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The Role Of Online Social Media In The Acculturation Process Of North Korean Refugee Young Adults In South Korea

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THE ROLE OF ONLINE SOCIAL MEDIA IN THE ACCULTURATION PROCESS OF NORTH KOREAN REFUGEE YOUNG ADULTS IN SOUTH KOREA

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DEDICATION

With much thankfulness to God,

I dedicate this dissertation to my father, Sung Dong Han,

and to my mother, Mi Ryoung Song, for their unconditional love and support.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Developments in communication and transportation have shrunken the world, blurred the borders, and allowed more people to travel or move overseas. According to a report from United Nations in 2010, there are about 214 million international migrants who left their homelands and moved to different countries. This migrant population is 2.5 times greater than that of the 1970's, and it indicates that one out of 33 people in the world today is an international migrant (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2010). In this new reality, "we are challenged to face one another's numerous cultural differences and search for profound human similarities" (Y. Y. Kim, 2001, p.3), and therefore, the need to study what occurs during cultural transitions and what facilitates cultural adaptation is greater than ever.

Although international migration is a global phenomenon, accepting and harmonizing cultural differences is a relatively new and difficult social challenge to South Korea given that the country had been ethnically and culturally homogeneous for thousands of years. Even until recently, "ethnic homogeneity" had been used tactically as a catchword to bolster the nation's pride and to strengthen its social integration. However, since the 1990's, an increasing number of people have migrated to South Korea as foreign workers, immigrant spouses, and North Korean refugees. Therefore, the idea of ethnic and cultural homogeneity is no longer valid, and it has become a cause of social conflict (H. W. Kang, 2006). As a result, promoting cultural diversity has become one of major policy agendas for the South Korean government.

Among all migrant groups, North Korean refugees have a special meaning to South Korea. As North Korea's political and economic statuses are becoming more unstable and unpredictable, preparedness for the possibility of future unification is an urgent issue for the

South Korean government. In this situation, the importance of North Korean refugees increases as the perfect pilot group that helps the government anticipate potential acculturation problems and develop better social integration plans.

The number of North Korean migrants in South Korea has dramatically increased since the great famine occurred in North Korea from 1994 to 1998, which is known as the Arduous March. According to the record of the Ministry of Unification of South Korea (2013), as of December 2012, there are about 25,000 North Korean refugees settled in South Korea. Among them, young adults ranging in age from 20 to 29 are the second largest group, accounting for about 27 percent (6,621) of the total population. The largest segment is the 30 to 39 age group, which account for 31 percent (7,421). North Korean refugee young adults have experienced extraordinary changes in their lives. They lived in extreme poverty in North Korea and risked everything to cross the North Korean-Chinese border. During the defection procedure, many lost or were separated from their families, and many also have been deprived of educational opportunities for several years. Even after coming to South Korea, North Korean refugee young adults have to face a harsh reality. Although South and North Koreans are ethnically homogeneous and shared the same history at least up until 1945, more than 65 years of separation has changed the social, economic, political, and cultural environments of the two countries. Language, for example, is one of difficulties that the refugee young adults often encounter. Their North Korean accent makes them easily differentiated from South Koreans, and words and expressions used in North and South Korea might have different meanings or be spelled differently. Foreign terms used in the everyday conversations of South Koreans, such as English and Chinese words, are unfamiliar to the refugee young adults as well since North Korea invents its own words for new technologies instead of using borrowed words. This language

barrier makes the refugee young adults insecure about communicating with South Koreans, inhibiting them from learning new social and work skills to survive in a competitive capitalist society (Min, 2008). Consequently, the refugee young adults not only have to learn the new environment but also have to overcome being labeled as the "other" by people of the same ethnicity.

These insecurities, which limit refugee young adults' interactions with native South Koreans, may delay major life decisions such as pursuing a higher education, starting a career, or getting married (Jessor, Donovan, & Costa, 1991). Supporting the cultural adaptation of North Korean refugee young adults and providing them with the mental health resources to overcome their tragic pasts so that they can become independent members of a society is an important task for South Korea. In particular, facilitating communication activities would be one of the most fundamental and effective ways to bridge the cognitive and affective gaps between North and South Korean cultures. According to Y. Y. Kim (2001), the success of cross-cultural adaptation is highly dependent on individuals' ability to communicate within a given cultural environment. Nevertheless, little research has been done regarding North Korean refugee young adults in the communication discipline due to the relatively new nature of this issue. Therefore, more scholarly attention is needed to investigate the dynamic interplay between the cultural adaptation of North Korean refugee young adults and their communication activities.

In the United States, communication studies concerning cultural adaptation issues had received increased attention during the 1970s and 1980s when there was an influx of new citizens from Latin America and Asia. In cross-cultural adaptation studies, acculturation is the area that has been most widely researched in the field (Torres & Rollock, 2004; Sam & Oppedal, 2011). While cultural adaptation is considered as "the long-term ways in which people rearrange

their lives and settle down to a more-or-less satisfactory existence" (Berry, 2006, p. 52), acculturation focuses more on the ongoing changes occurring during the contact with other cultures, including values, norms, words, behaviors, and institutions (Berry, 2006). In other words, adaptation is the outcome of a continuous acculturation process. Communication studies in U.S. settings have revealed that engaging in interpersonal communication with the people of the host culture is the strongest predictor of positive acculturation (Gordon, 1964; Y. Y. Kim, 1977). However, for immigrants and refugees whose social networks and language skills are limited at the early stages of settlement, opportunities to have interpersonal communication with host people are limited as well. In this circumstance, media content of the host culture becomes the major source of information for immigrants and refugees (Gordon, 1964; Y. Y. Kim, 1977, 1988). Studies have repeatedly found the positive relationship between the consumption of media content of the host culture and the acculturation levels of immigrants and refugees (Gordon, 1964; Johnson, 1996; Y. Y. Kim, 1977, 1988, 2001; Lee & Tse, 1994; Shoemaker, Reese, & Danielson, 1985). By providing the information of values, attitudes, and norms of a host society at large, mass media of the host culture fulfill new settlers' information needs when they lack interpersonal networks with members of the host culture.

This mass media-oriented effects model, however, only considers a top-down process of acculturation – being assimilated into the dominant culture. In this perspective, cultural identification is unidimensional, which means individuals cannot hold multiple cultural identities. Thus, in order to acculturate successfully, immigrants and refugees have to not only adopt a host culture but also reject their original culture. Under this one-way, determinist model, immigrants and refugees are likely to experience higher levels of psychological stress and to lose their voice in a host society (Berry, 2006; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). This approach of

acculturation is called the assimilation model. In the assimilation research tradition, consumption of ethnic media has been considered negatively as a cultural segregation behavior or reluctance to adopt host culture (DeFluer & Cho, 1957; Lee & Tse, 1994; Shoemaker, Reese, & Danielson, 1985).

The popularity of the assimilation approach, however, has decreased since the late 1980's and 1990's as the melting pot ideology declined (Elias, 2008), and the pluralism model of acculturation has since dominated the literature, emphasizing the importance of cultural diversity in a society (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997; Subervi-Velez, 1986). According to this model, immigrants and refugees are expected to adopt their host nation's public values but at the same time are encouraged to maintain their cultural heritage. This approach believes that cultural identification is bidimensional, which allows individuals to hold multiple cultural identities. Following the pluralism model of acculturation, Berry (1974, 1980, 1989, 1997) proposes that people in a cross-cultural context adopt four acculturation strategies: *integration* (acquiring host culture and maintaining original culture), *assimilation* (acquiring host culture and rejecting original culture), *separation* (rejecting host culture and maintaining original culture), and *marginalization* (rejecting both cultures). Researchers adopting the pluralism model have found that the integration strategy maintaining both host and original cultural identifications is likely to predict better psychological health such as higher self-esteem and less stress (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; de Domanico, Crawford, & DeWolfe, 1994; Umana-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002).

Media scholars following the pluralism perspective assert that ethnic media can be an alternative to mainstream media's underrepresentation of immigrants (Cottle, 2000; Elias, 2008) Ethnic media refer to media outlets in a host country that are produced and consumed by specific

ethnic immigrant groups sharing a common cultural background, such as history, language, a country of origin, traditions, and rituals (Johnson, 2000; Shi, 2009; Viswanath & Arora, 2000). The major task of ethnic media is to serve ethnic communities' cultural, political, economical, and everyday needs (Shi, 2009), not only by supporting the unity of ethnic communities but also by providing information about the host society to immigrants (Bekken, 1997; Cottle, 2000; Soruco, 1996; Viswanath & Arora, 2000). Studies have revealed that these functions of ethnic media help lower acculturative stress of immigrants and refugees during their cultural transitions (Shibutani & Kwan, 1965; Viswanath & Arora, 2000).

South Korean media studies adopting the assimilation model have found that the use of South Korean media is positively related to the refugees' acceptance of South Korean culture, trust toward the government, civic and political participation, and social networks with South Koreans (Kwak & S. G. Park, 2006; Lee, 2000). Even though the pluralism model seems especially useful for South Korea in the long-term perspective in order to prepare the citizens for possible unification in the future, the pluralism perspective of acculturation has been overlooked in the South Korean media literature on North Korean refugees. The main reason for the lack of the pluralism approach is that ethnic media outlets that can represent North Korean refugees' lives and interests are not developed yet in South Korea. The National Security Law of South Korea strictly prohibits consumption of North Korean media, and even the few South Korean media channels covering North Korean news and issues are too political to attract young refugee audiences. Thus, it is difficult for North Korean refugee young adults to receive the benefits of ethnic media that may support their North Korean cultural heritage and provide information about South Korea. Furthermore, North Korean refugees are generally reluctant to share their personal histories or honest emotions with other North Korean refugees. Since they have grown

up in a society in which family members and neighbors report dissenters to the authorities in order to protect themselves and their families, they have deep-rooted suspicions and mistrust toward fellow North Koreans (Min, 2008). Consequently, North Korean refugee young adults are not only segregated from the South Korean public but also are psychologically disconnected from the refugee community.

An alternative outlet may be online social communities because the online environment would allow the refugees to anonymously share information and personal stories with others. Studies have found that the anonymous nature of online communication facilitates the expression of minority opinions by decreasing social pressures from face-to-face interactions (Stritzke, Nguyen, & Durkin, 2004) and thus empowers marginalized groups to voice their opinions in a society (Mehra, Merkel, & Bishop, 2004; Mitra, 2001, 2004).

Given the unique features of online communication, this research expects that online social media may serve the role of a relatively secure public sphere for the North Korean refugee community. In addition to reinforcing connections with other refugees, online social media can provide North Korean refugees more opportunities to start and maintain relationships with South Koreans by lowering certain social cues such as accents and socio-economic statuses. That is, online social media has the potential to facilitate the pluralism model of acculturation of North Korean refugees by enabling them to maintain North Korean culture while simultaneously expanding their exposure to South Korean cultural experiences. According to Kwak and S. G. Park (2006), many North Korean refugees are heavy users of the Internet, spending twice as much time online per day as South Korean users. It suggests that online media can be an important support channel for North Korean refugee young adults to get information about South

Korean culture, to develop language and social skills, to meet new friends, and to keep in contact with other refugees.

Despite the fact that online media's two-way communication capacity perfectly fits the pluralism model of acculturation, little research has examined the role of online social media in the acculturation context. Accordingly, the purpose of the present study is to examine the influence of online social media on the acculturation process of North Korean refugee young adults in South Korea adopting the pluralism approach, which may provide insights and bridge the knowledge gap in the media literature.

This study attempts to answer the following questions: What are the refugee young adults' media use patterns? How are media use patterns related to their acculturation domains, such as cultural identity, cultural and language competence, social competence, and psychological health? What are the distinctive influences of traditional media use and online social media use on the refugee young adult acculturation domains? By answering these questions, this study proposes a theoretical model that may explain the diverse interactions between media use patterns and the refugee young adult acculturation processes. This model may expand our understanding of the acculturation and media use of North Korean refugee young adults and has the potential to provide insights that may lead to the incorporation of various online social media features in acculturation programs administered by governmental and non-governmental organizations engaged in the cultural education of refugee and ethnic minority young adults.

