

ACCULTURATION AND CONSUMPTION BEHAVIOR OF KOREAN IMMIGRANTS*

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This study attempts to address the extent to which ethnic culture accounts for continuities and changes in action in the post-immigration environment, focusing specifically on the consumption behavior of Korean immigrants. This study examines antecedents of Korean immigrants' images toward Japan and their changes in the host society through the process of acculturation, and the impact this tendency has on their Japanese products buying behavior. The hypotheses were empirically tested by using data collected from a survey of 330 Korean immigrants in the U.S. in 1998. The results indicate that: (1) in spite of cultural and structural changes in the post-immigration environment by processes of acculturation to American culture, Korean Americans keep their images toward Japan alive; (2) Korean immigrants' Japanese car buying behavior is negatively related to their stay 20 or more years in the U.S. and positively related to their images toward Japan. The sociological implications of consumption practices and the relationship between ethnic culture and consumption behavior are discussed.

Key Words: Korean Immigrants, Acculturation, Consumption Behavior, Rational Choice, Socialization

INTRODUCTION

Culture can be called on to "explain continuities in action in the face of structural changes (Swidler, 1986: 277)." Many scholars of immigration believe that immigrants act in culturally determined ways when they keep ethnic culture or affiliation alive in new circumstances (Alba, 1999; Alba and Nee, 1997; Min, 1996; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). A growing number of

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studies on immigrant consumption behavior also show that differences in consumption behavior of immigrants reflect either their culture of origin or their culture of residence (Jun et al., 1993; Lee, 1989; Lee and Um, 1992; Penaloza, 1989; Penaloza, 1994; Wallendorf and Reilly, 1983). This study analyzes the extent to which ethnic culture or affiliation accounts for continuities and changes in action in post-immigration environment, focusing specifically on the consumption behavior of Korean Americans.

The study of acculturation and its relationship to consumption behavior has begun to receive more attention in social anthropology, sociology, social psychology and consumption behavior research. Researchers have studied the extent to which and the manner in which the process of acculturation is expressed in consumption behavior (Chapman and Jamal, 1997; Lee and Um, 1992; Padilla, 1980). The majority of acculturation research has concerned mainly European, African, and Hispanic American groups. However, since each ethnic group is inherently different, it is doubtful that a theory developed based on one or two ethnic groups will hold true for all ethnic groups. Additionally, since the process of acculturation depends mostly on the cultural distance between the culture of residence and the ethnic culture, it is very important to examine different ethnic groups. For example, some groups — such as the Koreans used as the subject of this study — have collectivist cultures, which are fundamentally different from individualistic American culture. Additionally, due to the relatively short history of Korean immigration to the U.S., Korean Americans are considered to be at a relatively early stage of acculturation. Korean Americans may be compared to other ethnic groups — such as Japanese and Chinese Americans — who share a collectivist culture, but who began to immigrate to the United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Almost all previous research about consumption adaptation among immigrants has examined the extent to which an immigrant group comes to resemble the dominant society in the host nation over time. This framework is used mainly to investigate differences between the consumption behavior of immigrants and those of the host society (Gentry et al., 1995; Penaloza, 1989). Such research has enhanced our understanding of ethnic consumption behavior, but has paid little attention to the dynamic and comprehensive mechanism of how the specific characteristics of the culture of origin — which influences consumption behavior in the country of origin — change in the host country through the process of acculturation.

Many scholars have observed that, historically, sociologists have paid little attention to the study of consumption behavior (Campbell, 1991; Campbell, 1995; Lazarsfield, 1959; Ritzer, 1999; Saunders, 1988; Warde,

1990a; Warde, 1990b; Warde, 1996). Most of these researchers have noted that the trend toward greater use of sociological concepts by marketers and consumer researchers could be matched equally by calls for sociologists to pay more attention to the sphere of consumption.¹ Since the late 1980s, many British sociologists have echoed these remarks.² Saunders (1988) asserted that sociology needs a “new research agenda” — “the sociology of consumption.” A growing body of literature on consumption is cited within the different social science disciplines of marketing, political economy, geography, history, and psychology, as well as sociology and anthropology (Miller, 1995). The classic theoretical tradition also comes to bear on consumption; Veblen on conspicuous consumption, Simmel on fashion and money, Mauss on the gift, Marx on commodity fetishism, use and exchange value, and Weber on status groups and the Protestant ethic.

More commonly, sociologists draw on contemporary theories, such as those of Douglas and Isherwood (1996), Bourdieu (1984, 1990), and Baudrillard (1998).³ Unlike postmodern theorists in a self-referential system of signifiers, as possessing a meaning that is determined by their p,⁴ for Douglas and Isherwood (1996: 38-39), goods “are needed for making visible and stable the categories of culture,” and at the same time to “make and maintain social relationships.” This takes us beyond the individual consumer of the economists to an entire web of kinship and friendship (Corrigan, 1998).⁵ Therefore, for Douglas and Isherwood (1996: 40), the

¹ Although the bases of this oversight are unclear, some scholars suggest reasons for the lack of interest on the part of sociologists in the study of consumption (Holbrook 1985: 130, 145-6, 154). First, it is in part due to the relative absence of a conceptual tradition on consumption. However, this is untrue not only because non-sociologists have employed sociological variables in their areas, but also because there have been classic and contemporary theories of consumption. Second, it may stem from a tendency of sociologists to see business as mundane marketing activity. This tendency may also relate to mainstream marketing research in which most scholars emphasize the interests of managers, such as purchasing decisions, buying commitments, and brand choices.

² In a book review, George Ritzer (1999: 68) lamented the “complete absence of an American sociology of consumption,” and suggested the need for a study in the sociology of knowledge in order to explain why the United States -the world center of consumption- does not produce a sociology of consumption.

³ Baudrillard (1998) modifies Marx’s original concept of the “commodity” in order to stress the “commodity-sign” rather than the commodity itself. According to him, in capitalist societies, consumption should be understood as a process in which only the signs attached to goods are consumed, and hence commodities are not valued for their use but understood as possessing a meaning that is determined by their position in a self-referential system of signifiers.

⁴ Douglas and Isherwood criticize this kind of approach because it fails to grasp the social dimensions of consumption.

⁵ This approach seems to contradict the economic model in which the consumer is an indi-

essential function of consumption is not to fulfill utilitarian needs, but rather "its capacity to make sense." Deriving from ample empirical material concerning taste, Bourdieu stresses the centrality of consumption practices in the maintenance of social relationships of domination and submission, and emphasizes the individual's possession of symbolic or cultural capital. Bourdieu argues that there are inherent limitations on an individual's chances of succeeding in moving up through such a system as a consequence of their "habitus," or personal cultural inheritance. In contrast to economist assumptions and postmodern arguments on the dislocation of individuals from social relations of the processes of consumption, for the purposes of this paper, consumption cannot be separated from the social process in which "goods are neutral, and their uses are social; they can be used as fences or bridges (Douglas and Isherwood, 1996: xv)." Therefore, this consumption comprises a set of social practices which "permit people to express self identity, to mark attachment to social groups, to accumulate resources, to exhibit social distinction, and to ensure participation in social activities (Warde, 1996: 304)."

The consumption patterns of immigrants are inherently eclectic, drawing both from the culture of origin and the culture of current residence, and involve elements of strategic cultural display within an environment characterized by interdependent and overlapping cultural domains. Previous studies suggest that consumption practices carry social meanings dependent upon social and cultural contexts (Appadurai, 1986; Douglas and Isherwood, 1996; McCracken, 1991), are major sources of social solidarity (Warde, 1996), and are viewed as components of selfhood and social identity (Friedman, 1990). In today's global, postmodern era, in which consumer and products transcend national boundaries, extension of these findings must reflect such dynamics of global cultural interpenetration as the tension between cultural fragmentation (or heterogenization) and cultural homogenization, or between Americanization and indigenization (Appadurai, 1990; Friedman, 1990). Thus, in the new global cultural economy, "for polities of small scale, there has been a fear of cultural absorption by polities of larger scale, especially those that are nearby (Appaduria, 1990: 295; also see Anderson, 1991)."

The purpose of this study is to assess the impact of cultures of origin and residence on the consumption patterns of Korean Americans in the U.S. Specifically, this study first examines factors affecting the degree of acculturation to American culture, and Korean Americans' affective images toward

vidual and that individual exercises sovereign choice in fulfilling needs.

Japan. Second, it investigates the relationship between the degree of acculturation and these affective images toward Japan. Finally, this study focuses on the influences of both the degree of acculturation to American culture and Korean Americans' images toward Japan, on their Japanese products buying behavior.

CONSUMER ACCULTURATION

One premise of the study of the accommodation of immigrants is that all groups of immigrants moving from one particular geographic area to another have grappled with two different forces: the need and orientation to fit into the new culture and environment, and the tendency to keep alive their ethnic culture (Berry and Sam, 1997; Glazer, 1993). Immigration to the United States has increased steadily in the post-World War II period. Current immigration experts estimate that nearly one million people enter the United States legally or illegally each year (National Research Council, 1997). In contrast to immigration at the turn of the century, over ninety percent of immigrants arriving today come from non-European, Third World countries — particularly from Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. Thus, immigration patterns since 1965 make the United States more ethnically and culturally diverse. Most previous research has found evidence that the acculturation process is not necessarily a linear progression toward one side, but rather a non-linear trend over time (Berry, 1990; Knight et al., 1978; O'Guinn and Faber, 1985; Penaloza, 1989). The older notion of assimilation as a straight-line movement into the host society by immigrants has been displaced in favor of defining assimilation as the "decline, and, at its endpoint, the disappearance, of an ethnic distinction and its allied differences (Alba and Nee, 1997: 863)." This definition does not need to be a wholly one-sided process, assuming change only in the minority group, and thus holds the value of cultural diversity and the voluntary nature of cultural commitments (Alba, 1999; Barkan, 1995; Hollinger, 1995). Indeed, this definition should be, as observed by Alba and Nee (1997: 864), "agnostic about whether the changes wrought by assimilation are one-sided or more mutual." We may imagine in this definition the development of a common, "third culture" defined as "the behavior patterns created, shared, and learned by men of different societies who are in the process of relating their societies, or sections, to each other (Gessener and Schade, 1990: 259)."

