterritorialization is "the core of a variety of global fundamentalisms" (p. 38). Roy (2004) finds transnational connections of Islamic fundamentalism, which is well disseminated through the Internet. Many kinds of "dislocated" fundamentalism become typical evidence of deterritorialization.

The young sojourners in this study lived in a new place surrounded by new people and environments. They were physically dislocated from the geographic origin of their ethnicity, language, and customs. However, mass and social media mediated through low-cost and high-speed technologies provided them with new contact zones in which the young sojourners were reminded of their local origins

across the Pacific Ocean. Korean American ethnic groups that were mainly organized by Korean American churches also provided other contact zones in which they met with people who had similar experiences, accents, and homesickness. The unpredictable global financial flow and increasing competition over limited opportunities to succeed also became contact zones in which they shared the purpose of early study abroad with other teenagers. Despite their physical distance from their origins, they not only kept pace with the local, but also participated in shaping the distant local.

The young international students, no matter how they well spoke and understood English, studied at American schools in order to improve their English skills. They believed that these taken-for-granted skills, plus a good GPA and high test scores, would help them achieve what this world prefers. In spite of psychological burdens imposed by misunderstandings, uncomfortable relationships with people, and uncertain futures, they strove for "success." After long school hours, they finally had their own—isolated, but less stressed—time in their private rooms, and there were technologies that let them return to their comfortable neighborhoods. That is to say, they simultaneously or alternatively experienced their new, physically tangible neighborhoods and their old, virtual neighborhoods mediated by new technologies. According to Appadurai (1996), neighborhoods are contexts within which human behaviors are set, and thus a neighborhood is a context. For the young sojourners who resided flexibly in both neighborhoods, their living and cultural contexts were not exclusively produced by certain neighborhoods. Instead, their

contexts exists flexibly or in-between the two complex neighborhoods. Once dislocating the young students from their origins by exposing them to globalized cultures, competitive systems, and universalized objectives, technologies became messengers bridging them to familiar people, cultures, language, habits, and perceptions. Also, the old and the new were then integrated to create new contexts of their flexible lives, dislocated locals, and fluid identities.

"From A to B" Versus "In-Between Many"

The functionalist approach to intercultural communication, called the heuristic approach (Hunsinger, 2006), typifies cultures, identities, and their transformations. The division of collectivism and individualism is a typical and popular example used to typify—or simplify—cultures and identities. The division becomes a false rationale of reductionism in understanding cultures. In this tradition, a culture is prone to being classified according to geographical borders of nation-states or continents, as Korean culture or Asian culture. This simplification ignores detailed differences of multiple domains of each culture and lacks the understanding of complexly interrelated cultures across regional, national, and continental boundaries. In addition, this typifying practice posits that a culture is a static/stable entity that is hardly changed. Additionally, people in a cultural area are characterized as mere passive objects affected by culture in a unidirectional way. In other words, an individual is not considered as an actor shaping a culture in this tradition.

This functional approach has also typified the process of cultural/identity change in a person. Acculturation and intercultural competence are popular concepts

or models that are often applied to different intercultural moments and populations. For example, there is a fourfold classification in the acculturative process: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization (Berry, 1997). According to Berry and Sam (1997), integration, which is similar to the notion of intercultural competence (Gudykunst & Kim, 2003), is the optimal condition of acculturation in which an immigrant or a sojourner healthily contains both home culture and host culture. In this model, there are two kinds of cultures, such as home and host, according to the national origin of a person and his or her destination. There is also a binary division between "changed" and "unchanged." If the current study simply applied the fourfold model of acculturation to the study population, it would have been possible to claim that most of the young sojourners were in a condition of integration because they flexibly used home and host country media and communicated with people from the home and the host country. However, this study also found that the young sojourners sometimes separated themselves from the people and culture of the host as they preferred to stay in their private rooms at the host home. At the same time, in some senses, they assimilated to American-style pop cultures, the value of liberal democracy, the logic of capitalism, and Christianity. The current study could not find a discrete stage that the young sojourners belonged to.