This dissertation is structured as follows. Chapter 2 reviews the theoretical groundwork behind the current research. The literature on acculturation and the role of media in the acculturation process will be reviewed and then applied to the acculturation context of North

Korean refugee young adults in South Korea, followed by the presentation of hypotheses and research questions of this study. Chapter 3 explicates the methods for data collection and research procedures of the present research, and Chapter 4 reports the statistical results of the empirical study that tested the hypotheses and research questions proposed in Chapter 2. Finally, Chapter 5 discusses the findings, draws conclusions for theoretical and practical implications, and provides directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

The present research investigates the relationship between media and the acculturation process of North Korean refugee young adults by analyzing their media use patterns and acculturation domains. For the conceptual framework of this research, Chapter 2 reviews theories and previous studies related to the acculturation and media areas.

This chapter involves addressing the following three subjects under a range of different disciplines. First, the literature on acculturation is reviewed by defining different meanings and dimensions of acculturation drawn from sociology and psychology, and the assimilation and pluralism approaches of acculturation are further compared. Second, the functions of media during the acculturation process are reviewed from the communication literature by applying the assimilation and pluralism models. In addition, distinctive characteristics of online media and their relevancy to the pluralism model of acculturation are discussed. Third, the acculturation context of North Korean refugee young adults in South Korea is examined by taking a close look at the historical, social, and media-related circumstances.

Acculturation

Socialization is a process of adapting an individual's standards, motives, attitudes, and behaviors to the norms, values, and customs of a society, thus making one play desirable and appropriate roles in a society (Damon & Lerner, 2008). This process involves interactions of many social agents, such as family, school, community, government, and media, whose functions are interdependent of one another.

Even though socialization is a process continuing throughout one's life, the intensity of socialization is particularly great during the childhood and adolescent periods (Damon & Lerner,

2008). Once individuals become adults, their socialization process enters into a stable stage, focusing on maintaining established standards to look at the world and to behave in certain ways. However, when people move to a new place and have to adapt to a totally different social system, the intensive cultural socialization is restarted through the acculturation process.

Acculturation research in different disciplines has explored multiple dimensions of cross-cultural adaptation with a wide divergence of conceptual and methodological views. This section reviews the various definitions and theories of acculturation and then discusses the acculturation context of refugees and young adults specifically.

Overview of theories and concepts. Acculturation, in its simplest sense, refers to the changes that occur when individuals in one group contact another group with a different cultural background (Sam, 2006). The most frequently quoted definition of acculturation is the one proposed by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936) in which "acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (p.149). This definition shows vertical and horizontal scopes of the acculturation process. First, acculturation happens in a vertical path, encompassing changes in group and individual levels. At the group level, acculturation involves shifts in social, political, or economic structures of groups within a society (Sam, 2006). This collective transformation, on the other hand, affects individuals' experiences as group members. Individuals may undergo changes in their identities, values, attitudes, and behaviors during this process. The horizontal path of acculturation is concerned with the direction of influences between groups. Theoretically, as stated in Redfield et al.'s definition, changes may occur reciprocally, affecting either or both groups. However, in many real acculturation circumstances such as immigration and refugee

resettlement power differences are likely to be present between groups when there are differences in politics, economics, or the sizes of populations. When one group dominates over another group, the non-dominant group is likely to become homogenized into the dominant group's culture (Sam, 2006).

Since acculturation is concentrated on the dominant group making the changes in the non-dominant group more visible, many acculturation studies have vaguely used the term 'assimilation' as a synonym of acculturation (Berry, 1997; Sam, 2006). In the United States, this assimilation model had long been the traditional perspective of acculturation, tracing its history back to the 19th and the early 20th centuries when this view was applied to the influx of immigrants from Europe. Robert Park, one of the leading figures of the Chicago school of sociology, argued that assimilation is a process of "interpenetration and fusion" of immigrant groups for the "unity of thought" (R. E. Park & Burgess, 1924, p. 735). He believed that, as America turned into a modernized, urbanized, and industrialized society, the boundaries between ethnic and racial groups would become blurred, resulting in a more rational and unified society. Similarly, sociologist Gordon's (1964, 1978) idea of successful adaptation of immigrants in American society during the 1960s and the 1970s was also the melting pot model. In this model, ethnic groups conformed to the standards of middle class, white Anglo-Saxon Protestant Americans (Gordon, 1964) by changing their cognitive, affective, and behavioral patterns as they joined the larger societal framework.

According to the assimilation perspective, the acculturation process is not only unidirectional (e.g., only one group changes) but also unidimensional (e.g., individuals can have only one cultural identity). That is, multiple cultural identities cannot exist in the assimilation

model, and thereby immigrants have to lose their original cultural identity entirely in order to acquire the cultural identity of a host community (Sam, 2006).

The assimilation perspective, however, has been challenged by scholars as the popularity of the melting pot ideology has decreased over time through the Civil Rights Movement and the "new ethnicity" movement during the 1960s and 1970s (Y. Y. Kim, 1988). As a result, there has been a major shift in the acculturation literature from the assimilation perspective to the pluralism perspective. Contrary to the assimilation perspective, the pluralism perspective believes that acculturation is both bidirectional (e.g., both groups can change) and bidimensional (e.g., individuals can maintain multiple cultural identities). From this perspective, individuals in both cultural groups can be mutually influenced by each other when two different cultural groups come into contact. In addition, individuals and groups in a cultural transition can develop multiple cultural identities, without necessarily compromising aspects of their original cultural identities (Berry, 1980). Individuals in the non-dominant group, in particular, are actively engaged in constant acculturative activities, adapting to the new culture while simultaneously maintaining their original culture. Compared to the melting pot ideology of assimilation, the pluralism model of acculturation is called the "mosaic." The mosaic ideology seeks to include diverse ethnic groups as integral parts of the host society through some degree of structural assimilation but with less cultural and behavioral assimilation (Berry, 1980). Under the pluralism model, immigrants and refugees are expected to adopt their host nation's public values but are free to maintain their cultural heritage within the boundaries of law.

Berry (1974, 1980, 1989, 1997) is one of first psychologists who argued that ethnic and host identities are independent dimensions rather than a single bipolar continuum (Bourhis et al., 1997). He considers assimilation as merely one of four acculturation strategies: *integration,*

assimilation, *separation*, and *marginalization*. This typology shows different patterns of identity management strategies adopted by non-dominant individuals and groups during intercultural contact. The *integration* strategy is used when individuals actively adopt new cultural aspects and interact with host cultural group members and still have a desire to maintain their original culture. Taking this strategy, individuals in the non-dominant culture become a part of the larger society while retaining their cultural heritage. The *assimilation* strategy is used when individuals try to avoid their original culture and attempt to adopt the host culture so completely that they can merge seamlessly into the new cultural group. The *separation* strategy occurs when individuals in the non-dominant cultural group place more importance on retaining ethnic culture and try to avoid adopting the host culture by shunning interactions with the new cultural group members. When the majority of individuals in the non-dominant group take this strategy, the group eventually withdraws from the host society (Berry, 1989). The *marginalization* strategy is adopted by individuals who reject both their original and host cultural identities, isolating themselves from both cultural groups. *Marginalization* involves the feelings of alienation, identity loss, and acculturative stress, and it occurs when individuals experience identity confusion and anxiety during the acculturation process (Berry, 1989).

Berry and his colleagues have investigated acculturation strategy patterns of various immigrant groups in North America and have observed that the integration strategy is often associated with the most successful adaptation of immigrants and refugees compared to other strategies, whereas the marginalization strategy predicts poor adaptation and the highest levels of mental health problems among the strategies (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989).

Even though the integration strategy is to be the optimal mode of acculturation (Berry et al., 1987, 1989; Birman, 1994; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997), it is important to note that the integration strategy requires certain pre-conditions of host societies in order to be effectively adopted by individuals (Bourhis et al., 1997). Individuals can successfully manage both original and host cultural identities when the host society as a whole promotes multiculturalism and rejects ethnic prejudice. When the host society is open to cultural diversity, integration or separation is more likely to result (Berry, 1989). On the contrary, when the host society attempts to minimize cultural diversity through assimilation policies or to segregate immigrant groups from the rest of the society, it is difficult for individual immigrants to get social support to pursue the integration strategy. In this condition, the assimilation or marginalization strategy is likely to be adopted by individual immigrants (Berry, 1989). It has also been found that migrants who are highly oppressed or discriminated against by the host society may adopt the marginalization strategy by rejecting the values, practices, and identifications of the host culture in an effort to fight back against the discrimination and to protect their original culture (Rumbaut, 2008).

These findings suggest that individuals' acculturation patterns are closely related to the societal level acculturation climate such as diversity policies, social support, and public-held prejudices (Berry, 1997). Thus, understanding the social context in which the interplay between individual acculturation and group acculturation occurs is essential for appreciating the broad picture of acculturation.

Acculturation of refugees. Besides the sociopolitical context, the characteristics of one's ethnocultural group are another significant factor that affects individual migrants' acculturation strategies. The group's motivation for migration is one example (Berry, 1986,

1997). Voluntary immigration is more likely to be associated with the assimilation or integration strategies than forced movement, whereas people who involuntarily experience acculturation such as refugees may be less willing to adopt host culture (Berry, 1986, 1997). Even when involuntary migrants want to maintain their original culture, resources to carry on their culture, such as social networks with people from the same culture, ethnic businesses, and ethnic media may be limited.

The acculturation conditions of refugees are generally harsher than those of other immigrants. In addition to the involuntary nature of migration, refugees are subject to suffer the consequences of trauma while coping with acculturation stress at the same time. According to the *United Nations convention relating to the status of refugees,* refugees are defined as people who left their home countries and never return due to a "well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1996, p.16; as cited in Allen, Bsilier, & Hauff, 2006). In their home countries, refugees might experience human rights violations, such as torture, imprisonment, threat of harm, and dangerous environments, and the trauma from these experiences intensifies the difficulty and complexity of refugee acculturation (Allen, Bsilier, & Hauff, 2006). Traumatic experiences hinder exploratory behavior and cognitive processes such as attention and concentration, and thus, refugees may have less motivations and abilities to learn new cultures (Akhtar, 1999).

Silove (1999) proposes that trauma of refugees can damage five major adaptive systems that are supposed to sustain the psychosocial equilibrium of individuals. First, refugees' personal safety system can be impaired by actual and perceived threats that simultaneously occur with the initial trauma and for prolonged periods of time thereafter. Second, the attachment and bond

maintenance systems can be undermined by separations from or losses of families, friends, and communities as well as by the loss of homes, property, and possessions. Third, the justice system can be negatively affected by repeated human rights violations, such as dehumanization, humiliation, and degradation. Fourth, the existential meaning system can be shaken by the exposure to cruelty and by the loss of faith in the beneficence of life and humankind. Last, the identity and role system can be distorted by indoctrination, propaganda, ostracism, and isolation performed by oppressive regimes. Silove (1999) argues that even though the five adaptive systems are identified individually, sufferings from the damaged systems may occur concurrently, interacting with each other at multiple levels. In the acculturation process of refugees, the degrees of trauma from the damaged systems are often found to be the stronger predictor of acculturation levels than individuals' cultural backgrounds (Berry, 1986; Silove, 1999).

Silove's (1999) five adaptive system framework suggests that the individual level of psychological acculturation of refugees is closely related to the group-level acculturation, such as pre-migration human rights violation experiences of a group (Allen, Bsilier, and Hauff, 2006). In addition, as stated in the previous section, the macro level of acculturation is also a critical factor to consider in understanding the acculturation process of refugee individuals. Involuntary migrants like refugees in particular are more likely than other immigrant groups to be influenced by the sociopolitical context of a host country, such as status determination policy, resettlement policy, and acculturative attitudes of a society as a whole (Allen, Bsilier, and Hauff, 2006).

Young adults in the cross-cultural context. Human development involves dynamic interactions between organisms and the world around them, such as families, friends, school, and media (Lerner, 2002), and culture is one of the significant environmental settings that comprises

the developmental context. Understanding acculturation through the lens of developmental psychology helps us expand the conceptual boundary of acculturation.