The processes of consumer acculturation, therefore, allow immigrants to exhibit consumption patterns associated with the host culture, their own culture, or a third, hybrid combination of the two cultures (Penaloza, 1989).⁶

For example, in a comparison of the consumption patterns of Mexican-Americans with Mexicans and Anglo-Americans, Wallendorf and Reilly (1983) discovered that the consumption patterns of Mexican-Americans bore little resemblance to either those of Americans or those of Mexicans. These authors argue, therefore, that the consumption behavior patterns of immigrants are not a simple blending of the culture of origin and the culture of residence, but rather a unique cultural style. This research suggests that immigrant consumption patterns must be understood by investigating the comprehensive mechanisms through which culture influences individual consumption patterns. For example, in consumer acculturation, uncertainty due to the effects of multiple reference cultures may result in the conspicuous consumption of products associated with the culture of residence (Solomon, 1983). Moreover, lack of availability may force some immigrants to make changes in which products they buy. Consumption patterns used in the country of origin may also not be socially accepted in the new society.

CONSUMER ETHNOCENTRICITY

The phenomena of consumer preference for domestically produced goods and opposition to products manufactured abroad has been termed "economic nationalism" or "consumer ethnocentrism" (Shimp and Sharma, 1987). The term "consumer ethnocentrism" is derived from the general concept of ethnocentrism, which was developed as a definite sociological concept more than ninety years ago (LeVine and Campbell, 1972; Lynn, 1976; Sumner, 1905).

In general, ethnocentrism represents a tendency for people to view their own group as the center of everything, to view all others from their own perspective, and to reject culturally dissimilar ideas while blindly accepting culturally similar ideas and people (Murdock, 1967). Most studies argue that ethnocentrism is a cultural and universal phenomenon, and reveals itself in all kinds of inter-group relations, manifesting itself in family pride, sectionalism, religious prejudice, racial discrimination, and patriotism

⁶ Applying the categorization developed by Berry and his colleague (1980, 1990, 1997), we may articulate four basic modes of consumer acculturation. The first mode, assimilation, occurs when individuals or groups do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with the new culture. The second mode of consumer acculturation, integration, implies the maintenance of original culture as well as a daily interaction with the dominant culture. The third mode of consumer acculturation, separation, occurs when an individual or a group values the retention of their original culture and at the same time wishes to avoid interaction with the host culture. Finally, marginalization occurs when there is little possibility or interest in the original culture and little interest in the new host culture.

(Lewis, 1976). Ethnocentrism emerges in human society as a cultural factor of considerable significance, and is expressed emotionally as a "we-feeling" (Cooley, 1909: 25-31). An ethnocentric person making in-group and out-group distinctions may establish out-groups whenever necessary: oneself vs. others, one's family vs. others, or one's country vs. other countries. In essence, highly ethnocentric people and groups nourish their own values, symbols, and culture by looking with contempt on the objects and values of others.

"Consumer ethnocentricity," an economic form of ethnocentrism, is adapted from the general trait of ethnocentrism to represent "the beliefs held by consumers about the appropriateness, indeed morality, of purchasing foreign-made products (Shimp and Sharma, 1987: 280)." Highly ethnocentric consumers feel that purchasing foreign products is wrong because it hurts the domestic economy, results in loss of jobs, and is unpatriotic. In contrast, less ethnocentric consumers evaluate foreign products more on their own merits, regardless of where they are made. The consequence of consumer ethnocentricity, therefore, entails not only an economic issue but also a moral obligation to purchase domestic products. This moral obligation stems from feeling of in-group belongingness, resulting in an understanding of purchase behaviors that are acceptable or unacceptable to the in-group. For example, Chan-Ho Park, the first Korean to play major league baseball with the L.A. Dodgers, drives a Japanese car. This fact sparked considerable debate concerning the propriety of a public Korean figure preferring a Japanese car. Some even argued that one of the Korean motor companies should offer Park a car free of charge (Joongangilbo, 1997b). This debate reflects the long history of antagonistic relations between Korea and Japan. During the heat of the foreign exchange crisis in Korea in late 1997, Koreans tended to blame the owners of foreign cars for contributing to the crisis (Hankookilbo, 1998). These cases show a strong tendency among ordinary consumers to display an ethnocentric preference for domestic over foreign products.

COLLECTIVE MEMORIES AND NATIONAL IMAGE

The identities of individuals are influenced by their cultures and also by the groups to which they belong and in which they perceive themselves to be members of the same social category (Olick and Robbins, 1998). One of the largest groups to which people belong is their nation or ethnic group. Citizens of a nation or members of an ethnic group possess and share distinctive linguistic, cultural, political, historical, social, and economic charac-

teristics. Thus, a person's ethnic identity, defined as a "subjective orientation toward his or her ethnic origin (Alba, 1990: 25)," influences all aspects of life. The nation-state mobilizes collective memory, which is the active shared past or representation of collectivity that is retained by members of a group, in order to strengthen society's integration (DiMaggio, 1997; Halbwachs, 1980; Shils, 1981; Swidler and Ardit, 1994). National and other identities are established and maintained through a variety of mnemonic sites, practices, and forms. Collective memory is an "available past" that people conform to as given, and that possesses a self-sustaining inertia (Schudson, 1989). As Hobsbawm (1972) mentioned, "to be a member of any human community is to situate oneself with regard to one's past." A real community is a "community of memory," one whose past is constituted by retelling its story, and by recalling the people who have always embodied its moral values (Bellah et al., 1985: 153). Through collective mnemonic processes, therefore, the retention of a national past, and its reconstruction, is "both a mirror and a lamp — a model of and a model for society," because the present is constituted by the past (Olick and Robbins, 1998: 124; Schwartz, 1996).

Ryang (1990: 525), in a study about the emergence of Korean nationalism, argues that the Korean term, *minjokjuui*, which is translated as nationalism, is "a conflation of traditionalism, xenophobia, anti-colonialism (anti-Japanese), and ethnocentrism, and remote from the concept of modern nationalism." Accordingly, Korean attitudes toward Japan have been affected by nationalism arising from historical and cultural relations between the two countries. The Koreans have hated the Japanese with the atavistic loathing of the occupied for the occupier, transcending time and the healing of old wounds. Traditional feelings of hatred toward Japan, passed on from generation to generation, were renewed and intensified at the turn of the nineteenth century when imperial Japan began to extend into Korea, beginning with Japan's imposition of the Kanhwa Treaty on Korea in 1876 and ending with the annexation of Korea in 1910. During the Japanese occupation of Korea between 1910 and 1945, Koreans were forbidden to speak their own language, and saw their shrines and royal palaces razed to the ground. During the Pacific War, the Japanese also forced 200,000 Korean women and girls, many as young as twelve, to serve Japanese soldiers as sex slaves in front-line "comfort stations." Korea has historically been the object of Japanese aggression, and Korean animosity toward Japan increased over time. On the other hand, a feeling of cultural superiority has reinforced Korean anti-Japanese sentiments. Consequently, they have developed a tendency of looking down on the Japanese (Koh, 1973). The Japanese have traditionally been viewed as a people ignorant of manners and socially back-

ward because they failed to observe such Confucian standards as order in the family, correct relations between men and women, and proper dress. These feelings of cultural superiority were further based on the historical fact that the Japanese learned of Confucian culture from the Koreans. The Japanese, however, having adopted and imitated modern Western capitalism and civilization ahead of other countries in Asia, had also developed a similar superiority when Japan began its rapid development as a modern state.

The anti-Japanese sentiment in Korea has remained essentially the same, even after the Normalization Treaty with Japan in 1965, in which South Korea re-established relations with Japan. For example, on August 15, 1995, the fiftieth anniversary of the Japanese surrender in World War II, the Korean government bulldozed the National Museum in Seoul, on the grounds that it was once the headquarters of the Japanese colonial government. The two countries have also competed against each other in the world marketplace in such industries as automobile and electronics manufacturing, among others. The ethnocentric hostility of Koreans toward Japan, therefore, is rooted in cultural, historical and economic competition.⁷

Like collective memory, an image toward a nation constitutes the sum of attitudes that a person recognizes or imagines when he thinks of a nation. The image in-group members have of an out-group, as Levine (1965: 49) mentioned, are handed down from generation to generation, and are affected both by the amount of direct experience its members have had with members of the out-group and by the amount of conspicuous difference. Perceived stereotypes — a liking or disliking of a nation — seem to explain reaction to or valuation of products of particular foreign origins (Rogers et al., 1994). An individual who has a negative image of a nation is less likely to purchase that country's products.