Also, it was hard to define the complicated meanings of the home and the host, as previously discussed. All the young sojourners had different socioeconomic statuses and life experiences, which could not be simplified as "a culture." More

importantly, their home, Korea, is no longer a typically homogeneous country, and their host, the United States, is a country where people and cultures from all around the add to the its culture. Therefore, their culture could not be classified in alignment with their nationality. The functional approach to intercultural communication neglects these coconstructive processes of intercultural contacts.

Although Kim (2001) focuses more on individuals' dialectical experiences of crosscultural adaptation, this theory also explicitly posits unidirectional acculturation and deculturation. Similar to acculturation theory, this theory also dualistically divides home and host, and thus posits that a sojourner moves from a static, old culture to another static, new culture. Kim (2001) suggests that exposure to host mass communication helps sojourners gain host communication competence that eventually leads them to intercultural competence. This theory implies that it is necessary for a sojourner to intentionally expose himself or herself to host mass communication in order to gain positive cultural growth in a foreign country. In support of this theory, a few participants in this study once tried to avoid Korean-based Web services so they would be forced to adapt to new environments in the United States. However, no one was very successful in avoiding Korean media because of their habitual uses of the Internet, desire to communicate with distant people, and so on. More importantly, their initial purpose of "quitting" the Korean Web services was to improve English skills rather than to adapt to the new culture.

Adaptation theory also takes into account language skills as important indicators of adaptation (Kim 2001). However, the young sojourners, born and raised

in a society obsessed with globalization and competitiveness, were already pressured to learn English long before they arrived in the United States. For these neoliberal children, improving English skills was not limited to assuring their success in the United States, but instead English skills were believed to be useful tools to help them survive in this competitive world. While they spent over a year in the United States, no participant suffered serious language problems. However, their language competence was not linearly associated with their host cultural competence. Although the students who were young enough to rapidly learn a new language, they did not lose their own language. Their English was a newly added property to support their flexible lives in a globalized world. No matter how much they wanted to "master" English, they still wanted to build intimate communities with Korean friends, and they missed their old friends and families.

Kramer (2000) criticizes the notion that cultural adaptation posits the hegemonic control of identity, and it is hard to deny that functional approaches to intercultural communication imply global hegemonic relationships between the West and the East or the North and the South. For a couple of centuries, the main direction of global migration, which is from the rest to the West, has not changed dramatically. In the consideration of context, learning a new culture and unlearning an old culture is assumed to be a kind of developmental process. However, as the current study continuously argues, this functional understanding of intercultural communication neglects dramatic changes caused by globalization and advanced technologies. The young sojourners chose the United States as a new place to build the symbolic

capital that they believed would guarantee that they would achieve or maintain their social privileges. However, if necessary, they were flexible enough to relocate to another place or to go back to Korea. For them, the United States was no longer a much more advanced country than their home country. They still had a kind of American dream; however, unlike the American dream of previous immigrants, America was a mere means to help them survive in this world rather than a final destination.

Hermans and Kempen (1998) criticize the tradition of cultural dichotomies, arguing that the pervasive influence of cultural connections, the world capitalist system, and cultural complexity are important bases of the notion of "moving cultures" in contrast to the notion of static cultures. Yoshikawa (1987) argues that the two parties in a communicative situation construct culture with each other, and thus communication is not to eliminate differences, but to increase dynamics. Bhatia and Ram (2001) criticize adaptation studies differently, arguing that culture and individuals are intertwined with each other. Therefore, "the world of culture and the world of self are not mutually exclusive empirical 'variables'" (p. 5). In other words, it is hard to say that a person moves from A culture to B culture, but instead, people and culture continuously interact with each other, constructing new personal and cultural dynamics. Kramer (2003) more specifically argues that new cultural experiences are additive and integrative processes that create an unpredictable fusion of cultures. His theory of cultural fusion clearly explains the integrative cultural experiences of people in this age.