In numerous acculturation studies, the meaning of acculturation has been limited as a secondary cultural learning, which is to acquire culture-specific attitudes, behaviors, and knowledge through experiences (Masgoret & Ward, 2006). The developmental perspective of acculturation, however, considers that adaptation to new culture also evolves through a maturation process (Sam & Oppedal, 2002). Thus, it is important to understand these two overlapping but distinctive phenomena of acculturation, learning and development, in order to better explain the acculturation processes of young adults.

Acculturation of young adults is better understood by considering the period specific experiences and challenges. Arnett (2000) defines young adulthood, from the late teens through the twenties, as a new conception of a developmental period, which is characterized by profound change and exploration of possible life directions. In most of today's industrialized societies, the transition period to adulthood is often prolonged, resulting in delayed adult commitments and responsibilities and intensified role experimentations that continue long after traditional adolescence (Arnett, 2000). Young adulthood as a period of transition into adult roles involves education and career training that may affect occupational achievements for the later adult work lives or establishment of long-term relationships of partnering or marriage that would lead to parenting. It means that experiences of young adulthood may shape the remainder of the life course (Arnett, 2000; Jessor, Donovan, & Costa, 1991).

One of important explorations of young adulthood is identity formation, which is a lifelong process that "neither begins nor ends with adolescence" (Erikson, 1959, p.113). Marcia (1993) notes that "occurring during late adolescence, the consolidation of identity marks the end

of childhood and the beginning of adulthood. Identity formation involves a synthesis of childhood skills, beliefs, and identifications into a more or less coherent, unique whole that provides the young adult with both a sense of continuity with the past and a direction for the future" (p. 3). Having identity synthesis is critical to having a coherent and unified representation of who one is, and thus, identity confusion causes the lack of certainty about who one is or about the purpose of one's life (Erikson, 1959).

In the identity formation process, young adults in cross-cultural conditions are challenged to manage and synthesize multiple cultural identities. Cultural identification is an important factor for immigrant young adults in that one's cultural group provides not only resources, support, and security, but also the norms and meaning framework to interpret and make sense of the self and the external world (Hong, Roisman, & Chen, 2006). In addition to the establishment of cultural group memberships, immigrant young adults also have to figure out which cultural groups they should identify with in what circumstances. Failure to balance and manage original and host identities can result in identity confusion and marginalization. In accordance with Berry's (1974, 1980, 1989, 1997) findings with the four acculturation strategies, studies across different cultural settings have repeatedly found that having bicultural identity enables individuals to alternate thoughts, feelings, and behavior depending on a given cultural situation (Benet-Martı´nez, & Bond, 2008; Hutnick, 1986). Thus, bicultural identity is found to be a strong predictor of positive acculturation indicators, such as higher self-esteem, lower acculturative stress, higher satisfaction with life, and better ability to socialize in diverse settings (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Chen, Benet-Martı´nez, & Bond, 2008; Domanico, Crawford, & DeWolfe, 1994; Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002; Schwartz, Zamboanga, & Jarvis, 2007).

While cultural identity focuses on one's identification with a certain cultural group, cultural competence refers to one's ability to successfully perform in a given cultural setting. LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993) define the requirements of cultural competence as follows: possession of a strong personal identity, knowledge of and facility with beliefs and values of a given culture, sensitivity to the affective processes of the culture, language skills of the cultural group, performance of socially and culturally appropriate behavior, active maintenance of social relationships with the group members, and negotiation of the institutional structures of the culture.

Ward and Kennedy (1999) have found distinguishing roles of ethnic competence and host cultural competence in acculturation. Ethnic cultural identification tends to relate to positive psychological acculturation, such as self-concept, cultural identity, and acculturative stress, while host cultural competence is more associated with socio-cultural acculturation, such as acquiring social, cultural, and linguistic skills and knowledge to adapt to a host community. Since individuals' overall acculturation outcomes are affected by the interplay between ethnic and host cultural contexts, it is important for young adults in cultural transition to develop bicultural competence based on healthy bicultural identities in order to perform social interactional tasks well with both the original and host cultural communities (Benet-Martinez, & Haritatos, 2005; David, Okazaki, & Saw, 2009; Oppedal, 2006). If immigrant young adults experience deficits of either one or both of the cultural domains, it would have negative impacts on their identity formation. Young adults who suffer from identity crises have difficulties in making decisions about role choices and switching from the ethnic cultural context to the host cultural context and thus lose direction in regards to goals and values between two cultures (Phinney, Horenczy, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001).

For immigrant adolescents and young adults, the most important contributor of ethnic cultural competence is cultural learning and social support from family and ethnic communities. Parental ethnic socialization is an influential source to reinforce cultural knowledge and attachment to his or her cultural group (Knight, Bernel, Garza, Cota, & Ocampo, 1993). Studies have found that immigrant young adults' ethnic cultural competence is positively correlated to ethnic loyalties and connectedness, a sense of psychological security and continuity as well as self-esteem (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001; Phinney & Chavira, 1992). On the other hand, due to the fact that host cultural competence is a significant factor for successful acceptance as a part of the mainstream culture, it is often associated with immigrant young adults' feelings of self-worth (Oppedal, Roysamb, & Sam, 2004; Oppedal, 2006). Host cultural competence is likely to be related to the host culture's socialization institutions. For example, schools are the fundamental place where immigrant young adults gain host cultural competence through peer interactions and achievement-related activities (Oppedal, 2006). The mass media of the host culture is another significant contributor as a source of host cultural information for immigrant young adults. The influences of media as a socialization agent are especially greater during adolescence and young adulthood as familial sources of childhood socialization declines and the sources of mature adult socialization are not prevalent yet (Arnett, 1995). For young adults in cross-cultural transition, therefore, media outlets of a host society become the central part of the cultural environment to learn norms, values, and language and to develop self and group identifications (Gordon, 1964; Y. Y. Kim, 1988; Oppedal, 2006).

The impacts of media on migrants' acculturation are discussed further in detail in the following section by applying the assimilation and the pluralism perspectives to address the distinctive roles of host media and ethnic media.

The Role of Media in Acculturation Processes

The mass media play a role as a major social institution to define values and rules, to unify diverse groups of people, to establish a sense of order and direction, to educate the society's parameters, and to provide an arena to exchange ideas (Silverblatt, 2004). When immigrants are beyond the age of schooling and can't receive formal education of citizenship, mass media serve the function of traditional socialization agencies, educating new settlers to have appropriate feelings, responsibilities, and ethics of a new social system (Chaffee, Nass, & S. M. Yang, 1990). Since immigrants are subject to experience some levels of uncertainty in their daily activities in a new cultural context but have limited interpersonal networks and language competence, their reliance on mass media increases consequently (Y. Y. Kim, 1988).

Based on Renckstorf, McQuail, and Jankowski's (1996) idea that the use of mass media as a form of internal and external social actions that formulate individuals' subjective construction of reality, Adoni, Cohen, and Caspi (2002) suggest that the use of host media and ethnic media is also a social action that affects the social construction of one's identity as a member of the majority and the minority. Adoni et al. (2002) further propose a theoretical model that classifies the mass media consumption patterns of immigrants and ethnic minorities into four different groups, which corresponds to Berry's typology of acculturation strategies. The first group is *dualists* who show both high consumption of host language and ethnic language media. The second group is *adapters* who show high consumption of host media and low consumption of ethnic media, and the third group is *separatists* who only show high consumption of ethnic media. The last group is *detached* whose members consume neither host nor ethnic media. The authors assert that immigrants and ethnic minorities' host and ethnic media use patterns influence their host and ethic identification styles; *dualists* and *adapters* tend to identify

themselves more with host culture, while *separatists* and the *detached* identify more with their home countries and ethnic communities.

The effectiveness of host media and ethnic media on acculturation can be interpreted in different ways depending on which acculturation model, either the assimilation model or the pluralism model, is used as a frame of reference. The assimilation perspective focuses on the functions of host media to transmit the social, cultural, and political information of host culture to newcomers, preparing them to be absorbed into the dominant culture. In this perspective, the use of ethnic media prevents immigrants from losing attachment with the homeland and also from adopting a new culture. Therefore, only *adapters* are expected to receive benefits from media for acculturation. On the other hand, the pluralism perspective sheds light on the importance of ethnic media in facilitating immigrants' adaptation processes by decreasing acculturation stress and enhancing immigrants' pride for their ethnicity. From this standpoint, both *dualists* and *separatists* can ease their transition to a new culture through ethnic media.

Acculturation and media studies conducted in North American settings have shown three strong tendencies. First, the majority of the studies have followed the assimilation ideology in defining the meaning of acculturation (Subervi-Velez, 1986; Elias, 2008). Even after the popularity of the assimilation model decreased in other disciplines, the pluralistic view of acculturation has not been represented well in media studies. Second, in line with the assimilation approach, the dominant perspective to look at the relationship between media and audience has been the mass media effect paradigm, which proposes a linear communication path from the message sender to the receiver. Third, the media types examined in acculturation and media studies have been focused on traditional forms of mass media, such as television,

newspapers, and magazines. Accordingly, there has been a knowledge gap between traditional and new media in the acculturation media literature.

While the assimilation perspective has been dominant in media acculturation studies, researchers' attention to the pluralism approach has started to increase since the 1990's, representing the need to understand the roles of media in the growing ethnic populations. Scholars following the pluralism perspective have raised concerns about host media's power to create symbolic misrepresentations of immigrant culture, which often ignores or negatively portrays the bonds within ethnic communities (Cottle, 2000). Coping with this issue, ethnic media has become an alternative social reality for ethnic audiences and also a channel to voice minorities' opinions to a host society. Because studies on ethnic media put more emphasis on the needs of media users rather than on the top-down media effects, the uses and gratification theory has increasingly been applied to the pluralism approach. The uses and gratification theory is often considered in opposition to the media effects paradigm since the former focuses on "what people do with the media" whereas the latter is concerned with "what media do with people" (Windahl, 1981, p.177). The uses and gratification theory has expanded the scope of pluralistic acculturation studies by exploring ethnic users' particular needs for host media and ethnic media and consequences of using two different media types.

The next section first reviews two major streams of acculturation and media studies, the effects of host media from the assimilation approach and the functions of ethnic media from the pluralism approach, and then discusses how the development of online communication and online social media has changed the communication paradigm of global migrants.

Host media: A window to mainstream culture. The assimilation research tradition is rooted in a melting pot ideology, which dominated the first half of the 20th century (Elias, 2008).

Studies in the assimilation tradition have consistently found the positive impacts of host mass media on immigrants' adoption of new cultures, values, and information of a host society at large, but the power of host media as an acculturation tool is often contrasted with the negative effects of ethnic media on assimilation. These studies have found that ethnic media use may deprive immigrants of opportunities to learn about a host country and lower their willingness to adapt to a new culture. DeFluer and Cho (1957) investigated the post-immigration factors that determine the acculturation levels of Japanese women living in Seattle and revealed that the consumption of American radio and television programs, magazines, films, and newspapers was associated with greater adaptation to the host culture. In contrast, people who preferred Japanese media over American media showed a greater reluctance to break the ties oriented to Japan.

Similar results have been observed across different cultural minority groups. Shoemaker, Reese, and Danielson (1985) found that the Spanish-language print media use among Hispanics in Texas was negatively related to their acculturation levels. Lee and Tse (1994) examined the cultural adaptation of immigrants from Hong Kong in Canada and found that the immigrants' consumption across different host media types was positively associated with their adaptation to a new culture whereas consumption of Chinese media reinforced cultural segregation. Y. Y. Kim's (1977) survey research conducted with Korean immigrants in the Chicago area also revealed that immigrants' acculturation was significantly predicted by higher involvement in interpersonal communication with Americans and by more use of American mass media, especially newspapers. She asserted that the greater the host interpersonal and mass communication levels, the greater the intercultural transformation. On the contrary, the greater the ethnic interpersonal and mass communication, the lesser the intercultural transformation. Hwang and He (1999) examined Chinese immigrants in SiliconValley and argued that the high

availability of Chinese media outlets in that particular region prevented those Chinese residents from acculturating in the new environment by lowering the effectiveness of American media.