In order to understand the influences of cultures on the processes of acculturation and subsequently on the consumption behavior of immigrants living in countries quite different from their original culture, it is important to understand how general tendencies within a culture differ and how they

⁷ It is important to note that the Korean people do not feel particularly hostile toward foreign peoples. Although, among East Asian countries, Korea is second only to China in the number of its conflicts with its neighbors, today Koreans do not have any feelings of racial or national enmity toward foreign countries. It is only toward Japan that Koreans feel hostile, and indeed, the roots of their enmity are so deep as to be almost physiological (Koh, 1973). Korean hostility toward Japan was already evident even to a Western observer at the end of the nineteenth century: "The racial hatred between the Koreans and Japanese is the most outstanding phenomenon of Korea in recent times, and it is also true today (Curzon, 1894: 194)."

are similar. As observed by many scholars (Hofstede, 1980; Kagitibasi, 1997; Triandis, 1989; Triandis, 1994), the cultural influence of Confucianism contributes to collectivism among Asian cultures, while Western cultures tend to be more individualistic. For Korean Americans, therefore, the norm in acculturation studies is to investigate the adaptation process from a collectivistic culture to a more individualistic one. In Confucian societies, priority is given to in-group goals over individual goals, and emphasis is placed on conformity to the group that an individual belongs to. These norms tend to govern all interpersonal relations, in a form of cultural ethnocentrism (Triandis, 1989). Results of consumer research have shown that collectivist Confucian values such as group conformity, interdependence, and face-saving are reflected in Korean consumer behavior and gift giving (Lee and Green, 1991; Park, 1998). In order to save face, Koreans exhibit a strong tendency to purchase products whose price, brand, and package match their social position and reputation.⁸

In discussing the consumption behavior of Korean Americans, it is worth noting Korea's trade policy toward Japanese goods.⁹ During the past four decades, the South Korean government has intervened extensively in order to control the pace and direction of economic development (Amsden, 1989; Lie, 1998). Many studies attribute the success of Korea's economic growth to two governmental policies: export promotion and import restrictions

⁸ Another important concept that may distinguish between collectivistic and individualistic cultures is face saving, which is very important in explaining much of social behavior in Confucian societies. It is particularly salient, influences interpersonal relationships among people, and is the most delicate standard by which social interaction is regulated in Confucian cultures. Face stands for "a reputation achieved through getting on in life," and represents "the confidence of society in the integrity of ego's moral character, which is both a social sanction for enforcing moral standards and an internalized sanction (Hu, 1944: 45)." The notion of face is distinguished from other related concepts such as authority, status, honor and prestige. Thus, face can be obtained either through personal qualities or from non-personal characteristics such as wealth, social status, education, occupation and authority. The individual in Confucian societies has to satisfy some essential requirements corresponding to one's social position in order not to lose face (Ho, 1977). If an individual does not meet the social expectation, he will lose his face; his moral integrity is cast in doubt by the society, and then his social life is at stake. People in Confucian societies must meet the expectations of other in-group members so that after assessing the effects of their action on people's face, they embark on a course of action.

⁹ There are the two reasons explaining Korea's trade policy toward Japanese goods. First, it seems that Koreans' anti-sentiment to Japan or subsequently their overcome-sentiment to Japan has been reflected in Korea's trade policy toward Japanese goods. Second, most Korean Americans immigrated to the U.S. after 1965, and while they were in Korea, they did not have opportunities for contact with Japanese goods. Thus, they may have more chances to compare Japanese goods to other goods in the U.S. than in Korea, in terms of quality and price of goods.

(Leipziger and Petri, 1993; Whang, 1987; World Trade Organization, 1996). Export incentives included direct cash subsidies, interest-rate subsidies, and informal incentives, which were abolished in stages. There have been a variety of import-protective policies, including non-tariff quantitative barriers, import licensing, and other domestic tax policies. However, import liberalization rates for manufactured goods has reached virtually one hundred percent (World Trade Organization, 1996), because of steady trade liberalization since the 1980s. Although the Korean market has become more open, the government has taken direct action, including income tax investigation and increasing special excise taxes against purchasers of foreign or domestic luxury goods such as passenger cars (Joongangilbo, 1997a). For example, of the cars on South Korean roads, only 1.5 percent were foreign made in 1996, even after an increase of thirty-five percent over 1995 (Lee, 1998). In 1978, Korea introduced the Import Diversification Policy, mainly to curtail Japanese products from flooding domestic markets, thus reducing the chronic, huge trade imbalance with Japan.¹⁰ The policy was designed to protect domestic industries with a lower competitive edge than their Japanese counterparts, including automobiles and electronic goods. However, the Korean government was forced to agree on the early elimination of the import ban in July 1999, under pressure from Japan due to the foreign exchange crisis in late 1997. Most Japanese goods freed from this program would make inroads into the Korean market. After lifting the ban, the importation of Japanese products such as home appliances and automobiles has increased largely due to their superior quality (Korea Herald, 1999).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESES

Figure 1 presents the model guiding the present analyses. The model is fully recursive between blocks. The model contains one exogenous variable block (Demographic and Cultural variables) and three endogenous variables (Acculturation, Image of Japan, and Consumption behavior). Thus, the model has two intervening variables (Acculturation and Image of Japan), which mediate between the demographic and cultural variables and consumption behavior. The model presents net direct effects of all of the predetermined variables on consumption behavior and indirect effects of demographic and cultural variables on consumption behavior by way of the two

¹⁰ In 1995, more than two-thirds of Korea's imports came from developed countries (World Trade Organization, 1996). Among them, Japan was the largest import source, and Korea's largest bilateral trade deficit was with Japan (over \$15.5 billion in 1995)

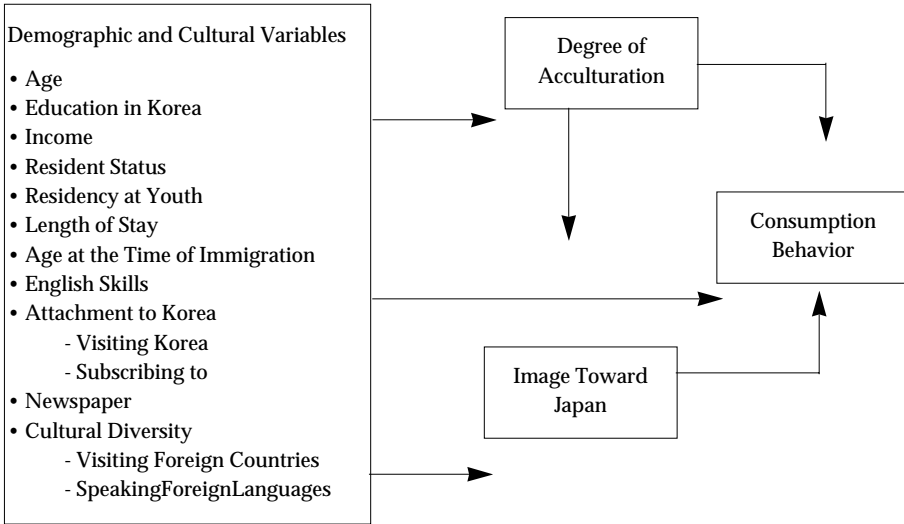


FIGURE 1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

intervening variables.

Demographic Variables

Previous studies have provided empirical evidence for the effect of age on the process of acculturation. Some studies have found that first generation immigrants are more likely to be culturally aware and ethnically loyal, and use less English than subsequent generations. First generation immigrants tend to be less acculturated than their offspring, due to contact with the host culture, its institutions and its members (Sodowsky et al., 1991). Older people also are generally more conservative and more patriotic than younger people are (Han, 1988). According to consumer studies, older consumers tend to prefer domestic products to foreign products (Tongberg, 1972), while younger generations are more favorably inclined toward imports because they may be more cosmopolitan in their preferences and attitudes (Bannister and Saunders, 1978). There is a widely accepted finding that the degree of acculturation among immigrants coming to the U.S. as adults might differ from that of U.S. or foreign born who immigrate at younger ages and are raised mostly in the U.S., since the former have been socialized in another country (Alba and Nee, 1997). Therefore, these findings suggest that age and age at the time of immigration are inversely related to the degree of acculturation to American culture, to a favorable image toward a

foreign country, and to the likelihood of purchasing foreign products. They also suggest that individuals who came to the U.S. as adults are less likely to be acculturated to American culture than individuals who did not, to have a favorable image toward a foreign country than individuals who did not, and to purchase foreign products than individuals who did not. The amount of time a family has been in a country is traditionally regarded as related to acculturation (Olmedo and Padilla, 1978). A study of the acculturation process of Korean immigrants in the U.S. has shown that the immigrant's attitudes toward the host society and the immigrant's satisfaction level in living in the host society increase steadily over the years in a linear fashion (Kim, 1978). Similarly, a study of Korean immigrants in the U.S. also reveals that Korean immigrants have achieved assimilation in proportion to their length of residence in the United States (Hurh and Kim, 1984). Therefore, we can expect that the length of stay in the U.S. and residential status, respectively, have positive effects on acculturation, image of Japan, and Japanese products buying behaviors.

Although gender is not a critical variable in acculturation, there might be gender differences in other dimensions such as gender roles and their behavioral manifestations. For example, some researchers have found that females are more patriotic, more conservative, more conformist, and more concerned about preserving social harmony and promoting positive feelings among group members than are males (Eagly, 1978; Han, 1988). Similarly, women are more collectivistic than males (Triandis, 1994), and rated domestic products more favorably than did men (Howard, 1989). Thus, we can expect that females may tend to be less acculturated, to have more unfavorable images toward a foreign country, and to purchase less foreign products than males do.

Education is widely assumed to bear an important relation to acculturation, since it is held to be a force of acculturation and also to be destructive of such traditional forces as ethnicity (Alba and Chamlin, 1983). Mexican American individuals with lower educational levels tend to have higher ethnic cultural awareness and loyalty, while individuals with higher educational levels tend to have lower ethnic cultural awareness and loyalty (Padilla, 1980). Similarly, most studies have found that people who are more educated tend to be less conservative, less likely to have ethnic prejudices, less likely to have pride in their country, and more likely to evaluate imports favorably and to evaluate domestic products unfavorably (Ray, 1990; Rose, 1985).

In general, acculturation is positively related to income level. Some researchers report that high-income consumers tend to have a more favor-

able attitude toward foreign products (Shin, 1993). However, contradictory evidence finds that income has no relationship with patriotic attribute (Han, 1988). On the other hand, as income increases, one may tend to travel abroad and try more products, resulting in more cosmopolitan views and greater openness to foreign products. Therefore, we can expect positive effects of both education and income on acculturation, image toward Japan, and purchasing foreign products.

Cultural Factors

The general effectiveness of the host language has long been recognized as an indicator of acculturation, since the process of acculturation is accomplished through using the language of the host society. Almost all acculturation studies have presented empirical evidence of a positive relationship between proficiency in the host language and acculturation (Kim, 1988; Mouw and Xie, 1999). For example, some studies argue that language preference accounts for most of the variance in ethnic loyalty, and that less acculturated people are less prone to use English than are more acculturated people (O'Guinn and Farber, 1985; Sodowsky et al., 1991). Similarly, some studies of Korean immigrants also reveal that only a small proportion of Korean old-timers use English with their spouses at home, and depend on English newspapers and magazines for news and information (Chang, 1991; Hurh and Kim, 1988). These findings suggest that individuals who can use English more proficiently are more likely to be acculturated to American culture, to have a favorable image toward a foreign country, and to purchase foreign products than those who can use English less proficiently.