> Under the currently hyperactive conditions, migrating populations, commercialism, and progressivism, are creating niches, changing the faces of nations, lifestyles, and energizing a fusional ‘‘in-between’’ of cultural interaction I call cultural accent. (Kramer, 2000, p. 203)

The young sojourners used Korea-based Web services extensively to communicate with familiar Koreans and to consume Korean media content. These communicative behaviors are not welcomed but are considered a major hindrance to a positive “growth” in the functionalist tradition. However, as this study continuously shows, the young sojourners used advanced communication technologies in order to satisfy what they currently needed in their daily lives. Their communications with families and friends were not products of their separation from the host culture and people, but natural ways to relieve loneliness and boredom. The low-cost and easy-to-use technologies mediated the maintenance of interpersonal relationships. Although they aimed to achieve a kind of “global citizenship” with their study abroad, they clearly still wanted to build and maintain their “local” personal relationships. Even if some students agreed that the uses of Korean media delayed their adaptation to a new culture, they also did not try to avoid communication with people in and from Korea. Moreover, their intentional efforts to avoid Korean media were not successful. As human beings who had their own memories, sensibilities, and perceptions, the young sojourners successfully maintained their cultural traits while still mutating in unpredictive ways.

As many scholars have discussed, cultures are both homogenized and heterogenized in a globalized world with advanced technologies. A long hegemonic relationship between the West and the rest has created unavoidable symbolic meanings of various capitals dominated by the West, and has pushed people to compete with each other. The neoliberal global society has become an exclusive playground for a tiny number of players who have shaped the logic of the survival of the fittest. Mass migration and communication facilitated by technologies have created a variety of contact zones for people to learn and to internalize new cultures. On the other hand, people have also created cultural dynamics by adding new experiences to their cultures and identities. People have maintained their differences by building transnational local neighborhoods. The Korean high school students, who had lived in Korea and then lived in the United States, actually lived in-between homogenizing and hegerotenizing forces. They were in many ways a kind of "in-between."

Concluding Remarks: Practical Suggestions

This study, as intercultural communication research, did not extensively focus on issues related to education and adolescent development. However, this study was able to identify some of the urgent needs of the young sojourners, needs that were not directly associated with the topic of this study. There have been many criticisms in Korea of the odd trend of early study abroad. However, most criticisms have focused on the stratification of education because of the high cost of early study abroad. On the other hand, commercial media and the education industry have

exaggerated and symbolized a few successful cases—in terms of a very limited meaning of success—to encourage parents and children to become their customers. Neither case has paid attention to the everyday lives of the relocated adolescents. Instead, their journeys of study abroad are only evaluated by a single criterion, academic achievement. Unlike the commercial interests of the media, the education industry, and the academic market, this study could observe every nook and cranny of the young students' everyday lives, and now wants to share the adolescents' practical needs for studying and living in a foreign country.

First, many students shared that at the moment of their entry into the United States, their English skills were too low for living in a foreign country by themselves. While a few schools in Boston, Dallas, and Oklahoma City require a standardized test score like TOEFL for admission, most schools do not even have any process to assess English skills. While many public schools have official English (ESL) programs, very few private schools are equipped with the programs. However, most schools the study participants attended charged extra fees for international student services whether or not the schools provided English programs to international students. In a school in Oklahoma, the only policy for improving the English skills of international students was a prohibition against speaking their own languages at the school. Likewise, despite the high cost of tuition and fees, most private schools did not provide supplemental programs to help these young students adapt to a new environment.

Second, many participants complained about the absence of adults with whom they could share their daily problems. Despite the long distance, parents of the students were the only close mentors for most of them. Most students did not communicate closely with American teachers in the schools or with host family members because of language differences and psychological distances. Although many participants were actively involved in Korean American churches, people in the churches also had very different life experiences and socioeconomic backgrounds. More importantly, in a big city like Boston, the young Korean students had become commoditized by the Korean American communities. Knowing this environment well, the young students became accustomed to keeping a distance from Korean American communities. Several participants explicitly wanted to have Korean counselors in school. They needed someone who paid attention professionally and closely to the educational and developmental problems they faced in a foreign country.

Third, many participants expressed an extreme repulsion toward the so-called early study abroad industry in the United States. Because this industry is not a sector being regulated by public offices either in Korea or the United States, the young students were prone to being victimized by the industry. There is no regulation for being a host family or an agency who mediates a student to a host. Therefore, some students often faced unqualified money grubbers, which became a big stressor in their daily lives. Experiencing these extraordinary situations, they wanted institutional regulation to filter bad businesses.