Studies also have found that different contents of host media have varying degrees of acculturation effects. Y. Y. Kim's (1977, 1988, 2001) series of studies repeatedly observed that use of information-oriented media, such as newspapers, was related to higher acculturation levels than use of entertainment-oriented media such as television and radio. Sunoo, Trotter, and Aames (1980) conducted surveys of Indochinese in California and found that exposure to newspapers was a stronger predictor of the refugees' English competence than the general consumption of television. Johnson (1996) investigated Hispanic women's preferences for American television genres and found that those who identified most with talk shows had significantly higher levels of acculturation compared to those who identified with comedies because talk shows better facilitated Hispanic women's English skills than comedies.

Chaffe, Nass, and S. M. Yang's (1990) study on Korean immigrants in California suggests that information-oriented media of the host culture are the most important political socialization agent for immigrants. The authors examined the relationship between media use patterns and the acquisition of knowledge on American politics and found that the consumption of U.S. television news and newspapers was a stronger predictor of U.S. political learning than years of formal education. The authors concluded that the news media of the host culture acted as a bridge linking home political understanding with host political knowledge, allowing immigrants to comprehend and relate to local issues.

To sum up, media studies following the assimilation tradition have emphasized that host societies' mass media serve the functions to educate, socialize, and integrate migrants into a host society. The limitation of this approach, however, is that it regards acculturation as

unidimensional and completely leaves out positive influences of ethnic attachment in relation to acculturation. As a result, media studies following the assimilation model have shown the lack of understanding on the dynamic interplay between host and ethnic media in acculturation processes. In order to broaden the scope of acculturation phenomena, the pluralism perspective has been adopted in media studies since the 1990s. Contrary to host media's functions to homogenize a society and create a common culture, media studies in the pluralism tradition have focused on ethnic media's roles to promote cultural diversities in a host country (Elias, 2008).

Ethnic media: An alternative social realty. Albert Bandura (2001) argues that mass media work as the symbolic environment, transferring values, new ideas, behavioral patterns, and social practices and fostering globally shared consciousness. Because mass media take a major part in people's everyday lives, their social reality and public consciousness are likely to be constructed through mass media (Bandura, 1986; 2001). Gerbner's (1969) cultivation theory also proposes that people's perceptions of what the everyday world is like are influenced and "cultivated" by what they see and hear from mass media. However, the problem of media-constructed social reality is that unlike the traditional socialization agents, the values and norms created and transferred by mass media may not necessarily serve public benefits because mass media organizations are privately owned and operated by the purpose of earning profits not by social responsibilities (Silverblatt, 2004). Studies have found that the portrayals of ethnic minorities and communities in mainstream media are not only scarce but also often misrepresented (Faber, O'Guinn, & Meyer, 1987; Harwood & Anderson, 2002; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000; Taylor & Stern, 1997). The distorted ethnic representation on host media can stereotype and marginalize immigrants' real life stories, and therefore it would increase dissatisfaction among the minority groups and social conflicts. The

1968 report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders also raised concerns regarding the issue that news media failed to report adequately on riots and race relations. The report noted that "In defining, explaining, and reporting this broader, more complex and ultimately far more fundamental subject the communication's media, ironically, have failed to communicate" (Kerner, 1968, p.382).

Scholars following the pluralism perspective believe that ethnic media provide an alternative social reality that complements the host media-constructed realities of ethnic minorities. Cottle (2000) argues that ethnic media organizations, such as the minority press, local cable television and radio stations, independent commercial television production companies, and community-based film collectives, take an intermediate position between media conglomerates and daily communications of ethnic minorities. Struggling to balance the need for universalist appeals and the need for community-based expectations and obligations, ethnic media organizations contribute to the communication environment of minorities through authentic and pluralistic representations (Cottle, 2000).

The most basic and traditional function of ethnic media is to reinforce the bonds within an ethnic community and to exchange community-related information and messages. Jeffres (2000) analyzed the survey data collected every four years from 1976 to 1992 from 13 different white ethnic groups in a Midwestern metropolitan area. The analyses revealed ethnic media's role to support ethnic groups by retaining attachment to their culture. It was found that ethnic media use positively predicted ethnic behaviors and ethnic identities, and the effects increased as the use of ethnic media accumulated over time.

Unlike the assimilation perspective's general assertion, Moon and C. Park's (2007) study conducted among Korean immigrants in Los Angeles found that the consumption of ethnic

media was not necessarily associated with the impediment of host culture acceptance. The authors argued that the content of Korean ethnic media not only was relevant to the Korean community but also involved U.S. politics, economics, and social issues. As a consequence, information and messages from Korean ethnic media helped facilitate Korean immigrants' adaptation to the United States.

Ziegler (1983) analyzed foreign language newspapers published in the United States and identified their three main roles: to provide a medium of communication for immigrants whose native language was not English, to publish and update news of home countries which would otherwise be unavailable, and to help the process of acculturation by providing advice and information on lifestyles in the United States. These findings suggest that ethnic media support the bidimensional concept of acculturation by facilitating immigrants' adoption of new culture and also by encouraging ethnic solidarity, language, and culture. The dual functions of ethnic media have been observed repeatedly in different studies on various immigrant groups. Soruco (1996) found that Cuban Americans used ethnic media to protect cultural bonds and native language within a community, to get advice for starting a new life in America, and to be entertained. The study also found that consumption of ethnic media decreased feelings of isolation and confusion in a new environment. Viswanath and Arora (2000) found the evidence of ethnic media's social integration role by investigating the case study of the Asian Indian press in the United States. Asian Indian newspapers informed their readers not only of ethnic community events, holidays, and festivals but also of the events and news of the host community. These newspapers also included the successful stories about members of the immigrant Indian community and thus encouraged the integration of immigrants into the host society.

In addition to the acculturation function, ethnic newspapers are found to be an important tool for immigrants to leverage their social power as a whole. Bekken (1997) revisited the role of the ethnic press in late 19th and the early 20th centuries by examining the newspapers published in foreign languages in the Chicago region. He found that the early ethnic newspapers helped immigrants voice their opinions in regards to common social challenges and encouraged immigrants to work together as one collective group to overcome these challenges in the host society.

The recent developments in information and communication technologies represented by the Internet and portable communication devices have expanded the territory of ethnic media to the online space. Now immigrant communities in different parts of the world can easily connect with homelands and ethnic group members in host countries while actively participating in media content creation through online social media. Online ethnic communities not only share the roles of traditional ethnic media but also reflect distinctive characteristics of the online medium such as connectivity, interactivity, and anonymity. The following section clarifies the theories and concepts of online social media and further discusses how online social media function as a new acculturation context to ethnic immigrants and refugees.

Online social media as a new social context for immigrants. The Internet and multimedia technologies have changed the nature of the ways in which people communicate and socialize, and the phenomenon of online social media has been one of the most prominent changes in the past decade. Since the concept of online social media is new, it is often limited to specialized online social networking services such as Facebook and Twitter (e.g., Boyd & Ellison, 2007) or confused with "seemingly-interchangeable" concepts of user generated content or Web 2.0 (Kaplan, & Haenlein, 2010, p. 60). Thus, clarifying the concepts of user generated

content and Web 2.0 is necessary to define the concept of online social media. User generated content refers to the various forms of media content, such as photos, pictures, videos, reviews, information, and tags that are created by end-users and publicly available online, and Web 2.0 describes a platform that allows users to simultaneously create and modify content in a participatory and collaborative manner (Ahlqvist, Bäck, Heinonen, & Halonen, 2010; Kaplan, & Haenlein, 2010). Ahlqvist, Bäck, Heinonen, and Halonen (2010) point out that user generated content and Web 2.0 are the two essential elements of online social media along with the third element, communities. Communities indicate a group of individuals that shares and communicates ideas, values, and a sense of unity using the Internet networks and digital records (Ahlqvist, Bäck, Heinonen, & Halonen, 2010; Smith, Barash, Getoor, & Lauw, 2008). Based on these clarifications, online social media can be defined as a group of Internet-based platforms that provide user networking systems, "that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of user generated content" (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010, p.61). Under this definition, online social media includes various types of online socializing platforms, such as blogs, microblogging (i.e., Twitter), online communities, social networking sites (i.e., Facebook), content sharing communities (i.e., YouTube), collaborative projects (i.e., Wikipedia), and virtual social/game worlds (i.e., World of Warcraft). Online social media can be performed through a variety of media devices, such as desktop computers, laptop computers, tablet computers, cell phones, mp3 players, and game consoles (cf., Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010; Lenhart, Purcell, Smith, & Zickuhr, 2010).

Online social media's unprecedented features can be classified largely into two: social networking and user participation. First, online social media allow a multitude of people to be connected with less effort and less commitment by removing time-space constraints. Besides

increased accessibility, online social media's interactive nature and multimedia functions provide users higher degrees of social presence of others. Social presence theory was developed by Short, Williams, and Christie (1976) in order to explain the effectiveness of media-mediated communication. Social presence is the extent to which communicators feel like face-to-face interactions using a medium, and the theory posits that effectiveness of media-mediated communication is associated with the degrees of intimacy, interactivity, and acoustic, visual, and physical contact provided by the medium. Given these criteria, social presence of online social media is much higher than any other traditional media such as television and telephones, and as a result, users can enjoy enhanced quality of media-mediated social networking activities using online social media. In addition, one of the unique characteristics of online social media is to make people's social networks visible (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). This trait encourages increased connections with latent ties, which are technically possible but not activated in face-to-face settings or with strangers. Therefore, online social media help individuals expand their social networks by reconnecting past social ties, maintaining current ties, and building new ties at the same time (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007; Haythornthwaite, 2005).

Second, providing multimedia tools and Web 2.0, online social media allow users to participate in creating and sharing their thoughts and lifestyles with others through diverse media formats such as texts, pictures, music, and video clips (Coyle & Vaughn, 2008). In the one-way communication model of traditional mass media, users' media activities are limited to receive, reject, or select content from media. However, in online social media's two-way communication, users no longer remain as receivers or selectors but become active message and content creators and diffusers. Jenkins (2006) refers this paradigm shift as media convergence, which indicates not only a technological change but also industrial, cultural, and social changes. In the age of

media convergence, media users are no longer isolated but socially connected, and they actively participate in content selection, creation, and distribution migrating across multiple media platforms.

The difference between traditional media activities and online social media activities can be compared to Carey's (1975) cultural approach to distinguish the transmission view of communication and the ritual view of communication. The former is associated with the role of communication to transmit, spread, and disseminate knowledge and ideas, while the latter is concerned with the role to associate with and participate in a shared reality. In other words, the ritualistic way of media use is not driven by the need for new information but by the need to be involved with the world one is living in and to recheck or redefine one's idea of the world with that of others. Even though the ritual view of communication has not been a dominant paradigm in the U.S. media literature, the current new media era opens up opportunities for media scholars to explore diversified uses of media in interaction with the world.

Weber and Mitchell (2008) call the ritualistic use of online social media among young people as "identities-in-action" (p. 27). Today's adolescents and young adults, who have been growing up with new media, have been participating in online digital production and consumption activities throughout their lives. By means of those online social media actions, they are constantly engaged in telling and listening to stories of "where I was then," "where we are now," and "who I would like to be." Therefore, youths' interactive use of new media serves an important role in identity formation. Weber and Mitchell (2008) argue that new media activities allow adolescents and young adults to construct, deconstruct, and reconstruct multiple identities in dialectical relationships and eventually develop an integrated self-concept.

In this participatory culture of new media, online social media are more than just a medium to see the world but rather become the real social context where immigrants and refugees actively communicate with both host and ethnic people, thereby developing their host and ethnic identities. Georgiou (2006) states that the Internet's decentralized, interactive, and transnational traits provide migrants an excellent social space for transnational as well as localized communication, for public and private connections, for information and entertainment, and for interpersonal and communal attachment.

Studies have revealed that ethnic online communities share the major functions of traditional ethnic media, to reinforce the bonds within ethnic communities and to facilitate the acculturation of immigrants. Elias and Zeltser-Shorer (2006) examined online communities of the former Soviet Union Diaspora living in the United States, Israel, and Germany by conducting an online survey posted on the most popular Russian-language online discussion board in each country. The respondents answered that they visited Russian-language online communities to be entertained, to meet and talk to people, and to get information and news about the host country and the former Soviet Union. Although these online communities have common functions to serve the Russian-speaking Diaspora in these different countries, each website also exhibited characteristics specifically targeting the needs of the local immigrants. The study also found that although the respondents showed strong ethnic attachment, identifying themselves as Russian-speaking immigrants, they didn't separate themselves from the host society considering their host country as their home.