The extent to which members of an ethnic group maintain their cultural traditions and participate in ethnic social networks is referred to as ethnic attachment (Reitz, 1980). Although there has been a growing recognition of the importance of communication in the process of cross-cultural adaptation, lack of research in this area is fairly surprising. Traditionally, immigrants' participation in ethnic communication has been assumed to promote ethnic cultural identity and to have a deterrent effect on their integration into the host society (Kim, 1988). As with proficiency in the host language, some researchers have shown that communication with members and mass media of the host society, as well as with the ethnic community, are closely related to each other and to the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim, 1988; O'Guinn and Faber, 1985). During the initial period of settlement, ethnic media and mass communication activities serve as vehicles for immigrants to learn about and adapt to the host culture. In the long run, howev-

er, ethnic communication, including the use of ethnic media, reinforce the original cultural patterns of immigrants, and consequently, have a negative effect on cross-cultural adaptation by promoting ethnicity (Kim, 1988). Thus, these research findings reveal an inverse relationship between the degree of exposure to ethnic media and the degree of acculturation to American culture. We can also expect that ethnic attachments have negative effects on both an image toward Japan and purchasing Japanese products.

In terms of race, language, and culture, in highly homogeneous societies, ethnicity provides the foundation for self-identification, and is used as a basis for discrimination against those who are different. However, in societies where people have opportunities to interact with members whose cultures are different from their own, loyalty to the culture of origin decreases. Consequently, consumers from culturally open and tolerant societies will be less ethnocentric and therefore less likely to differentiate imported products from domestic products. For example, in the United States, people living in culturally homogeneous regions tend to be more ethnocentric than those living in heterogeneous regions (Shimp and Sharma, 1987). Similarly, in Korea, consumers appear even more ethnocentric than their American counterparts, because Korea has historically been more culturally homogeneous than America (Shin, 1993). These findings suggest that the degree of cultural diversity is positively related to acculturation, image of Japan, and purchasing Japanese products.

Acculturation and Image of Japan

According to the framework in Figure 1, the degree of acculturation to American culture is expected to have effects both on the degree of Korean Americans' image toward Japan and on Korean Americans' consumption behavior. Korean Americans who have been more acculturated to American culture are likely to have a favorable image toward a foreign country due to a tendency to adopt individualistic cultural norms that subordinate group goals to personal goals (Triandis, 1994). However, Korean Americans who have been less acculturated to American culture are likely to have an unfavorable image toward a foreign country, since they have a tendency to maintain a substantial part of their collectivist cultural heritage. Similarly, a cross-cultural identity study about North Americans and Japanese reveals that North Americans who strongly identify with their cultures are likely to value freedom, pleasure, and independence more than those who weakly identify with their cultures, and more than Japanese who strongly identify with their cultures (Gudykunst and Kim, 1997). Thus, we can expect that

both a favorable image toward Japan and the likelihood of purchasing Japanese products increase with the degree of acculturation to American culture.

The choice of domestic versus foreign products may be influenced by such highly emotional factors as consumer patriotism. A study about the role of patriotic emotions among consumers with regard to their choice of domestic versus foreign products shows that patriotism has a significant effect on purchase intention and evaluation of automobiles (Han, 1988). Patriotic consumers may tend to choose domestic over foreign products, but have only a tentative tendency to rate domestic products more favorably or rate foreign products less favorably to justify their decision of choosing American products (Zajonc and Markus, 1982). However, there has been a contradictory finding that relatively few consumers are willing to sacrifice product quality in the purchase of clothes and cars in order to minimize importation of these products (Daser and Meric, 1987; Rogers et al., 1994). Overall, however, it is reasonable to expect that individuals with an unfavorable image toward a foreign country will be less likely to purchase foreign products, since people with a negative image toward a foreign country tend to have ethnocentric characteristics, while individuals with a favorable image toward a foreign country will be more likely to purchase foreign products.

DATA AND MODELS

The conceptual framework in Figure 1 and the corresponding hypotheses are investigated by analyzing data from a survey conducted among Korean Americans in the United States during the summer and fall of 1998. Self-administered questionnaires were distributed to Korean Americans through Korean church pastors. This is due to Koreans' generally negative attitude toward surveys and high affiliation with Korean ethnic churches. A previous study of Korean Americans pointed out that Korean immigrants are unwilling to give out personal opinions to a stranger (Hurh and Kim, 1984). Studies on Korean Americans' religious affiliation also have revealed that nearly 75 percent of Korean Americans are affiliated with Korean American churches, most of them Protestant denominations (Hurh and Kim, 1988; Hurh and Kim, 1990; Min, 1992). In order to overcome the difficulty of obtaining responses and, in part, due to budget constraints, this study relied on church pastors in recruiting Korean American respondents. Korean immigrants were selected from three regions: the South, Northeast, and West of the United States. The 1990 census shows that over 86.4% of Korean

Americans live in these regions (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993a: Table 276). Questionnaires having no responses to the key variables were excluded. The total number of questionnaires actually used in the data analysis is 330.

Products Investigated

Certain products are more important to the domestic economy than others, and are related to key industries. For example, such products as automobiles have considerable economic impact, since many people are involved in automobile production and ancillary industries such as steel, electronics, and textiles. Survival and growth of key industries is vital to an industrialized country's economic welfare. A study on the effect of country of origin on purchase has also revealed that consumers tend to check "made-in" labels most frequently for more expensive durables such as automobiles and electronic items than other products such as clothing, dress, and sporting goods (Hung, 1989). This study considers four product categories: automobiles, televisions, stereo systems, and VCRs. These categories are addressed because the industries surrounding them are vital to the Korean economy, and because they are among the most competitive areas in world markets between Korea and Japan. A previous study on a product's degree of importance for the Korean economy has shown that Korean consumers evaluated electronic items and automobiles as being the most important products (Shin, 1993). In the interest of space, we will only present the analysis of automobile purchasing behaviors in this paper.

Models

We address research questions by using ordinary least squares regression to estimate the causal effects for the model shown in Figure 1. By using a series of recursive multi-equation models, we calculate direct, indirect, spurious, and total effects of one variable on another (Alwin and Hauser, 1975; McClendon, 1994). In the model in Figure 1, acculturation, image of Japan, and consumption behavior will be dependent variables in three separate regression equations.

The reduced-form and structural equations we analyze take the following forms:

$$(1) \text{ ACCULTURATION} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{ AGE} + \beta_2 \text{ SEX} + \beta_3 \text{ COLEDU} + \beta_4 \text{ BAEDU} + \beta_5 \text{ MAEDU} + \beta_6 \text{ INCOME} + \beta_7 \text{ IMMIGRANT} + \beta_8 \text{ RESIDENCY AT 16} + \beta_9 \text{ STAY1019} + \beta_{10} \text{ STAY20} + \beta_{11} \text{ AGE-IMM} +$$

$$\beta_{12} \text{ ENGLISH SKILLS} + \beta_{13} \text{ VIT-KOR} + \beta_{14} \text{ SUB-NEWS} + \beta_{15} \text{ VIT-FOREIGN} + \beta_{16} \text{ SPEAK-FOREIGN} + \varepsilon$$

$$(2) \text{ IMAGE OF JAPAN} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{ AGE} + \beta_2 \text{ SEX} + \beta_3 \text{ COLEDU} + \beta_4 \text{ BAEDU} + \beta_5 \text{ MAEDU} + \beta_6 \text{ INCOME} + \beta_7 \text{ IMMIGRANT} + \beta_8 \text{ RESIDENCY AT 16} + \beta_9 \text{ STAY1019} + \beta_{10} \text{ STAY20} + \beta_{11} \text{ AGE-IMM} + \beta_{12} \text{ ENGLISH SKILLS} + \beta_{13} \text{ VIT-KOR} + \beta_{14} \text{ SUB-NEWS} + \beta_{15} \text{ VIT-FOREIGN} + \beta_{16} \text{ SPEAK-FOREIGN} + \beta_{17} \text{ ACCULTURATION} + \varepsilon$$

$$(3) \text{ CONSUMPTION} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{ AGE} + \beta_2 \text{ SEX} + \beta_3 \text{ COLEDU} + \beta_4 \text{ BAEDU} + \beta_5 \text{ MAEDU} + \beta_6 \text{ INCOME} + \beta_7 \text{ IMMIGRANT} + \beta_8 \text{ RESIDENCY AT 16} + \beta_9 \text{ STAY1019} + \beta_{10} \text{ STAY20} + \beta_{11} \text{ AGE-IMM} + \beta_{12} \text{ ENGLISH SKILLS} + \beta_{13} \text{ VIT-KOR} + \beta_{14} \text{ SUB-NEWS} + \beta_{15} \text{ VIT-FOREIGN} + \beta_{16} \text{ SPEAK-FOREIGN} + \beta_{17} \text{ ACCULTURATION} + \beta_{18} \text{ IMAGE OF JAPAN} + \varepsilon$$

$$(4) \text{ CONSUMPTION} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{ AGE} + \beta_2 \text{ SEX} + \beta_3 \text{ COLEDU} + \beta_4 \text{ BAEDU} + \beta_5 \text{ MAEDU} + \beta_6 \text{ INCOME} + \beta_7 \text{ IMMIGRANT} + \beta_8 \text{ RESIDENCY AT 16} + \beta_9 \text{ STAY1019} + \beta_{10} \text{ STAY20} + \beta_{11} \text{ AGE-IMM} + \beta_{12} \text{ ENGLISH SKILLS} + \beta_{13} \text{ VIT-KOR} + \beta_{14} \text{ SUB-NEWS} + \beta_{15} \text{ VIT-FOREIGN} + \beta_{16} \text{ SPEAK-FOREIGN} + \varepsilon$$

$$(5) \text{ CONSUMPTION} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{ AGE} + \beta_2 \text{ SEX} + \beta_3 \text{ COLEDU} + \beta_4 \text{ BAEDU} + \beta_5 \text{ MAEDU} + \beta_6 \text{ INCOME} + \beta_7 \text{ IMMIGRANT} + \beta_8 \text{ RESIDENCY AT 16} + \beta_9 \text{ STAY1019} + \beta_{10} \text{ STAY20} + \beta_{11} \text{ AGE-IMM} + \beta_{12} \text{ ENGLISH SKILLS} + \beta_{13} \text{ VIT-KOR} + \beta_{14} \text{ SUB-NEWS} + \beta_{15} \text{ VIT-FOREIGN} + \beta_{16} \text{ SPEAK-FOREIGN} + \beta_{17} \text{ ACCULTURATION} + \varepsilon$$

Equations 1, 2 and 3 for ACCULTURATION, IMAGE OF JAPAN, and CONSUMPTION, respectively, are structural-form equations. Equation 3 provides the estimates of the coefficients in the regression of the final endogenous variable CONSUMPTION on the two exogenous variable blocks and two endogenous variables. Equations 4 and 5 are reduced-form equations. Equation 4 only contains paths from the exogenous variable blocks to the final endogenous variable CONSUMPTION. Thus, the paths in equation 4 represent the total effects of the exogenous variable blocks on CONSUMPTION. Equation 5 does not contain IMAGE OF JAPAN, the second endogenous variable, but it does contain ACCULTURATION, the first endogenous variable. Thus, the coefficients in equation 5 represent the direct effect of each variable plus the indirect effects that pass through IMAGE OF JAPAN.