Three years ago, when I prepared this research, a friend in Korea, who was working for a political party as an educational policy researcher, called and asked me to translate the educational policy of then presidential candidate Barak Obama. In Korea it is common to see news reports and policy statements that exemplify cases of the United States and other advanced Western countries. My friend also intended to use Obama's policy as a reference for building a new educational policy. However, ironically enough, Obama mentioned Korean education a couple of times as a model case for American educators, students, and parents because of the amount of study at school and after school in Korea. Nevertheless, many students escape Korea to attend schools in the United States, where their home country is exemplified as a good model of educational success by the United States president. In Korea it is common to hear that "the problem is education." People commonly point out that the excessive competition is the cause of this problem. Many parents who sent their children to foreign countries said that they wanted their children to avoid the competition. However, I observed that many Korean students in the United States still attended after-school institutes and had private tutors. They also prepared intensively for the SAT and TOFEL during summer vacation in Korea, paying over $10,000 for the two-month long intensive programs. That is to say, regardless of their critical points of view on the competitive educational system, they actively participated in this system even after they escaped to new places. The young sojourners were victims of not only the industry, but also of parents' jitters, and they all were victims of the limitless competition in a globalized world.

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Appendix 1. Interview Protocol (English)

Introduction:

Hello, how are you? My name is Taesik Kim and I am a graduate student in the Department of Communication at OU. Thank you for giving me the opportunity to interview you. The theme of the interview is about your uses of communication technology like the Internet and mobile phones and your everyday communications with both Koreans and Americans. Please feel free to respond to the questions. Before we get started, I would like you to know that I will not address you by name during the interview. You can also withdraw from the process at any time you want.

Questions regarding life experiences

1) Which city/region were you from in Korea?

2) How long have you been in the U.S.?

3) Could you tell me why you attend a high school in the U.S.?

4) Have you ever attended another American school? If yes, tell me about where you were and why you moved here.

5) Are you living with an American host family? How many families have you lived with the U. S.?

6) Do you have close family members who regularly contact you in the U. S.?

7) How much English did you know or speak when you came to the U.S.?

8) Have you visited the U. S. before you came to study here? Have you traveled to foreign countries? Tell me about your experiences.

9) What was the first impression of the U. S. and your city?

10) Who did initially want you to study in the U. S.?

Questions regarding the uses of communication technology

1) How familiar are you with the Internet?

2) How familiar are you with mobile phones? Have you had a mobile phone in Korea?

3) What is the home page of your Web browser? Is it a Korean Web service or an American service? Could you tell me why you set it as your home page? Tell me about your usual activities on the Internet.

4) What are your purposes for using the Internet?

5) How many Korean friends in Korea do you interact with on the Web? How many American friends? How many Korean friends in the U. S.? Tell me about your activities on online social networking services.

6) Are you using an Internet instant messenger? If yes, which are you using? Who are your messenger friends? How often do you chat with Koreans? How often do you chat with Americans? Could you tell me about your activities on the messenger?

7) If you have a mobile phone, could you tell me how many times you usually call or text Koreans who live either in Korea or America? How often do you call or text Americans?

8) Do you have a Korean Internet phone (070)? If yes, tell me about your everyday communication via the phone.

9) Could you tell me about the differences between your mobile communication activities in Korea and in the U.S.?

10) How many hours do you watch television? What do you like to watch?

11) Do you watch Korean TV shows? If yes, how and why do you watch?

12) Could you tell me about the differences between Korean TV programs and American TV programs?

Questions regarding personal relationships and social network

1) How often do you call your parents in Korea? What do you usually talk to your parents about?

2) How often do you personally talk to your teachers in your school? What do you usually talk to them about?

3) How often do you talk to your host family about everyday life? How do you feel when you are talking to them?

4) How often do you hang out with American friends in your school? What do you usually do with them?

5) Do you feel it is hard to make American friends? Could you tell me about your experiences?