Georgiou (2006) asserts that online ethnic communities are active political forums where minority discourses are held and thus have great potentials to support ethnic minorities for expression, empowerment, and positive representation. The author investigated three online

communities used by different ethnic groups in the United Kingdom and found that the Internet provides ethnic minority groups an easy and inexpensive channel to gain visibility as well as to voice, overcome, and resist the barriers of dominant cultural ideologies such as discrimination, exclusion, and political and social subordination.

Research indicates that there are some important aspects of online ethnic communities that require our attention. On the one hand, the functions of online ethnic media are in line with those of traditional ethnic media. Online ethnic communities develop a sense of solidarity by allowing immigrants to be connected with the group members and home countries and also by providing a public sphere where immigrants can leverage their power within a host society. However, strengthened solidarity does not interfere with ethnic minorities' desire to integrate with the host society. The users of online ethnic media acquire information about the host society and encourage one another to successfully adapt to a new social system. On the other hand, new technological features make online ethnic media distinct from the functions of traditional ethnic media. The Internet's worldwide networks remove physical and geographical barriers, and thus communication activities in online ethnic media can be more transnational than those of traditional ethnic media. In Elias and Zeltser-Shorer's (2006) study, the authors observed that the respondents often visited Russian-language online communities of other countries to get job or immigration information. In addition to transnational characteristics, the Internet's interactivity makes online ethnic media more decentralized and democratized than traditional ethnic media (Georgiou, 2006). Even though traditional ethnic media are not power centered as much as media conglomerates, they still follow the traditional media production and management systems: the producer and the audience are separated, and the organizations are guided by financial interests. Online ethnic communities, however, can be less restricted by those conditions. Therefore,

online ethnic media may be more open to public discussions and be better suited to develop a sense of group membership through user-to-user interactions. In addition, they may have more varieties of media content created by multiple voluntary participants.

Previous research on online social media and immigrants, however, has had a tendency to focus on online ethnic communities only. Thus, more studies need to examine immigrants' use of other popular social media platforms such as blogs, social networking sites, and content sharing communities. As discussed earlier, acculturation is a process that involves the interplay between host cultural experiences and ethnic cultural experiences. Therefore, to fully understand how immigrants communicate and socialize using online social media as a social context, it is critical to further investigate ethnic minorities' use of various online social media platforms to interact with both host and ethnic people.

Acculturation of North Korean Refugee Young Adults in South Korea

The previous sections review the literature on acculturation and media in order to provide the background theories and knowledge for the current study. This section applies the reviewed theories and concepts in the context of the acculturation of North Korean refugee young adults in South Korea. This section reviews North Korean refugee young adults' acculturation contexts. For the societal level context, the history of defection from the North to the South is reviewed, focusing on how the characteristics of the refugee population have changed over time and how these characteristics have reshaped the South Korean government's resettlement policies. Next, for the group level context, general challenges that North Korean refugee young adults have to cope with in their everyday lives are discussed in terms of family, education, and job opportunities. Last, the media environment of the refugee young adults and its impact on the refugees' lives are discussed.

The societal and group level contexts. North Korean refugees in South Korea have unique characteristics that differentiate them from other immigrants in South Korea or from other international refugee groups. The uniqueness stems from Korea's special political situation as a divided nation. South Koreans generally have mixed emotions and attitudes toward North Korea. On one hand, North Korea is considered a lost brother because the 1945 division of Korea, which separated numerous families, was forced on the Korean people without their consent by the Soviet Union and the United States as a result of the mounting political tension stemming from the Cold War. On the other hand, North Korea is also considered an enemy state, which initiated the Korean War in 1950 and has constantly threatened the national security of South Korea ever since. In a nationwide opinion poll conducted in 2010, 28.7 percent of respondents answered that North Korean refugees were more like strangers than fellow Korean citizens (Sonh and N. Y. Lee, 2012). The poll also revealed that the number of people who believed South Korea had a responsibility to accept all North Korean refugee brothers had dropped from 46.2 percent in 2005 to 38.1 percent in 2010. The difference between these results indicates that though many South Koreans may feel a kinship with North Korean refugees to some extent, they are decreasingly willing to accept them as lost brothers and therefore decreasingly willing to accept them as members of South Korean society. As a result, North Korean refugees are likely to experience prejudice and discrimination that may hinder their progress during the acculturation process.

The South Korean government defines a North Korean refugee as a person who was born in North Korea and has moved to South Korea, but who also has verifiable connections with North Korea such as a home address, members of immediate families such as parents, children, or a spouse still living in North Korea, or a place of work. Also to receive refugee status, a North

Korean national cannot have taken any other foreign nationalities after he or she left North Korea (Ministry of Unification, 2013). If North Korean refugees request asylum in South Korea, the South Korean government protects and accommodates them for humanitarianism, following the national and international refugee laws and treaties.

The patterns of defection from the North to the South have dramatically changed since the 1995 Great Famine in North Korea. The deterioration of North Korea's economy became aggravated in the early 1990's due to the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe that had previously been economic allies of North Korea. In addition to increasing isolation from the world market, a series of floods in 1995 and 1996 destroyed much of North Korea's crops, bringing North Korea's national food ration system to an end (Chung, 2003). Faced with starvation, a massive illegal migration in which North Koreans crossed the Chinese-North Korean border began. The estimated number of North Koreans wandering Chinese regions close to the border reached approximately 150,000 to 200,000 at its worst point during the early 2000s (Chung, 2009). Living in China as illegal aliens means that North Korean refugees cannot get legal jobs, education, or proper medical care. In addition, refugees are at a high risk of being deported back to North Korea, which would likely result in severe punishment such as imprisonment, forced labor, and even execution for the individual and even possibly for three generations of his or her family. For these reasons, North Korean refugees, once again, risk their lives to come to South Korea in efforts to get legal rights and freedom. The period of stay in a transitional country, typically China, between crossing the border of North Korea and coming to South Korea can vary from several months to years.

According to the report of the Ministry of Unification of South Korea (2013), the number of refugees coming to South Korea was less than ten annually before 1994. However in 1994

alone, 52 refugees defected to the South. The number has been rapidly increasing ever since, reaching its highest point in 2009 at 2,927. As of May 2013, 25,210 North Korean refugees reside in South Korea. Along with the drastic increase in numbers, the Great Famine has changed the general characteristics of the refugees as well. Before 1994, the major reasons for defection to the South were differences in political and ideological opinions between the refugees and the State (W. Y. Lee, 1997). Therefore prior to 1994, the refugees were likely to be well-educated elites such as former officers and diplomats who were able to find jobs easily at government agencies or large corporations in South Korea due to their expertise and experiences (Chung, 2009). On the other hand, the refugees arriving in South Korea after 1994 have often been from less privileged groups that suffered the most from the food shortages. The majority of these refugees either did not have regular jobs (50 percent) or were manual laborers (38 percent) in North Korea, and only 17 percent of them received college level education (Ministry of Unification, 2013). Because of their lack of skills and knowledge, this latter group of refugees tends to experience more difficulties adjusting to South Korea's competitive market system than their predecessors.

As the number of refugees increased, so did the South Korean government's policies and attitudes toward North Korean refugees. Before 1994, the refugees were considered a symbol of the South Korea's economic and political superiority over the North, and North Korean refugees were treated as "patriots and heroes who returned to the state" (Chung, 2009, p.7) especially during the Cold War. Therefore, these early refugees were given a great amount of resettlement money as reward. After 1994 due to the large influx of refugees, the South Korean government has had to develop more realistic and practical resettlement policies. The amount of resettlement money was decreased to supplement monthly living expenses and no longer functioned as

rewards. In addition, the South Korean government opened facilities to prepare refugees to become financially independent of the state. One such facility is the Hanawon Resettlement Education Center, which opened in 1998 to provide a two-month mandatory acculturation program that includes job training along with mental and physical medical care.

The official rhetoric used to identify North Korean refugees in South Korea has evolved over time, reflecting the changing attitudes of the South Korean government toward the refugees. In 1997, the term, "residents who escaped from North Korea," was first used, which emphasized the refugees' North Korean origin. In 2005, the government created the term "new settlers" in an effort to eliminate controversial words such as "escape" and "North." The former is the official term still used in government documents, while the latter is used more frequently on unofficial and everyday occasions. The change of terms is a good example of the South Korean government's efforts to integrate the refugees into the South Korean society as migrants rather than defectors. By redefining the refugees as migrants, the government tries to be responsive to the multiethnic trends in contemporary South Korea caused by the recent influx of foreign workers and North Korean refugees (Chung, 2009). However, S. H. Kim (2009) argues that the fundamental direction of the South Korean government's refugee policy is assimilation rather than integration. That is, the goal of refugee acculturation policy is a complete makeover of the refugees into South Korean citizens by removing North Korean lifestyles. For example, Chung (2009) criticizes that cultural programs provided by Hanawon are limited to the inculcation of conventional norms and lifestyles of South Korea's middle class to the refugees. These programs often perpetuate gender stereotypes and preach the supremacy of capitalism by teaching adult male refugees how to drive while teaching adult female refugees how to cook and sew with home electronics. The ideology behind these programs is that South Korean culture is modern,

advanced, and civilized, whereas North Korean culture is traditional, outdated, and uncivilized (Chung, 2009). The South Korean government's assimilation approach reflects the society's general attitudes towards North Korean refugees, and therefore, it significantly affects individuals' acculturation strategies especially when they are going through the period of identity formation. In a study by Han, Yoon, H. K. Lee, and I. H. Kim (2009), 61.9 percent of respondents who were attending public middle schools and high schools reported that they would not reveal their North Korean origin to classmates if they transfer to a different school. It suggests that many North Korean youths are experiencing identity crises, considering their North Korean heritage inferior to South Korean culture.

After completing the Hanawon program, the biggest problem that the refugees face in South Korea is to find a job. According to a 2010 report from the Korean Social Science Data Center, the economically active population among the refugees was 42.5 percent, and the unemployment rate was 8.8 percent. Given that the average rate of the economically active population in South Korea was 61.1 percent with an unemployment rate of 3.5 percent, North Korean refugees' economic participation in South Korea was relatively low. Another challenge was the fact that 54 percent of the jobs North Korean refugees held were merely temporary. As a result, most of the refugees suffered financial problems. The majority of the respondents defined themselves as the middle-lower or lower class (66 percent), and a considerable number of the refugees believed that they were living in abject poverty (11.8 percent). This economic instability causes feelings of relative deprivation and isolation, expanding the psychological distance between the refugees and native South Koreans. The refugees argue that they receive unfair treatment from South Korean employers due to the prejudice against North Korean

refugees, but South Korean employers also complain that the refugees lack the South Korean work ethic and communication skills (Korea Institute for National Unification, 2005).

Most North Korean refugee young adults hope to become more successful than their parents' generation through the achievement of degrees in higher education. Unfortunately, it is also challenging for them to survive in the competitive education system. Since they missed formal schooling for several years before and during the escape, it is very difficult for them to quickly understand South Korea's educational content and pedagogical styles (J. Kim & Jang, 2007). The language barrier is another problem to consider. The division has changed the dialects used in North and South Korea, so words might have different meanings or might be spelled differently between the two Koreas. Therefore, the refugee young adults have to learn new words and expressions, especially those used in academic settings and those imported from foreign sources. These language differences make the refugee young adults insecure about communicating with South Koreans, which can negatively affect their peer relationships (Min, 2008). In the 2005 research of Database Center for North Korean Human Rights, the refugee adolescents and young adults felt more comfortable talking with family members (38.9 percent) or refugee friends (25.4 percent) than South Korean friends (13.5 percent) or teachers (7.5 percent).