AGE is measured as years. SEX is coded 1 for female. COLEDU is coded 1 if a person had two-years of college education in Korea and 0 otherwise, BAEDU is coded 1 if a person had four years of college education in Korea

and 0 otherwise, MAEDU is coded 1 if a person had graduate education in Korea and 0 otherwise, and high school education or less in Korea is the reference category. INCOME is the annual family income which is collapsed into three categories: 1) under \$30,000; 2) \$30,000-\$69,999; 3) \$70,000 and over. IMMIGRANT is coded 1 for immigrants who are citizens or permanent residents, and coded 0 for non-immigrants who are foreign students or visitors. RESIDENCY AT 16 is coded 1 for persons living in Korea when they were 16 years old, and 0 otherwise. STAY1019 is coded 1 if a person had stayed ten to nineteen years in the U.S. and 0 otherwise, STAY20 is coded 1 if a person had stayed twenty or more years in the U.S. and 0 otherwise, and staying one to nine years in the U.S. is the reference category. AGE-IMM is years of age at the time of immigration that is computed as (years of age - [1999 - year entered to the U.S]) with a minimum value of one year. ENGLISH SKILLS is coded 1 if a person speaks in English well and 0 otherwise. VIT-KOR is measured as the number of visits an immigrant has made to Korea in the last three years. SUB-NEWS is coded 1 if a person has subscribed to Korean newspaper(s) or magazine(s) and 0 otherwise. VIT-FOREIGN is coded 1 if a person has visited other foreign countries and 0 otherwise. SPEAK-FOREIGN is coded 1 if a person can speak other foreign languages except for Korean and English and 0 otherwise.

ACCULTURATION measures the tendency of Korean Americans to become accustomed to the American way of thinking and life. Individuals were asked to indicate the degree of acculturation to American culture on the rating scale, ranging from 1 for "not Americanized at all," to 10 for "extremely Americanized." IMAGE OF JAPAN is measured by asking Korean Americans to indicate their degree of favorability toward Japan on an eleven point scale, ranging from +5 for "extremely like," through 0 for "neither like nor dislike," to -5 for "extremely dislike." Thus, larger positive numbers indicate Korean Americans' more favorable images toward Japan, and larger negative numbers indicate Korean Americans' more unfavorable images toward Japan. CONSUMPTION is measured as the number of Japanese cars owned by a person, ranging from 0 for individuals who do not own a Japanese car, to 3 for individuals who own three Japanese cars. Table 1 shows the frequency distribution of Korean American families' currently owned cars surveyed in this study, and the U.S. retail sales of cars between 1987 and 1997.¹¹ Nearly 48 percent of Korean Americans own Japanese cars, whereas only 23 percent of Americans own Japanese cars.

¹¹ It should be noted that the subjects used in this study are the individuals, not the families.

TABLE 1. FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF KOREAN AMERICAN FAMILIES' CURRENT OWNED CARS AND THE U.S. RETAIL SALES OF CARS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

| Country | Korean American's car owned | U.S. total retail sales (1987-1997) |
|---------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| U.S. | 247 (42.44%) | 114,698,131 (72.59%) |
| Japan | 282 (48.45%) | 36,312,043 (22.98%) |
| Korea | 21 (3.61%) | 1,767,897 (1.12%) |
| Germany | 19 (3.26%) | 3,446,485 (2.18%) |
| Sweden | 8 (1.37%) | 1,272,752 (0.81%) |
| Britain | 1 (0.17%) | 332,751 (0.21%) |
| Italy | 0 (0.00%) | 36,388 (0.02%) |
| Others | 4 (0.69%) | 132,362 (0.08%) |
| Total | 582 (100.00%) | 157,998,809 (100.00%) |

Source: *Automobile News* (1988-1998); American Automobile Manufactures Association (1988-1998).

RESULTS

Table 2 provides the descriptive statistics of the variables used in the sample of 330 Korean American respondents. The 1990 census indicated that the median age of Korean Americans is 29.1 years (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993b). The mean age of Korean Americans in this sample is 39.4 years (the median age, 38 years, is not reported in Table 2). This means that the distribution of age in this sample is considerably older than that of the Korean American population, since this survey is restricted to persons who have owned a car(s) or whose families have owned a car(s). Also, 32.4 percent of Korean American respondents are females, while 56.1 percent of Korean Americans in the 1990 census are females (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993b). Thus, this sample underrepresented Korean American females. In this survey, 53 percent of respondents had completed four years of college in Korea, while in the 1990 census, 34 percent of Korean Americans who were twenty-five or older had completed four years of college (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993b). Although education level is measured as education in Korea, the higher education level of Korean American respondents is due to including more Korean students studying in the United States. 68.8 percent of Korean American respondents are citizens or permanent residents, and the others are foreign students or visitors. Nine out of ten Korean American respondents (90.3 percent) were living in Korea when he or she was 16 years old. 46.6 percent of respondents came to the U.S. after 1990.

With regard to the cultural variables, 33.6 percent of the sample respond-

Thus, this table is only to compare the distribution of Korean Americans' car ownership with the U.S. total car sales by country of origin.

TABLE 2. SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

| | Total sample | |
|---|--------------|--------|
| Sample size | 330 | SD |
| Demographic variables | | |
| Mean age | 39.444 | 10.430 |
| % female | 32.4 | |
| % high school education or less ^a | 38.2 | |
| % two years of college education | 8.8 | |
| % four years of college education | 37.0 | |
| % graduate education | 16.0 | |
| % under \$30,000 of earnings | 38.1 | |
| % \$30,000 to 69,999 of earnings | 45.0 | |
| % \$70,000 or over of earnings | 16.9 | |
| % immigrants | 68.8 | |
| % living in Korea at age 16 | 90.3 | |
| % staying 1-9 years ^c | 46.6 | |
| % staying 10-19 years | 31.6 | |
| % staying 20 years or over | 21.8 | |
| Mean age at the time of immigration | 27.387 | 8.898 |
| Cultural variables | | |
| % well English skills | 33.6 | |
| Mean number of visiting Korea | 0.982 | 1.359 |
| % subscribing to Korean newspapers or magazines | 44.5 | |
| % visiting foreign countries | 42.7 | |
| % speaking foreign languages | 22.7 | |
| Mean acculturation ^d | 5.474 | 2.222 |
| Mean image toward Japan ^e | -0.299 | 2.891 |
| Consumption behavior | | |
| Mean number of current Japanese cars owned ^f | 0.576 | 0.568 |
| (% current ownership of Japanese cars) ^b | (54.0) | |

^a High school education or less is the reference category in least-squares and logistic analysis.

^b Variable not included in least-squares and logistic analysis.

^c Staying 1- 9 years is the reference category in least-squares analysis.

^d Likert scale (1-10). Large numbers indicate more acculturation to American culture.

^e Likert scale ranging from -5, through 0, to +5. Larger positive numbers indicate more favorable image toward Japan. Larger negative numbers indicate more unfavorable image toward Japan.

^f Interval scale (0-3). Numbers indicate Japanese car owned.

ed that they could speak English well. Table 2 shows that on average, Korean American respondents have visited Korea at least one time in the last three years. 44.5 percent of respondents have subscribed to a Korean

newspaper(s) or magazine(s). Thus, combined, the last two variables suggest that Korean American respondents have a relatively high attachment to Korean culture. Korean American respondents appear to be culturally diversified. About 43 percent of respondents have had experiences visiting foreign countries (excluding Korea), and 22.7 percent of respondents can speak foreign languages besides Korean and English. The mean degree of acculturation to American culture is 5.5, which means that Korean American respondents' degree of acculturation to the American way of thinking and life is in the middle of the 10 point rating scale. This fact may be accounted for by variation in the demographic and cultural variable blocks. Korean American respondents' mean image toward Japan is negative (-.299), indicating an unfavorable image toward Japan. Also, this fact may be explained by the variation in the demographic and cultural variable blocks and the degree of acculturation to American culture. Concerning Korean American respondents' consumption behavior, 54 percent of Korean Americans currently own Japanese cars, which is measured by car(s) which respondents mainly use. Respondents' Japanese car ownership is relatively high compared to current ownership of Japanese cars that respondents and their family members own (48 percent, see Table 1). Respondents who have owned Japanese car or cars have owned .58 Japanese cars per person.