6) When you are having an academic issue, what do you usually do about that? Do you ask another person for advice? If yes, who and why?

7) What kinds of social networks do you get involved in the U. S.? Religious groups, clubs, extracurricular activities? Tell me about your experiences of social networks.

8) Do you think that you are doing well in school both academically and socially? Could you tell me about your school life?

Questions regarding cultural consequences

1) How much did you know about American culture when you were in Korea? Tell me your thoughts about American culture.

2) What are similarities and differences between Korean and American culture?

3) Have you enjoyed American cultural products (TV, Internet, movie, music, and so on) when you were in Korea?

4) Do you enjoy watching sports in the U. S.? What teams or athletes do you support? How do you feel?

5) Do you think you are somehow Americanized now? Tell me about how your everyday behaviors have changed,

6) Do you feel strange when you visit Korea during vacations? Tell me about your everyday life when you visit Korea.

7) What is most difficult about of living in the U. S.? Please share your stories.

Questions regarding identity

1) Tell me your opinion on English as a second official language in Korea

2) In a state of emergency in Korea, which one is more important for you, between your nation and yourself?

3) What is your most important reason for studying in the U. S.?

4) What is the meaning of Korea and Korean people for you?

5) Are Korean Americans Korean or American?

6) In case of an international soccer match between the U. S. and North Korea, which would you usually support?

7) Do you want to be an American citizen?

8) Where will you ultimately live? Korea or the U.S.? otherwise where in the globe? Tell me why.

9) If you have a child, do you want to send him or her to a foreign country (the U. S.)? Tell me why.

10) Do you think you need to contribute to your country?

11) When are you proud of being Korean?

12) Have you ever been annoyed by some issues related to your nationality?

13) Have you ever felt national pride or emotional patriotism while watching Korean TV shows or news via the Internet? Tell me about your experiences

Appendix 2. Interview Protocol (Korean)

문화간 소통과 커뮤니케이션 이용의 상관관계에 관한 연구: 미국내 한국 고등학생의 의사소통 패턴에 관하여

질문 리스트

소개:

안녕하세요? 저는 오클라호마대학교 커뮤니케이션학과 박사과정에 재학중인 김태식이라고 합니다. 귀하와 면접을 진행 할 수 있는 기회를 주셔서 감사드립니다. 이 면접은 귀하의 인터넷 혹은 핸드폰과 같은 커뮤니케이션 테크놀러지이용 양태와 귀하의 일상 생활 속에서의 한국인 또는 미국인들과의 의사소통 양태에 관한 질문들로 이루어져 있습니다. 솔직하게 답변해주시길 바랍니다. 면접도중 귀하의 이름을 말씀드리지 않도록 하겠습니다. 귀하는 언제든 원하지 않으시면 면접을 중단하실 수 있습니다. 본 질문지는 일대일 면접과 집단 면접에 공히 사용됩니다.

생활 경험에 관한 질문

1) 한국에서 어느 지역에 살았나요?

2) 미국에 얼마나 살았나요?

3) 왜 미국에서 고등학교에 다니게 되었는지 설명해 주세요.

4) 현재와 다른 미국 학교에 다닌적이 있나요? 만약 그렇다면 어디에 다니셨으며, 왜 옮겼는지에 대해 설명해 주세요.

5) 귀하는 미국사람집에 홈스테이 하고 있나요? 지금까지 몇 가족을 경험해봤나요?

6) 미국에 자주 연락하는 가족 친지가 있나요?

7) 미국 오기전에 귀하의 영어실력은 어땠나요?

8) 이곳에 공부하러 오기 전 미국에 방문한 적 있나요? 외국여행을 해본적은 있나요?

9) 미국의 첫인상과 지금 살고 있는 도시의 첫인상은 어땠나요?

커뮤니케이션 테크놀러지 이용에 관한 질문

1) 얼마나 인터넷에 익숙하나요?

2) 얼마나 핸드폰에 익숙하나요? 한국에 있을때 핸드폰을 사용했나요?

3) 인터넷 첫 페이지가 어떤 사이트인가요? 한국 웹사이트인가요 미국 것인가요? 왜 그 사이트로 첫 페이지를 설정했는지 설명해주세요.