Furthermore, the refugee young adults who missed years of formal education usually have to study with younger South Koreans in schools, which can deepen the emotional distance with their classmates (J. K. Cheong, B. H. Cheong, & G. M. Yang, 2004). As a result, many North Korean refugee young adults who pursue high school diplomas are likely to drop out of public schools or enter private refugee institutions, segregating themselves from other South Korean peers. The refugees' dropout rates in 2010 were 4.4 percent for middle school and 10.1

percent for high school students, indicating that more difficulties are present as students involve in advanced classes. Because the refugee students receive special advantages for college admissions and scholarships, almost 85 percent of refugee high school graduates pursue college level education. However, their college dropout rate is 28.4 percent whereas the dropout rate of native South Korean students is merely 4.5 percent (Educational Development Institute, 2011).

Y. E. Yang and Bae (2010) interviewed refugees in their early 20s who had discontinued their formal education in South Korea, and they found that the main reason for dropping out was stress caused by their lack of academic abilities and large age gaps between the refugees and their classmates. The study observed that the discontinuation of formal education posed a serious obstacle to getting stable jobs, and thus the interviewees ended switching back and forth between low-paid work and unemployment. Many of them showed the symptoms of frustration, lack of confidence, anger, and depression caused by the vicious cycle.

What makes the refugee young adults' adjustment in South Korea more difficult is their family environment. As a result of the famine in the 1990s, many North Koreans lost or have been separated from their family members, which dismantled the traditional family structure of the country. Many North Korean refugees whose spouses have died or whose spouses were left behind in North Korea have remarried other refugees or Korean Chinese people living close to the North Korean-Chinese border. Therefore, numerous refugee young adults live in broken families and have to deal with conflicts between original and new family members (Min, 2008). Even more challenging is that, according to a report by Back, Kil, Yun, and Y. R. Lee, (2006), 22.5 percent of North Korean refugee children and adolescents don't have family members in South Korea at all. They may attend public schools and live in public or private facilities, or they may go to alternative schools for the refugees living in dormitories. However after they graduate

from high school, most of the refugee orphans have to move out from those facilities since they are no longer protected and cared for by governmental and non-governmental organizations. This means the orphaned refugee young adults have to cope with the critical transitional period of adapting to adult roles by themselves without familial support.

In summary, the acculturation conditions of North Korean refugee young adults in South Korea are exceptionally challenging. Although the South Korean government tries to support the refugees with various adaptation programs, surviving in the competitive capitalist system is too harsh for those who grew up in one of the most closed, controlled, and economically deprived communist societies in the world. The South Korean government adopts the assimilation approach in an attempt to merge the refugees into South Korean society, and some refugees try to hide their national origin. The refugee young adults have to recover from traumatic experiences from the past while dealing with new acculturation challenges every day. The missed years of formal education before and during the escape also are serious obstacles to overcome as they try to adjust to South Korean schools and attempt to find a stable employment.

For the refugee young adults who want to be assimilated into South Korean culture but have limited resources, South Korean mass media can be the most accessible and convenient channel to learn economic, political, and cultural systems of South Korea. Cho (2006) states that North Korean refugees generally have a strong desire to get information and tend to rely on mass media, especially television, to satisfy their needs. The following section reviews the studies on how the consumption of South Korean media facilitates the acculturation of North Korean refugees drawing on both the assimilation and the pluralism models.

The influence of South Korean mass media on acculturation. The division of Korea is often compared with the division of East and West Germany before 1990. Hesse (1990) argues

that before the 1990 German unification, electronic reunification had already occurred because two major West German public broadcast services were made available to East German regions in 1985. For East Germans, West German media were the only source of information on world events that were not covered by East German media. The images of West Germany on television shaped and reinforced East Germans' positive perceptions toward the West German government, and it ultimately played a significant role in collapse of the East German communist regime (Hesse, 1990). The Germany example suggests that the worldviews of people who are in a closed, controlled society can be broadened beyond their national borders by mass media-provided social reality.

Interestingly, according to the testimonies of North Korean refugees, a similar phenomenon is secretly but increasingly occurring in North Korea. North Korean refugees' exposure to South Korean media starts before they arrive in the South. Even though South Korean media is strictly prohibited in North Korea, generally 50 to 70 percent of North Korean refugees report that they had experienced South Korean radio programs aired for propaganda purposes while they were still in North Korea (J. C. Lee, 2003; Sung, 2004). More recently, South Korean entertainment media, such as movies and television dramas, have secretly gained popularity among North Koreans (D. W. Kang & J. R. Park, 2011). South Korean movies and television dramas are made in CD, DVD, and thumb drive formats and distributed through the black market. This trend began in the mid-1990s when hungry North Koreans traveled outside the country searching for food. When they returned from China, they brought with them both food and South Korean information and entertainment. A study conducted by D. W. Kang and J. R. Park (2011) shows striking results in regards to the popularity of South Korean pop culture among North Koreans. During in-depth interviews with 33 refugees from nine provinces in

North Korea, 50 percent reported that they watched South Korean television programs about once a week while they were living in North Korea. For North Koreans who have been completely isolated from the rest of the world for decades, South Korea's media has the potential to shift the worldviews of North Koreans by providing alternative perspectives that might challenge them to re-evaluate their government.

Research on the relationship between South Korean media and the acculturation of North Korean refugees has not been fully explored due to the relatively short history of the refugee influx. Similar to North American media studies on acculturation, the assimilation model has been adopted as the dominant paradigm in North Korean refugee media studies. In line with the findings in North American settings, North Korean refugee research has generally observed mass media's positive effects on the adaptation processes of refugees. J. C. Park, Y. Y. Kim, and W. Y. Lee (1996) found that newspapers and television were the major sources of information about South Korea to the refugees, and C. H. Lee (2000) also found a positive relationship between the use of South Korean media and a refugee's willingness to accept South Korean values and cultures.

T. Y. Kang, Hwang, and K. M. Kang (2011) found that North Korean refugee adolescents and young adults who had a short period of settlement in South Korea were likely to report greater television use and a higher tendency to watch entertainment-oriented television to learn South Korean pop culture for the purpose of making South Korean friends. The study also observed different media content types had different acculturation effects. Information-oriented media consumption was more associated with the motivation for learning South Korean culture and the motivation for self-enhancement while entertainment-oriented media consumption was associated with the motivation for self-enhancement only. The results suggest that the refugee

adolescents and young adults are actively involved in the selection of television content depending on their acculturation needs. During the early stage of settlement when the need for expanding social networks is high, entertainment television provides trivial information that serves as icebreakers, lowering the emotional distance between the refugees and their South Korean peers by offering a common frame of reference for friendly conversations. As the refugees enter the stable stage of settlement, their need for understanding the social system and social issues of South Korea becomes greater, and thus their consumption of information-oriented television content, such as news reports, increases.

Along with media content, M. K. Lee and H. J. Woo (2004) found that individuals' acculturation levels moderated the effects of mass media. The authors compared the relationship between the refugees' consumption of television dramas and their perceptions of human relationships, crime, and morality in South Korean society. The results showed that the refugees with higher levels of television drama consumption were likely to have negative perceptions toward South Korean society on all three subjects. However, this tendency was only found among the group that had low assimilation levels. This indicates that television becomes a window to understand South Korean society during the initial stage of resettlement, but it also provides distorted images, making it difficult for the refugees to distinguish between reality and manipulated media images. The influences of media, however, decrease over time as the refugees' experiences in South Korea increase.

Kwak and S. G. Park (2006) examined the relationship between mass media use and the political socialization of North Korean refugees. They found that greater use of newspapers predicted the refugees' larger offline social ties and positive attitudes toward civic participation in South Korea, whereas the use of television was not significantly associated with those

variables. Interestingly, the use of online media was found to relate to positive attitudes toward South Koreans and larger online social ties, yet it predicted negative attitudes toward the South Korean government and policies. Kwak and S. G. Park's (2006) findings suggest that media's influences on North Korean refugees can have mixed results depending on media types. Especially, the association between online media and negative attitudes towards the government suggests that the engagement of online communication involves more complex activities than the consumption of one-way messages from mass media. By engaging in political discussions through online communities, North Korean refugees can build a sense of fellowship with other South Koreans and also develop critical thinking skills in the evaluation of political issues.

On the other hand, North Korean refugees' media use has not been examined yet from the pluralism perspective of acculturation. The lack of research on this topic may be due to the fact that there is not any traditional form of ethnic media that can represent the life of the refugees in South Korea. Although there are a few media outlets particularly dealing with the news and issues about North Korea, they function as propaganda broadcast against the Northern regime. Accordingly, these media have strong right-wing political perspectives, and the types of issues discussed in these media are limited as well. In these circumstances, online social media can replace the role of ethnic media to reflect the needs and lifestyles of North Korean refugee communities while providing alternative views and a greater variety of information.

North Korean refugee young adults' use of online social media: The focus of the current study. As reviewed earlier, previous studies have revealed that online ethnic communities not only serve the roles of traditional ethnic media but also have highlighted functions of connectivity and empowerment of ethnic groups (Elias & Zeltser-Shorer, 2006; Georgiou, 2006). In this regard, this study proposes that online social media can be a public

space for North Korean refugee young adults to share information with and emotionally support other refugee fellows when they do not have traditional ethnic media channels to meet their communication needs. Online social media are especially useful when the refugees want to protect their identities from possible threats of North Korea when they socialize with other refugees. One good example is The Rest Area of New Settlers (http://www.toxjals.com/), which is the largest online North Korean community with 2,000 to 6,000 daily visitors. The users of this website are not limited to the refugees in South Korea but also include the refugees in other countries such as China as well as Korean Chinese who are not refugees but who live in the Yanbian Autonomous Prefecture, a primarily ethnic Korean region that runs along the Chinese side of the North Korean-Chinese border. On this website, people exchange a variety of information about living in South Korea in regards to jobs, education, legal and welfare issues, childcare, hobbies, and technology. The website also posts advertisements for North Korea-related products (e.g., music CDs and food) that cater to refugee consumers. People share their stories of living in North Korea, escaping, and living in South Korea by posting text, photos, and videos. Given that this website offers information about South Korean culture to North Korean refugees while reinforcing the bond of the refugee community, it seems that the website not only serves the traditional roles of ethnic media but also facilitates transnational social networks across the North Korean Diaspora.

In addition to building relationships with other refugees, online social media can expand the refugee young adults' social networks with South Koreans. The anonymity of the online environment protects the privacy of the refugees and also removes the pressures that are present in face-to-face interactions (Stritzke, Nguyen, & Durkin, 2004). Thus, the refugee young adults can freely interact with South Korean friends without exposing their North Korean accent and

thus can naturally enhance their social competence. By interacting with South Korean friends and observing others' user generated content, the refugee young adults can learn the values and lifestyles of South Korean young people. At the same time, by participating in daily online social media activities, the refugee young adults can become gradually and naturally accustomed to South Korean culture.

Therefore, online social media can be a great venue of the pluralism model of acculturation for North Korean refugee young adults who are in a critical period of identity formation as new South Koreans with North Korean backgrounds. As North Korean refugee young adults can actively interact with both the refugee community and South Koreans through online social media, North Korean refugee young adults get opportunities to explore, experiment, and experience different aspects of cultural selves and thus are able to form balanced North Korean and South Korean identities.

Statement of Hypotheses and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is two-fold. First, this study attempts to provide descriptive information on acculturation tendencies and media use patterns of North Korean refugee young adults through preliminary analyses. Second, the main investigation of this study is focused on the relationship between North Korean refugee young adults' media use patterns and their acculturation domains from the pluralism idea that acculturation is a process by which immigrants can maintain ethnic culture while simultaneously accepting a host culture. Ward (1996) suggests that acculturation can be categorized into psychological acculturation and sociocultural acculturation. Psychological acculturation indicates one's psychological wellbeing while sociocultural acculturation involves the ability and skills that are required to manage everyday social situations in a new cultural context. The current research tests cultural identity,

self-esteem, and acculturative stress for psychological acculturation domains and language competence, cultural competence, the extent of social networks, and community involvement for sociocultural acculturation domains. Self-esteem and acculturative stress are the variables indicating psychological health, and the extent of social networks and community involvement indicate social competence. The model for the current study's hypotheses and research questions is presented in Figure 1.