Background Variables Effects on Acculturation

Table 3 provides the results of three OLS models that regress Korean Americans' degree of acculturation to American culture on the predictors described above. Equations 1 and 2 in Table 3 include only the set of demographic predictor variables in order to investigate effects of the inter-correlation among the predictors of Korean Americans' degree of acculturation. Several coefficients of the demographic variables in equation 1 are significant and affect the degree of acculturation in the expected directions. Average net increase in the degree of acculturation to American culture is .54 points for Korean American respondents who have completed four years of college education in Korea compared to those who have a high school education or less in Korea. Thus, we can confirm the hypothesis, in part, that well-educated individuals are more likely to be acculturated to American culture than less well-educated individuals. For Korean American respondents who have stayed from ten to nineteen years in the U.S., the degree of acculturation increases by .588 points compared to those who have stayed from one to nine years. For Korean Americans who have stayed for twenty or more years in the U.S., the degree of acculturation to

TABLE 3. PARAMETER ESTIMATES FOR THE REDUCED FORM AND STRUCTURAL EQUATIONS ON KOREAN AMERICANS' ACCULTURATION TO AMERICAN CULTURE

| Equations | 1 | | 2 | | 3 | |
|---------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| | B ^a | b ^b | B ^a | b ^b | B ^a | b ^b |
| Demographic variables | | | | | | |
| Age | | | 0.048 | 0.224 | 0.044 | 0.206 |
| Sex | 0.452 | 0.095 | 0.438 | 0.092 | 0.241 | 0.051 |
| Two years of college education | 0.570 | 0.072 | 0.637 | 0.081 | 0.466 | 0.059 |
| Four years of college education | 0.540* | 0.117 | 0.581* | 0.127 | 0.359 | 0.078 |
| Graduate education | 0.241 | 0.040 | 0.278 | 0.046 | 0.096 | 0.016 |
| Income | | | -0.195 | -0.062 | -0.133 | -0.042 |
| Resident status | | | -0.058 | -0.012 | 0.034 | 0.007 |
| Residency at youth | -0.653 | -0.087 | -0.717 | -0.096 | -0.107 | -0.014 |
| Stay1019 | 0.588* | 0.123 | 0.320 | 0.067 | 0.337 | 0.071 |
| Stay20 | 1.402*** | 0.260 | 0.626 | 0.116 | 0.477 | 0.089 |
| Age at the time of immigration | -0.084*** | -0.338 | -0.127*** | -0.510 | -0.110*** | -0.439 |
| Cultural variables | | | | | | |
| English skills | | | | | 1.330*** | 0.238 |
| Visiting Korea | | | | | -0.036 | -0.022 |
| Subscribing to newspaper | | | | | -0.145 | -0.032 |
| Visiting foreign countries | | | | | -0.002 ^c | 0.004 ^d |
| Speaking foreign languages | | | | | 0.677* | 0.128 |
| Intercept | | 7.450*** | | 7.421 | | 0.363 |
| R ² | | 0.260 | | 0.268 | | 0.363 |

^a Unstandardized regression coefficients.

^b Standardized regression coefficients.

^c The decimal point of the parameter estimate is moved 2 places to the right.

^d The decimal point of the parameter estimate is moved 3 places to the right.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

American culture increases by 1.402 points compared to those who have stayed from one to nine years. Thus, average net increase in the degree of acculturation to American culture for Korean Americans who have stayed for twenty or more years in the U.S. is 2.83 times as high as that for Korean Americans who have stayed for ten to nineteen years in the U.S. These results suggest that the longer one stays in the U.S., the more likely one is to be acculturated to American culture. An additional year in age at the time of immigration relates to a .084 decrease in the degree of acculturation to

American culture, net of other predictors in the equation. Thus, as found by other studies (Alba and Nee, 1997; Padilla, 1980; Sodowsky et al., 1991), age at the time of immigration is inversely related to the degree of acculturation to American culture. While the magnitude of the effect of each of these variables varies as additional variables are added to equation 1, the positive or negative direction of each effect remains unchanged in equation 2.

In equation 2 (Table 3), age, income, and resident status are added to the model. The effect of the length of stay in the U.S. on the degree of acculturation to American culture disappears; this is due to the strong bivariate correlation ($r = .50$) between age and stay twenty or more years in the U.S.¹² However, the effect of the age at the time of immigration becomes considerably more negative, net of other predictors in this equation, although there is a strong bivariate correlation ($r = .60$) between the age at the time of immigration and age. This suggests that there is a strong and inverse independent effect of the age at the time of immigration to the U.S. on the degree of acculturation even when age is controlled.

In equation 3 (Table 3), which is the first structural equation, the cultural variable blocks are added to equation 2. The cultural variables uniquely explain 9.5 percent additional variance in the degree of acculturation to American culture. Among the cultural variable blocks, the two variables' effects are statistically significant and positive on the degree of acculturation to American culture in the expected directions. An increase in the degree of acculturation to American culture for a person who can speak English well is 1.33 points compared to a person who cannot speak English well, net of other predictors in the equation. This means that a person who is more prone to use English is more acculturated to American culture. For the speaking of other foreign languages, the degree of acculturation to American culture for a person who can speak foreign languages besides Korean and English increases by .677 points compared to a person who cannot, net of other predictors in the equations. From these results, we conclude that, like other studies (Hurh and Kim, 1988; Mouw and Xie, 1999), people who can interact with members whose cultures are different from their own tend to be more acculturated to American culture than those who cannot. Although the effect of the four years of college education disappears and the effect of the age at the time of immigration decreases when cultural variables are added to equation 2, the effect of the age at the time of immigra-

¹² In the equation, which includes all the demographic predictor variables except for age, the effect of the length of stay in the U.S. on the degree of acculturation to American culture is statistically significant.

TABLE 4. PARAMETER ESTIMATES FOR THE REDUCED FORM AND STRUCTURAL EQUATIONS ON KOREAN AMERICANS' IMAGE TOWARD JAPAN

| Equations | 1 | | 2 | | 3 | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| | B ^a | b ^b | B ^a | b ^b | B ^a | b ^b |
| Demographic variables | | | | | | |
| Age | -0.032 | -0.116 | -0.043 | -0.157 | -0.046 | -0.165 |
| Sex | -0.038 | -0.006 | -0.147 | -0.024 | -0.159 | -0.026 |
| Two years of college education | -0.178 | -0.017 | -0.322 | -0.032 | -0.344 | -0.034 |
| Four years of college education | 0.594 | 0.099 | 0.364 | 0.061 | 0.348 | 0.058 |
| Graduate education | 0.193 | 0.024 | -0.003 ^c | -0.004 ^d | -0.005 | -0.006 ^c |
| Income | 0.009 | 0.002 | 0.111 | 0.027 | 0.118 | 0.029 |
| Resident status | 0.459 | 0.073 | 0.647 | 0.104 | 0.646 | 0.104 |
| Residency at youth | -0.221 | -0.023 | 0.184 | 0.019 | 0.189 | 0.019 |
| Stay1019 | -0.480 | -0.074 | -0.283 | -0.046 | -0.299 | -0.048 |
| Stay20 | -0.477 | -0.023 | -0.232 | -0.033 | -0.254 | -0.036 |
| Age at the time of immigration | 0.005 ^d | 0.002 | 0.017 | -0.051 | 0.022 | 0.067 |
| Cultural variables | | | | | | |
| English skills | | | 0.441 | 0.072 | 0.379 | 0.062 |
| Visiting Korea | | | 0.027 | 0.013 | 0.029 | 0.014 |
| Subscribing to newspaper | | | -0.674 | -0.116 | -0.668 | -0.115 |
| Visiting foreign countries | | | 0.131 | 0.022 | 0.131 | 0.022 |
| Speaking foreign languages | | | 0.992 [*] | 0.144 | 0.960 [*] | 0.139 |
| Acculturation | | | | | 0.047 | 0.036 |
| Intercept | 0.856 | | 0.084 | | -0.202 | |
| R ² | 0.029 | | 0.069 | | 0.070 | |

^a Unstandardized regression coefficients.

^b Standardized regression coefficients.

^c The decimal point of the parameter estimate is moved 1 places to the right.

^d The decimal point of the parameter estimate is moved 2 places to the right.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

tion on the degree of acculturation is still powerful. This result indicates that people who come to the U.S. at younger ages tend to have greater contact with the host culture, its institutions and its members.

Background Variables-Image Toward Japan Linkage

The demographic and cultural variables and the degree of acculturation to American culture account for only moderate proportions of variance in Korean Americans' image toward Japan. In equation 2 (Table 4), the cultural variables uniquely explain 4 percent additional variance in Korean Americans' image toward Japan. However, among the independent variables, only the effect of speaking other languages on Korean Americans' image toward Japan is statistically significant. A person who can speak foreign languages besides Korean and English tends to have a more favorable image toward Japan by .992 points compared to a person who cannot. Thus, this result implies that people who have the capacity to interact with those whose cultures are different from their own are less ethnocentric.

In structural equation 3 (Table 4), which is identical to equation 2, the degree of acculturation to American culture is added to equation 2. Only the effect of speaking foreign languages on Korean Americans' image toward Japan is still statistically significant. The inclusion of the degree of acculturation slightly reduces the effect of speaking foreign languages. Thus, the effect of speaking foreign languages on Korean Americans' image toward Japan is independent of the intervening variable, the degree of acculturation to American culture. This result suggests that people who are culturally diversified are less ethnocentric and have a more cosmopolitan view.

It is worth noting that, with the exception of speaking foreign languages, none of the other predictors have significant effects on Korean Americans' image toward Japan. This means that Korean Americans' image toward Japan is explained relatively low by the cultural and structural changes in the new circumstances following immigration. Thus, these results suggest that Korean Americans' image toward Japan, which has long been formed through the historical and cultural relations between Korea and Japan, is not changed in the post-immigration environment by the processes of acculturation to American culture. Therefore, some aspects of ethnic culture may continue to be alive in new circumstances, although Korean Americans have been acculturated to American culture.