4) 인터넷을 이용하는 목적은 무엇인가요?

5) 얼마나 많은 한국에 있는 한국친구와 인터넷에서 교류하나요? 마찬가지로 얼마나 많은 미국친구, 미국에 있는 한국친구와 교류하나요? SNS 에서의 활동을 설명해 주세요.

6) 메신져를 사용하나요? 그렇다면 무엇에 사용하나요? 누가 귀하의 주된 친구로 등록되어있나요? 얼마나 자주 한국 사람과 메신져를 하나요? 얼마나 자주 미국사람과 메신져를 하나요? 메신져에서의 다양한 경험을 설명해 주세요.

7) 만약 귀하가 핸드폰이 있으시다면, 귀하는 미국이나 한국에 사는 한국인과 자주 통화를 하나요? 그렇다면 미국인과는 얼마나 자주 통화하나요? 얼마나 자주 친구들에게 문자메세지를 보내나요?

8) 070 인터넷 전화를 갖고 있나요? 주로 누구와 사용하나요?

9) 미국과 한국의 핸드폰사용에 있어서 어떤 차이가 있다고 생각하나요?

10) 하루에 얼마나 텔레비젼을 보나요?

11) 한국 텔레비젼 프로그램을 시청하나요? 어떻게, 얼마나 보나요?

12) 본인이 느끼는 미국 프로그램과 한국 프로그램의 차이점에 대해 설명해 주세요?

의사소통 양태와 사회 관계에 관한 질문

1) 얼마나 자주 한국에 계신 부모님과 통화를 하나요? 어떤 대화를 나누나요?

2) 얼마나 자주 개인적으로 학교 선생님과 대화를 나누나요? 어떤 대화를 나누나요?

3) 얼마나 자주 홈스테이 가족과 대화를 나누나요? 어떤 느낌인지설명해 주세요.

4) 얼마나 자주 미국 학교 친구들과 학교 밖에서 어울리나요? 주로 무엇을 하나요?

5) 미국친구를 만드는데 어려움이 있나요? 본인의 경험을 설명해 주세요.

6) 학교생활에 어려움을 느낄때 주로 어떻게 하나요? 누구와 상담을 하나요? 왜 그 사람들과 상담을 하나요?

7) 미국에서 주로 어떤 사회활동을 하나요? 본인의 사회 관계를 설명해 주세요.

8) 귀하의 학교생활은 원만하다고 생각하세요? 학업이나 사회관계에 관해서 말씀해 주세요.

문화적 영향에 관한 질문

1) 한국에 있을때 미국문화에 대해 얼마나 알고 있었나요? 미국문화에 대해 자유롭게 말해주세요.

2) 한국문화와 미국문화의 다른점 비슷한점은 무엇이 있나요?

3) 한국에 있을때 미국 문화 상품을 즐겼나요?

4) 미국에서 스포츠 중계를 즐겨보시나요? 어떤 팀 혹은 선수를 응원하시나요? 스포츠를 볼때 어떤 느낌인가요?

5) 본인이 어느정도 미국화되었다고 생각하시나요? 어떻게 일상 행동이 변했는지 설명해주세요.

6) 방학때 한국에 방문하면 낯설게 느껴지나요? 한국방문시 일상에 대해 설명해주세요.

7) 미국에 살면서 가장 어려운 점이 무엇인가요?

정체성에 관한 질문

1) 한국에서의 영어공용화에 대한 본인의 의견을 설명해주세요.

2) 한국에 국가 위급상황이 있을때 국가와 본인중 무엇을 우선시 하나요?

3) 미국에서 공부하는 가장 중요한 이유가 무엇인가요?

4) 본인에게 한국과 한국사람의 의미는 무엇인가요?

5) 미국의 한국교포는 한국사람이라고 생각하나요? 아니면 미국사람이라 생각하나요?

6) 미국과 북한과의 축구경기가 있으면 어디를 응원하나요?

7) 미국 시민권을 취득하고 싶나요?

8) 한국과 미국 혹은 제 3 국중 최종적으로 어디에 살고 싶나요? 이유를 설명해주세요.