The previous experiences with South Korean mass media (RQ1). According to the testimonies of North Korean refugees living in South Korea, the consumption of South Korean mass media is prevalent among North Koreans even though it is strictly prohibited in North Korea (D. W. Kang & J. R. Park, 2011; J. C. Lee, 2003; Sung, 2004). C. H. Lee and S. J. Kim (2007) assert that South Korean media have direct and indirect impacts on North Korean refugees' decisions to flee to South Korea. In order to better understand South Korean mass media's longitudinal effects on the acculturation process of North Korean refugee young adults, it is important to examine how the refugees' previous experiences with South Korean mass media in the time before they came to South Korea may be related to their current media use patterns and acculturation domains. Therefore, the following research question is proposed:

RQ1a: How are North Korean refugee young adults' *previous experiences with South Korean mass media* before they came to South Korea related to their current media use patterns?

RQ1b: How are North Korean refugee young adults' *previous experiences with South Korean mass media* before they came to South Korea related to their *South Korean* acculturation domains?

RQ1c: Do North Korean refugee young adults' *previous experiences with South Korean mass media* have varying degrees of influences on *South Korean* acculturation domains depending on media types (i.e., newspapers, television dramas/shows, radio, magazines, and movies)?

The influences of South Korean mass media (H1 & RQ2). Studies have revealed that South Korean mass media consumption helps North Korean refugees learn and accept information, values, lifestyles as well as the overall social systems of South Korea (Kwak & S. G. Park, 2006; Lee, 2000; J. C. Park, Y. Y. Kim, & W. Y. Lee, 1996). Thus, this study proposes that South Korean mass media consumption may be positively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' South Korean cultural competence and language competence and thus consequently may enhance their South Korean identity.

H1a: Greater use of *South Korean mass media* will be positively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' *South Korean* identity.

H1b: Greater use of *South Korean mass media* will be positively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' *South Korean* language competence.

H1c: Greater use of *South Korean mass media* will be positively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' *South Korean* cultural competence.

RQ2a: Do North Korean refugee young adults' *South Korean mass media* use have varying degrees of influences on *South Korean* acculturation domains depending on media types (i.e., newspapers, television, radio, magazines, and websites)?

Since South Korean media provide information about the new culture, they may help North Korean refugee young adults socialize with South Koreans. T. Y. Kang, Hwang, and K. M. Kang (2011) found that North Korean refugee young adults with a short period of settlement

tended to watch more entertainment-oriented television programs in order to understand South Korean pop culture and make South Korean friends. In the same vein, having more knowledge about South Korea through the use of South Korean media may lower acculturative stress and enhance their psychological health. However, there are no theoretical supports and previous research findings regarding the direct or indirect relationships between host media use and host social competence and psychological health. Therefore, to further explore connections between South Korean media and the acculturation of the refugee young adults and to compare them to those of online social media, the following research questions are presented:

RQ2b: How is the use of *South Korean mass media* associated with North Korean refugee young adults in regards to (1) the extent of *South Korean* social networks, (2) *South Korean* community involvement, (3) self-esteem, and (4) acculturative stress?

The influences of North Korea-related mass media content (H2 & RQ3). Studies in the U.S. settings have found that the use of ethnic media reinforces ethnic solidarity, language, and culture (Bekken, 1997; Soruco, 1996; Viswanath & Arora, 2000; Ziegler, 1983). As noted earlier, the effects of North Korean ethnic media on North Korean refugees' adaptation have not been examined yet due to the lack of ethnic media outlets. Thus, the current research suggests that the consumption of North Korea-related or North Korean refugee-related content would be positively associated with North Korean identity, language competence, and cultural competence.

H2a: Greater use of *North Korea-related mass media content* will be positively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' *North Korean* identity.

H2b: Greater use of *North Korea-related mass media content* will be positively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' *North Korean* language competence.

H2c: Greater use of *North Korea-related mass media content* will be positively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' *North Korean* cultural competence.

RQ3a: Does North Korean refugee young adults' *North Korea-related mass media content* use have varying degrees of influences on *North Korean* acculturation domains depending on media types (i.e., newspapers, television, radio, magazines, and websites)?

RQ3b: How is the use of *North Korea-related mass media content* associated with North Korean refugee young adults in regard to (1) the extent of *North Korean* social networks, (2) *North Korean* community involvement, (3) self-esteem, and (4) acculturative stress?

The influence of online social media (H3). Online social media provide North Korean refugee young adults increased connectivity, interactivity, and accessibility in social relationships. In addition to those benefits, the anonymity of the online environment offers a secure space for the refugees to gather and also lowers pressures from the face-to-face interactions (Stritzke, Nguyen, & Durkin, 2004). Through the use of online social media platforms, socializing with North Korean refugee friends would help the refugee young adults maintain their North Korean cultural heritage and group membership, while socializing with South Korean friends would facilitate the process of learning values and lifestyles of South Korean culture. Accordingly, the use of online social media with North Korean refugee friends and/or South Korean friends would enhance the refugee young adults' acculturation domains and social competence due to larger social networks and higher involvement with the community, and as a result, it would positively affect their psychological health (higher self-esteem and lower acculturative stress).

H3a-1: Greater use of *online social media with South Korean friends* will be positively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' *South Korean* identity.

H3a-2: Greater use of *online social media with South Korean friends* will be positively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' *South Korean* language competence.

H3a-3: Greater use of *online social media with South Korean friends* will be positively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' *South Korean* cultural competence.

H3a-4: Greater use of *online social media with South Korean friends* will be positively associated with the extent of North Korean refugee young adults' *South Korean* social networks.

H3a-5: Greater use of *online social media with South Korean friends* will be positively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' *South Korean* community involvement.

H3a-6: Greater use of *online social media with South Korean friends* will be positively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' self-esteem.

H3a-7: Greater use of *online social media with South Korean friends* will be negatively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' acculturative stress.

H3b-1: Greater use of *online social media with North Korean refugee friends* will be positively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' *North Korean* identity.

H3b-2: Greater use of *online social media with North Korean refugee friends* will be positively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' *North Korean* language competence.

H3b-3: Greater use of *online social media with North Korean refugee friends* will be positively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' *North Korean* cultural competence.

H3b-4: Greater use of *online social media with North Korean refugee friends* will be positively associated with the extent of North Korean refugee young adults' *North Korean* social networks.

H3b-5: Greater use of *online social media with North Korean refugee friends* will be positively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' *North Korean* community involvement.

H3b-6: Greater use of *online social media with North Korean refugee friends* will be positively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' self-esteem.

H3b-7: Greater use of *online social media with North Korean refugee friends* will be negatively associated with North Korean refugee young adults' acculturative stress.

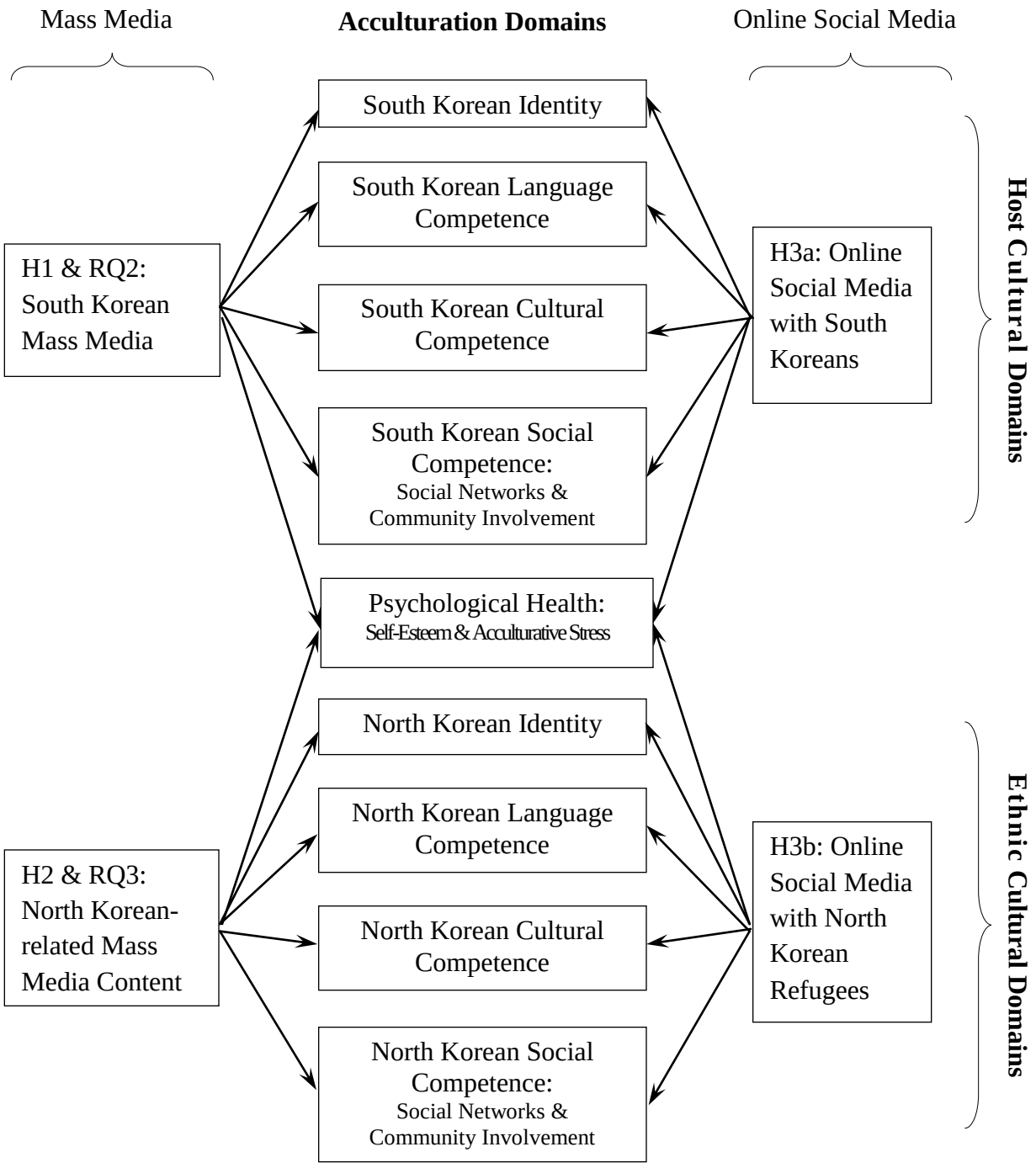

Figure 1. Hypotheses and research questions model.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Participants and Procedure

A self-administered online survey was deployed within the current study. Given that North Korean refugee young adults may be reluctant to reveal their personal information, an online survey was an appropriate method to provide an anonymous and secure environment to the participants. The participants of the present study were students between the ages of 18 and 30 who were currently enrolled in or graduated from an alternative school for North Korean refugees located in Seoul, South Korea. The school is a private educational institution that provided North Korean refugee young adults with programs for cultural and social adaptation as well as preparation for high school graduation examinations. Students attending this school generally were 18 years old and over and had missed several years of formal schooling before coming to South Korea.

Data collection procedures and questionnaire items were developed in consultation with the school and local government officials. Participants were recruited by email solicitation upon approval by the school representative. The recruitment email was sent out to the current students and graduates to explain the purpose and the participation procedures of this research. Only those who agreed to volunteer clicked the link to the online survey and were directed to the web page containing the information sheet and electronic survey.

A total of 128 responses were collected in this study, and of the 128 responses, 21 were excluded due to the instrument incompletion. As a result, data from 107 completed surveys were used for the final analysis. The majority of participants were females: 36 (34%) males and 71 (66%) females. This ratio reflected the actual ratio of males (31%) to females (69%) in the whole

North Korean refugee population in South Korea (Ministry of Unification, 2013). The participants' mean age was 25.0 (*SD* = 4.6). Fifty-seven (53%) of the participants were between the ages of 18 and 24 while 47% were between the ages of 25 and 30. Forty-two (39%) identified themselves as alternative school students, and 57 (53%) identified as college students. Four reported that they were employed (4%), and 4 (4%) were unemployed.

The living conditions of the participants varied as well. Thirty two (30%) participants reported that they were living in a dormitory or a dormitory-like housing facility. Forty-three (40%) were living with family, and 27 (25%) were living alone. In addition, 3 (3%) were living with roommates, and 2 (2%) were living with relatives or acquaintances. Fifty-five (51%) participants reported that there were other North Korean refugees in their neighborhood. The average length of stay in a transitional country (or countries) before coming to South Korea was 22.3 months (*SD* = 33.7 months) while the average length of residence in South Korea was 51.1 months (*SD* = 37.5 months). Overall, there was a wide range in the length of time respondents had been in a transitional country (or countries) before coming to South Korea, and these times ranged from less than a month to 10 years and from 6 months to 12 years, respectively. See Table 1 for further details.