Car Buying Behavior

Table 5 presents the results for Korean Americans' car buying behavior, which is the last portion of Figure 1. Equation 4 in Table 5 is the structural equation for Korean Americans' current Japanese car buying behavior, regressing the last endogenous variable, consumption behavior, on the pre-determined variables. Thus, the coefficients in equation 4 represent the

TABLE 5. PARAMETER ESTIMATES FOR THE REDUCED FORM AND STRUCTURAL EQUATIONS ON KOREAN AMERICANS' CURRENT JAPANESE CAR BUYING BEHAVIOR

| Equations | 1 | | 2 | | 3 | | 4 | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | B ^a | b ^b | B ^a | b ^b | B ^a | b ^b | B ^a | b ^b |
| Demographic variables | | | | | | | | |
| Age | 0.011 | 0.193 | 0.011 | 0.204 | 0.011 | 0.195 | 0.012 | 0.221 |
| Sex | 0.022 | 0.018 | 0.033 | 0.027 | 0.031 | 0.025 | 0.035 | 0.029 |
| Two years of college education | 0.074 | 0.037 | 0.075 | 0.037 | 0.070 | 0.035 | 0.081 | 0.040 |
| Four years of college education | -0.025 | -0.021 | -0.013 | -0.011 | -0.017 | -0.014 | -0.027 | -0.023 |
| Graduate education | 0.227* | 0.147 | 0.234* | 0.151 | 0.233* | 0.151 | 0.233* | 0.151 |
| Income | -0.447 | -0.056 | -0.052 | -0.065 | -0.051 | -0.064 | -0.054 | -0.068 |
| Resident status | 0.103 | 0.084 | 0.101 | 0.082 | 0.100 | 0.082 | 0.081 | 0.066 |
| Residency at youth | -0.294* | -0.153 | -0.327* | -0.171 | -0.326* | -0.172 | -0.332** | -0.173 |
| Stay1019 | -0.130 | -0.107 | -0.137 | -0.112 | -0.140 | -0.115 | -0.131 | -0.108 |
| Stay20 | -0.464* | -0.338 | -0.464* | -0.338 | -0.469* | -0.341 | -0.461* | -0.336 |
| Age at the time of immigration | -0.018 ^c | -0.287 | -0.020* | -0.316 | -0.019 ^d | -0.298 | -0.020* | -0.308 |
| Cultural variables | | | | | | | | |
| English skills | | | -0.098 | -0.081 | -0.111 | -0.093 | -0.123 | -0.102 |
| Visiting Korea | | | -0.012 | -0.028 | -0.011 | -0.027 | -0.012 | -0.029 |
| Subscribing to newspaper | | | 0.029 | 0.026 | -0.031 | 0.027 | 0.051 | 0.046 |
| Visiting foreign countries | | | 0.095 | 0.082 | 0.095 | 0.082 | 0.091 | 0.079 |
| Speaking foreign language | | | -0.095 | -0.070 | -0.102 | -0.076 | -0.131 | -0.097 |
| Acculturation | | | | | 0.010 | 0.041 | 0.009 | 0.035 |
| Image toward Japan | | | | | | | 0.030** | 0.154 |
| Intercept | | 1.038*** | | 1.114*** | | 1.052*** | | 1.058*** |
| R ² | | 0.089 | | 0.105 | | 0.107 | | 0.129 |

^a Unstandardized regression coefficients.

^b Standardized regression coefficients.

^c $p = .055$.

^d $p = .0555$.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

direct effects of the predetermined variables on Korean Americans' consumption behavior. Equation 2 is a reduced-form equation for Korean

Americans' current Japanese car buying behavior, regressing consumption behavior on the two exogenous variable blocks, the demographic and cultural variables. Thus, the coefficients in equation 2 represent the total effects of the two exogenous variable blocks on consumption behavior. Equation 3 is the reduced-form equation for Korean Americans' current Japanese car buying behavior, regressing consumption behavior on the two exogenous variable blocks and acculturation variable. Thus, the coefficients in equation 3 represent the effects of the two exogenous and first endogenous variables on consumption behavior, not mediated by the degree of acculturation to American culture.

In the structural equation for Korean Americans' current Japanese car buying behavior (equation 4 in Table 5), the variables, stayed twenty or more years in the U.S., age at the time of immigration, living in Korea at age sixteen (residency at youth), image toward Japan, and graduate education in Korea are the major direct determinants, in that order. With the exception of Korean Americans' image toward Japan, effects of these four demographic variables are statistically significant in all equations in Table 5.¹³ In structural equation 4, among these variables, the three demographic variables (graduate education in Korea, residency at youth, and age at the time of immigration) and Korean Americans' image toward Japan have effects on Korean Americans' current car buying behavior in the expected directions, while staying twenty years or more in the U.S. has an opposite effect on Korean Americans' consumption behavior in the expected direction.

Average net increase in the number of Japanese cars Korean Americans own is .233 for individuals who have completed graduate education in Korea compared to those who have a high school education or less in Korea, net of other predictors in the equation. Thus, we can confirm the hypothesis that well educated individuals are more likely to purchase Japanese cars than less well educated individuals. Consistent with the results of other studies (Ray, 1990; Rose, 1985), education has a relationship with the purchasing of foreign products. Persons who were living in Korea when he or she was sixteen years old relates to a net decrease of .332 in the number of Japanese cars Korean Americans own compared to those who were not living in Korea. We can conclude that individuals who came to the U.S. as adults are less likely to purchase Japanese cars than individuals who did not. This seems to be because Koreans' attitudes toward Japan have been negatively socialized in Korea. In equation 2 (Table 5), the effect of living in

¹³ The coefficients of the age at the time of immigration in equations 1 and 3 are nearly statistically significant at .055 and .0555, respectively.

Korea at age sixteen (residency at youth) on Korean Americans' Japanese car ownership becomes considerably more negative when the cultural variables are added to the equation. Each additional year of age at the time of immigration relates to a decrease of .02 in the number of Japanese cars Korean Americans own. Thus, similar to the meanings of the effect of living in Korea at age sixteen, this finding seems to suggest that Korean Americans may have had more opportunities for contact with American culture and less ethnic awareness if they came to the U.S. at younger ages.

Also, as expected, each additional degree of Korean Americans' favorable image toward Japan relates to an increase of .03 in the number of Japanese cars Korean Americans own. That is to say, on average, each additional one degree of Korean Americans' unfavorable image toward Japan relates to a net decrease of .03 in the number of Japanese cars Korean Americans own, because its measurement has a negative sign for Korean Americans' unfavorable image toward Japan. In addition, Korean Americans' image toward Japan uniquely explains 2.2 percent additional variance in Korean Americans' current car buying behavior, even after controlling the predetermined variables. Thus, Korean Americans' image toward Japan is the most important of these determinants. This result suggests that traditional patterns of Koreans' negative attitudes toward buying Japanese products in the country of origin still continues to influence Korean Americans' consumption patterns in their post-immigration environment. Korean Americans still maintain previous patterns of consumption behavior. Therefore, for Korean Americans, as Douglas and Isherwood (1996) mentioned, it can be said that their consumption behaviors, specifically buying Japanese cars, carry social meanings.

On the other hand, the results show that the effect of the length of staying twenty or more years in the U.S. on Korean Americans' car buying behavior is not in the expected direction. Persons who have stayed twenty or more years in the U.S. relate to a net decrease of .461 in the number of Japanese cars Korean Americans own, compared to those who have stayed one to nine years in the U.S., even when other variables including resident status and age are controlled. In view of the extensive controls in the structural equation, this directly negative effect of the length of staying 20 or more years in the U.S. on the number of Japanese cars Korean Americans own is especially noteworthy. This contradictory finding may be interpreted as that, although Korean Americans have long stayed in the U.S., they are still culturally aware and ethnically loyal. This may be due to the fact that most Korean Americans are first generation immigrants and were socialized in Korea (looking at Table 2, 90.3 percent of Korean Americans come to the

TABLE 6. DECOMPOSITION OF EFFECTS ON KOREAN AMERICANS' CURRENT JAPANESE CAR BUYING BEHAVIOR^a

| | Total effect | Direct effect | Indirect effect via acculturation | Indirect effect via image toward Japan |
|------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|---|--|
| Demographic variables | | | | |
| Age | 0.0111 | 0.0120 | 0.0004 ^{ns} | -0.0014 ^{ns} |
| Sex | 0.0331 | 0.0354 | 0.0025 ^{ns} | -0.0048 ^{ns} |
| Two years of college education | 0.0750 | 0.0805 | 0.0048 ^{ns} | -0.0104 ^{ns} |
| Four years of college education | -0.0132 | -0.0275 | 0.0037 ^{ns} | 0.0105 ^{ns} |
| Graduate education | 0.2339* | 0.2330* | 0.0010 ^{ns} | -0.0001 ^{ns} |
| Income | -0.0521 | -0.0543 | -0.0014 ^{ns} | 0.0036 ^{ns} |
| Resident status | 0.1008 | 0.0809 | 0.0004 ^{ns} | 0.0195 ^{ns} |
| Residency at youth | -0.3274* | -0.3320** | -0.0011 ^{ns} | 0.0057 ^{ns} |
| Stay1019 | -0.1368 | -0.1312 | 0.0035 ^{ns} | -0.0090 ^{ns} |
| Stay20 | -0.4640* | -0.4613* | 0.0050 ^{ns} | -0.0077 ^{ns} |
| Age at the time of immigration | -0.0201* | -0.0197* | -0.0011 ^{ns} | 0.0007 ^{ns} |
| Cultural variables | | | | |
| English skills | -0.0976 | -0.1229 | 0.0138 ^{ns} | 0.0115 ^{ns} |
| Visiting Korea | -0.0117 | -0.0122 | -0.0004 ^{ns} | 0.0009 ^{ns} |
| Subscribing to newspaper | 0.0291 | 0.0508 | -0.0015 ^{ns} | -0.0202 ^{ns} |
| Visiting foreign countries | 0.0945 | 0.0906 | -0.0000 ^{ns} | 0.0040 ^{ns} |
| Speaking foreign languages | -0.0951 | -0.1312 | 0.0070 ^{ns} | 0.0291 |
| Acculturation | 0.0104 | 0.0090 | — | 0.0014 ^{ns} |
| Image toward Japan | 0.0303** | 0.0303** | — | — |

^a Data from unstandardized coefficients in equation 3 in Table 3, equation 3 in Table 4 and equations 2, 3, and 4 in Table 5.