9) 본인에게 자녀가 있다면 미국 혹은 다른 외국에 공부를 위해 보내고 싶나요?

10) 본인은 한국을 위해 공헌해야 한다고 생각하나요?

11) 언제 한국인인 것이 자랑스럽나요?

12) 본인의 국적과 관련한 이슈로 불편함 혹은 불쾌함을 느낀적 있나요?

13) 한국 방송을 시청하거나 인터넷 뉴스를 보면서 국가적 자긍심을 느낀적이 있나요?

Appendix 3. First Phase Interview Protocol

The relationship between intercultural communication and the uses of communication technology: The communication pattern of Korean high school students in the United States

Interview Protocol

Introduction:

Hello, how are you? My name is Taesik Kim and I am a graduate student in the Department of Communication at OU. Thank you for giving me the opportunity to interview you. The theme of the interview is about your uses of communication technology like the Internet and mobile phones and your everyday communications with both Koreans and Americans. Please feel free to respond to the questions. Before we get started, I would like you to know that I will not address you by name during the interview. You can also withdraw from the process at any time you want.

General questions about the participants

1) Which city/region were you from in Korea?

2) How long have you been in the U.S.?

3) Could you tell me why you attend a high school in the U.S.?

4) Have you ever attended another American school? If yes, tell me about where you were and why you moved here.

5) Are you living with an American host family? How many families have you experienced in the U. S.?

6) Do you have close family members regularly contact you in the U. S.?

7) How much English did you know or speak when you came to the U.S.?

Questions regarding the uses of communication technology

1) How familiar are you with the Internet?

2) How familiar are you with mobile phones? Have you had a mobile phone in Korea?

3) What is the home page of your web browser? Is it a Korean web service or American service? Could you tell me why you set it as your home page?

4) Are you using an Internet instant messenger? If yes, what are you using? Who are your messenger friends? How often do you chat with Koreans? How do often you chat with Americans? Could you tell me your communication pattern on the messenger?

5) If you have a mobile phone, could you tell me how many times you usually call or text Koreans who live either in Korea or America? How often do you call or text Americans?

6) Could you tell me about the differences between your mobile communication pattern in Korea and in the U.S.?

7) How many hours do you watch television? What do you like to watch?

8) Do you watch Korean TV shows? If yes, how and why do you watch?

9) Could you tell me about the differences between Korean TV programs and American TV programs?

Questions regarding communication patterns and social network

1) How often do you call your parents in Korea? What do you usually talk to your parents about?

2) How often do you personally talk to your teachers in your school? What do you usually talk to them about?

3) How often do you talk to your host family about everyday life? How do you feel when you are talking to them?

4) How often do you hang out with American friends in your school? What do you usually do with them?

5) Do you feel it is hard to make American friends? Could you tell me your experiences?

6) When you are having an academic issue, what do you usually do with that? Do you ask another person for advice? If yes, who and why?

7) Do you think that you are doing well in school both academically and socially? Could you tell me about your school life?

Demographic Information

Age:_____

Gender:_____

Appendix 4

Table 4.

Translation of Emotional Expressions

Translated in Text	Mentioned by participants	Literal English Meaning
Lonely	외로운	Lonely
	볼 사람이 없는	No people to interact
	혼자라서 우울한	Depressed because of being alone
	혼자인것 같은	Feeling alone
	아무도 없는	No one with me
Depressed	우울한	Depressed
	슬픈	Sad
	기분이 가라앉는	Feeling blue
Bored	지루한	Bored
	할게 없는	Nothing to do
	갈데가 없는	Nowhere to go
	심심한	Tedious
	재미없는	Not interesting
Uneasy, uncomfortable	불편한	Uncomfortable
	같이 있기 싫은	Unwilling to company with
	구비되지 않은	Not well equipped

Awkward	어색한	Awkward
	불편한	Uncomfortable
Strange	낯선	Strange
	이상한	Weird
	한 번도(해) 본없는	Have never experienced (seen)
Childish	유치한	Childish
	애들같은	Child-like
	잘 삐치는	Easy to Sulk