^{ns} Not significant.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

U.S. as adults). Korean Americans who have stayed twenty or more years in the U.S. were more likely to be negatively socialized toward Japan in Korea than more recent immigrants, because the former left Korea when anti-Japanese sentiment was still strong during the 1960s and 1970s, and the latter were exposed to improved Korean-Japanese relationships.¹⁴ Combining these results, Korean Americans' mode of consumer acculturation seems to

¹⁴ For example, the anti-Japanese sentiment was punctuated by violent struggles, as in 1965, against Korea's Normalization Treaty with Japan.

be the integration mode, which implies the maintenance of original culture as well as a daily interaction with the dominant culture (Berry, 1980; Berry, 1990).

The decomposition of the total effects of the predetermined variables on Korean Americans' current Japanese car buying behavior is shown in Table 6. According to the model described in Figure 1, all of the exogenous variables, in addition to their direct effects on consumption behavior, have indirect effects on Korean Americans' current Japanese car buying behavior via their effects on the two endogenous variables (their degree of acculturation to American culture and image toward Japan). However, according to the parameter estimates, the degree of acculturation to American culture, the first endogenous variable, does not have a significant direct effect on Korean Americans' current car buying behavior (see the coefficient in column 3 in Table 6). On the other hand, Korean Americans' image toward Japan, the second endogenous variable, does have a significant direct effect on consumption behavior (see the coefficient in column 3 in Table 6), while, with the exception of the speaking foreign languages variable, the two exogenous variable blocks and the degree of acculturation to American culture variable do not have significant direct effects on Korean Americans' image toward Japan (see the coefficients in equation 3 in Table 4). Therefore, all of the indirect effects of the two exogenous variable blocks on Korean Americans' current car buying behavior via the degree of acculturation to American culture are not statistically significant. On the other hand, with the exception of the speaking foreign languages variable, the indirect effects of the two endogenous variable blocks and the degree of acculturation to American culture on Korean Americans' current Japanese car buying behavior via the Korean Americans' image toward Japan are also not statistically significant. Thus, only the speaking foreign languages variable indirectly associates with Korean Americans' current Japanese car buying behavior.

The total effects of all of the exogenous and endogenous variables on the number of current Japanese cars Korean Americans own are the net effects estimated with the reduced-form equation. The total effects of all of the exogenous and (or) first endogenous variables which do not have significant direct associations with the first and second endogenous variables are the direct effects obtained with the structural equation for Korean Americans' Japanese car buying behavior. Thus, the total effects of the four demographic variables (graduate education in Korea, residency at youth, stayed twenty or more years in the U.S., and age at the time of immigration) are simply the direct effects estimated with the structural equation (equation 4 in Table 5). In these results, it is worthy to note that although the total

and direct effects of the speaking other languages variable on Korean Americans' current Japanese car buying behavior are not significant, the speaking other languages variable has an indirect effect on consumption behavior via Korean Americans' image toward Japan. People who can speak foreign languages other than Korean and English indirectly (via their image toward Japan) relate to an increase of .029 in the number of Japanese cars Korean Americans own compared to people who cannot. This result may mean that Korean Americans who are more culturally diversified purchase Japanese cars more on their own objective merits. Combining the results, for which Korean Americans' foreign language skills other than Korean and English have positive effects on their degree of acculturation to American culture and image toward Japan, and indirect effects on their Japanese car buying behavior via their image toward Japan, Korean Americans with contact with different cultures are less ethnically aware, less ethnocentric, and more prone to buy Japanese cars.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This study attempted to address the extent to which ethnic culture or affiliation accounts for continuities and changes in action in the post-immigration environment, focusing specifically on the consumption behavior of Korean Americans. This study examined antecedents of Korean Americans' images toward Japan, which are Koreans' specific characteristics historically and culturally formed, the extent to which this tendency changes or continues in the host society through the process of acculturation, and the impact this tendency has on their Japanese products buying behavior. The proposed interrelationships were subjected to an empirical test using data collected in the U.S.

It was found that Korean Americans' negative images toward Japan still continue in the host society in spite of cultural and structural changes. It was also found that Korean Americans' images toward Japan does influence their consumption behavior in the face of structural changes following immigration. These facts support prior research that suggests that the behavioral patterns characteristic of a particular culture are influenced by a system's social framework, which constrains the strategies of action (Swidler, 1986). These findings also support, in part, the arguments that the acculturation process is not a linear progression toward a monolithic culture in the host society, but rather a non-linear trend over time (Alba and Nee, 1997; Berry and Sam, 1997; Glazer, 1997; Kazal, 1995; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). In addition, these findings provide a possible explanation for the

dynamic and comprehensive mechanism of how the specific characteristics of the culture of origin can continue to influence actions in the host society. By providing evidence for the arguments that consumption practices carry social meaning and can be viewed as components of social identity (Douglas and Isherwood, 1996; Friedman, 1990; Warde, 1996), this study shows that the study of consumption behavior, which has been neglected in sociology, could be used as a setting for the testing and expansion of sociological theories (Campbell, 1995; Saunders, 1988).

The degree of acculturation to American culture was shown to be negatively related to age at the time of immigration, and positively related to English skills and the speaking of foreign languages. These results show that people who come to the U.S. at younger ages tend to have greater contact with the host culture, its institutions and its members, and that people who can interact with different cultures are less ethnically aware. Korean Americans' images toward Japan are positively related only to their foreign language skills, while none of the other predictors have effects on their images toward Japan. This suggests that in spite of cultural and structural changes in the post-immigration environment by processes of acculturation to American culture, Korean Americans keep their image toward Japan alive. Therefore, this result shows that some aspects of ethnic culture can continue in the face of structural changes.

Korean Americans' current Japanese car buying behavior is positively related to graduate education in Korea and their images toward Japan, and negatively related to living in Korea at age sixteen, stay twenty or more years in the U.S., and age at the time of immigration. The positive effect of Korean Americans' graduate education in Korea suggests that people who are well educated are also less ethnocentric and more prone to buy foreign products although they have been socialized in Korea longer. The negative effects of living in Korea at age sixteen and age at the time of immigration on Korean Americans' Japanese car buying behavior suggest that the number of Korean Americans buying Japanese cars varies by Korean Americans' degree of socialization in Korea, as well as by their degree of acculturation to American culture. The positive effect of Korean Americans' favorable images toward Japan and the negative effect of their unfavorable images toward Japan suggest that traditional patterns of Koreans' negative attitudes toward buying Japanese products in the country of origin continues to influence Korean Americans' consumption patterns in a post-immigration environment.

Korean Americans still maintain previous Koreans' patterns of consumption behavior. Therefore, for Korean Americans, as Douglas and Isherwood

(1996) and Warde (1996: 304) mentioned, it can be said that their consumption practices buying or not buying Japanese cars carry social meanings and comprises a set of social practices which "permit people to express self identity, to mark attachment to social groups, to accumulate resources, to exhibit social distinction, and to ensure participation in social activities." In addition, foreign language skills have an indirect and positive effect on Korean Americans' Japanese car buying behavior. This fact suggests that people who are culturally diversified are less ethnically aware, less ethnocentric, and more prone to buy Japanese cars.

On the other hand, the negative effect of Korean Americans' stay twenty or more years in the U.S. on their Japanese car buying behavior is a quite unusual result, contradicting with the expected direction stemming from the results of other studies, in which Korean Americans have achieved assimilation in proportion to their length of residence in the U.S. (Hurh and Kim, 1984), such that they may have a tendency to adopt individual culture which subordinates group goals to personal goals (Triandis, 1994). This contradictory finding may be interpreted as that, although Korean Americans have stayed in the U.S. longer, they are still culturally aware and ethnically loyal. This surprising result can be viewed as reflecting the change in Koreans' anti-Japanese sentiment over time. Korean Americans who have stayed twenty or more years in the U.S. left Korea when anti-Japanese sentiment was still strong during the 1960s and 1970s, whereas more recent immigrants were exposed to an improved Korean-Japanese relationship. This may be due to the fact that most Korean Americans are first generation immigrants and were socialized in Korea.

The results for Korean Americans' Japanese electronic products (TV, audio system, and VCR) buying behavior yield different findings (results not reported here).¹⁵ The negative effect of Korean Americans' images toward Japan on their Japanese audio system buying behavior is the opposite of the result for their Japanese car buying behavior. Also, the positive effect of Korean Americans' stay ten to nineteen years in the U.S. on their Japanese VCR buying behavior is opposite the result for their Japanese car

¹⁵ The results for Korean Americans' Japanese TV buying behavior show that, in equations including only the demographic variables as the predictors, only the income variable has an effect on Korean Americans' Japanese TV buying behavior, while, in other equations including the exogenous and (or) endogenous variables as the predictors, none of the coefficients are significant. In all of equations for Korean Americans' Japanese audio system buying behavior, the coefficients of all the predictors, with the exception of Korean Americans' image toward Japan, are not significant. In all equations for Korean Americans' Japanese VCR buying behavior, the length of stay from ten to nineteen years in the U.S. has an effect, whereas none of the other predictors have effects.

buying behavior. These opposite findings indicate that there are variations in effects of the predictors on Korean Americans' consumption behaviors by the type of product. There may be some possible reasons why the predictor effects differ by product category. First, market conditions may differ by product category. For example, there are relatively stable used car markets, while there may not be stable used electronic products markets. Thus, the effects of economic factors such as resale value of a product may vary by product category. Second, technological sophistication such as quality of sound or screen is more important for electronic products than for cars. Third, social factors such as social prestige of each product may differ by product category. Thus, economic and (or) social factors such as quality, price, design, and social prestige of each product, not included in this study, should be considered in future studies.

There are several limitations of this study. First, these findings were based on data collected from Korean Americans, most of whom are first generation immigrants. The generalizability of these findings to second generation immigrants needs to be investigated further. Second, the degree of acculturation to American culture was measured by using only one question in this study. Acculturation is a multidimensional construct. Thus, further studies need to improve the conceptualization of this complex construct. Third, the images of foreign nations were measured only in terms of affective components in this study. In general, the images of foreign nations can be analyzed in terms of cognitive, affective, and behavioral components. Future studies need to consider these factors.

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