Table 1

Participant Demographic Characteristics (N = 107)

Variables	N	%
Age		
18-24	57	53.3
25-30	50	46.7
Mean (*SD*) = 25.0 (4.6)		
Gender		
Male	36	33.6
Female	71	66.4
Education/Job Status		
Alternative School Students	42	39.3
College Students	57	53.3
Employed	4	3.7
Unemployed	4	3.7
Years in Transitional Countries		
Less than 1 Year	60	56.1
1 – 3 Years	26	24.3
4 – 6 Years	9	8.4
7 – 10 Years	12	11.2
Mean (*SD*) = 1 Year 10 Months (2 Years 10 Months)		
Years in South Korea		
Less than 1 Year	7	6.4
1 – 3 Years	48	44.7
4 – 6 Years	20	19.1
7 – 10 Years	30	27.7
More than 10 Years	2	2.1
Mean (*SD*) = 4 Years 3 Months (3 Years 1 Month)		
Living Conditions		
Living in Dormitories	32	29.9
Living with Family	43	40.2
Living Alone	27	25.2
Living with Roommates	3	2.8
Living with Relatives/Acquaintances	2	1.9
Neighborhood		
Having Refugee Neighbors	55	51.1
Not Having Refugee Neighbors	52	48.9

Instruments

The current research has four predictor variables (South Korean media use, North Korea-related or North Korean refugee-related media use, online social media use with South Koreans, online social media use with North Korean refugees) and seven criterion variables (cultural identity, language competence, cultural competence, the extent of social networks, community involvement, self-esteem, and acculturative stress).

In addition to these variables, other elements that might influence the acculturation process such as demographic variables were measured to test the dynamic acculturation process of North Korean refugee young adults. The demographic questionnaire has seven items: respondents' age, gender, education or job status, length of stay in a transitional country (or countries), length of residence in South Korea, living conditions, and neighborhood.

The questionnaire was developed using the two-step translation method. It was first written in English, and then the English version of measurement items were translated into Korean. Finally, the Korean version of the questionnaire was translated back into English to ensure linguistic equivalence of the measures. The Korean version of the measures were reviewed by a panel of North Korean refugees to make sure that the words and expressions used in items were understandable to general North Korean refugee young adults. Then, minor changes were made to the final version of the questionnaire.

Cultural Identity, Language Competence, and Cultural Competence

This study proposes operational definitions of cultural identity, language competence, and cultural competence as follows. Cultural identity refers to an individual's sense of self as a member of a cultural group (or groups) and emotional attachment to that group (cf., Phinney, 1990). Language competence refers to one's language skills to communicate with members of a

given cultural group, and cultural competence refers to one's knowledge about a given culture (cf., LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993).

To measure these three variables, the current study uses the subscales of Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AMAS–ZABB) developed by Zea, Asner-Self, Birman, and Buki (2003). This scale is comprised of 42 items with three subscales, cultural identity, language competence, and cultural competence, and it has been designed to be adaptable for use with any ethnic group experiencing cultural transition. The AMAS–ZABB scale is a multidimensional measure of acculturation based on the notion that cultural identity, language competence, and cultural competence are distinct dimensions of acculturation. It suggests that even when an individual is competent in a culture, he or she may not necessarily be fluent in that language or identify with the culture, and vice versa (Zea, Asner-Self, Birman, & Buki, 2003). The original scale was validated with U.S. college student and community samples with diverse ethnic backgrounds, and the Cronbach's alphas for all subscales ranged from .83 to .97 across different ethnic samples. Following the pluralism model of acculturation, the current study assesses each subscale with two dimensions: North Korean culture (the original culture) and South Korean culture (the host culture).

The cultural identity scale consists of six items for each cultural dimension. Items in both dimensions use similar structures and only replace the word North Korean with South Korean (e.g., "I think of myself as being North Korean," becomes "I think of myself as being South Korean"). Respondents' level of agreement with each item is assessed on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The score of each cultural identity is calculated by taking the mean of six items. A higher score indicates stronger cultural identifications. To check the dimensionality of the scale, Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was

performed. Factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0 were extracted, and the minimum values of factor loadings were set at .40. The EFA with Principal Component Analysis (PCA) extraction method showed one factor for the North Korean identity scale with 60.7 percent of total variance explained. The South Korean identity scale also showed one factor with 72.1 percent of total variance explained. The Cronbach's alphas for the North Korean identity scale and the South Korean identity scale were .87 and .86, respectively.

The language competence scale contains eight items in response to each of the following questions, "How well do you speak or understand North Korean words, expressions, and accent?" and "How well do you speak or understand South Korean words, expressions, and accent?" The eight items describe eight different communication contexts: with family/at school or work, with friends, on the telephone, with strangers, on television or in movies, in newspapers and magazines, in words of songs, and in general. Items are answered on a five-point Likert scale, with 5 representing "extremely well" and 1 representing "not at all," and the mean score of eight items is used for measuring the language competence. For the North Korean language competence scale, the EFA with PCA extraction method based on varimax rotation showed one factor with 78.6 percent of total variance explained. For the South Korean language competence scale, the analysis showed one factor with 86.6 percent of total variance explained. The Cronbach's alphas of the current sample were .96 for North Korean language competence and .97 for South Korean language competence.

The cultural competence scale assesses respondents' knowledge of different aspects of South Korean culture and North Korean culture by asking "How well do you know about the following items?" Each cultural competence scale includes six items: national heroes, popular television shows, newspapers and magazines, actors and actresses, history, and political leaders.

The respondents' competence items are answered on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely well), and the item scores were averaged. The EFA with PCA extraction method clearly indicated one factor solution with 75.7 percent of variance explained for North Korean cultural competence and one factor with 72.3 percent of variance explained for South Korean cultural competence. The alpha statistic for North Korean cultural competence was .88 and .84 for South Korean cultural competence.

Social Competence: Social Networks and Community Involvement

The current study defines social competence as one's ability to accomplish interpersonal tasks and to maintain positive relationships with others over time across different social contexts (cf., Rubin, & Krasnor, 1986). Wellman, Haase, Witte, and Hampton (2001) propose that individuals' ability to manage social relationships not only includes interpersonal interactions but also consists of one's community commitment. Drawing on this idea, two different levels of social contexts are examined in order to measure respondents' social competence in North Korean refugee and South Korean social settings: the individual level social contexts and the community level social contexts. For the individual level social contexts, respondents' extent of social networks with close families, friends, and neighbors is measured, whereas for the community level social contexts, respondents' involvement with the refugee community and their South Korean community is assessed. This study assumes that the individual level social competence and the community level social competence are distinctive dimensions and thus each dimension is individually measured.

The extent of one's social network is measured by the number of people that respondents maintain close relationships with in terms of ten different relationship settings. The types of relationship settings are carefully selected considering the common social relational patterns of

North Korean refugee young adults. For North Korean refugee social networks, family members in South Korea, family members in foreign countries, close North Korean refugee friends, North Korean refugee friends in foreign countries, and North Korean refugees in my neighborhood are assessed. For South Korean social networks, close South Korean friends, teachers or professors, social workers or government officials, South Korean neighbors, and people in my social groups (e.g., religious groups, school clubs, hobby groups, etc.) are measured. In these ten categories, respondents report the approximate number of people they currently maintain close relationships using the following categories: none (0), 1-3 (1), 4-9 (2), 10-19 (3), and 20 and more (4). Respondents' overall extent of North Korean social networks is calculated by adding scores of the former five categories, while South Korean social networks are assessed by adding scores of the latter five categories.

Respondents' community involvement is measured by seven Civic Action items excerpted from the Civic Attitudes and Skills Questionnaire, developed by Moely, Mercer, Ilustre, Miron, and McFarland (2002). This inventory was tested on U.S. college students, and the Cronbach's alphas for the two sample groups were .86 and .88. The original scale contains eight items to measure young adults' intentions for community involvement (e.g., "I plan to do volunteer work", or "I plan to participate in a local community action program"). This study removes one item that showed the lowest factor loading: "I plan to become involved in programs to help clean up the environment." Additionally, the seven items are paired with the North Korean refugee community involvement items, by replacing the word "my local community" with "the North Korean refugee community." Thus, a total of 14 items measure respondents' involvement with a local community and the North Korean refugee community. Respondents describe their level of agreement with the items using a five-point Likert scale from 1 meaning

"strongly disagree" to 5 meaning "strongly agree." In the current sample, the EFA with PCA extraction method clearly showed one factor with 70.7 percent of total variance explained for the local community involvement and also one factor with 66.5 percent of total variance explained for the North Korean community involvement. The Cronbach's alpha for the local community involvement was .79 and .75 for the North Korean refugee community involvement.

Psychological Health: Self-Esteem and Acculturative Stress

Respondents' psychological health is measured by two dimensions: self-esteem and acculturation stress. The current study suggests operational definitions of self-esteem as a favorable or unfavorable attitude toward oneself (Rosenberg, 1965) and acculturative stress as one's negative psychological reactions during the process of acculturation (cf., Berry, 2006).

Respondents' self-esteem is measured by Rosenberg's self-esteem scale (1979), which consists of ten items. Respondents rate their perceptions of self, using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The questions describe both positive self-perceptions (e.g., "I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others"; "I am able to do things as well as most other people") and negative self-perceptions (e.g., "I feel I do not have much to be proud of"; "I certainly feel useless at times"). Scores of items measuring negative self-perceptions are reversed, thus higher averaged scores indicate greater positive self-perceptions. For self-esteem, the EFA with PCA extraction method showed one factor with 60.5 percent of total variance explained, and the Cronbach's alpha in the current sample was .89.

Respondents' acculturation stress levels are measured with the Societal, Attitudinal, Familial, and Environmental Acculturative Stress Scale (SAFE) developed by Mena, Padilla and Maldonado (1987). This scale was originally created with 60 items by Padilla, Wagatsuma, and

Lindholm (1985) but was later reduced to 24 items by Mena, Padilla and Maldonado (1987). These 24 items measure levels of acculturative stress in societal, attitudinal, familial, and environmental contexts by describing various stressful conditions that immigrant students may experience in a host culture as a minority group (e.g., "I feel uncomfortable when others make jokes about or put down North Korean people"; "It bothers me that family members I am close to do not understand my new values"; and "It is hard to express to my friends how I really feel"). Among the original 24 items, two items that are not relevant to the context of North Korean refugee young adults have been removed: "It bothers me to think that so many people use drugs," and "My family does not want me to move but I would like to." The SAFE scale was originally tested on U.S. college students (α = .89), and the items used in this scale describe various aspects of acculturative stress applicable to North Korean refugee young adults. In total, 22 items on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not stressful) to 5 (extremely stressful) are measured, and the scores of 22 items are averaged. For the acculturative stress scale, the EFA with PCA extraction method found three factors with 70.3 percent of total variance explained. The first factor included 16 items describing stress from the social and environment context, and it accounted for 51.3 percent of total variance. The second factor explained 11.1 percent of total variance, and it included three items describing stress from missing North Korea: "It bothers me that I cannot be with my family in North Korea," "I often think about North Korea," and "Loosening the ties with North Korea is difficult." The third factor explained 7.9 percent of total variance, and it included three items describing stress from the familial context: "It bothers me that family members I am close to not understand my new values," "Close family members and I have conflicting expectations about my future," "I am proud of my family." Over the years, the SAFE scale has been extensively used and has been shown to be unidimensional. Fuertes and

Westbrook (1996) did find multidimensionality in their work with the SAFE scale but used the scale as a unidimensional construct, arguing that the different dimensions nevertheless measured a core concept of acculturative stress. This study follows the approach used in previous research with this scale, and treats it as a unidimensional construct. The validity and reliability of the SAFE scale has been proven by previous studies using different immigrant samples, such as Asian Americans (Mena, Padilla & Maldonado, 1987), Hispanic Americans (Fuertes & Westbrook, 1996), and African Americans (Perez, Voelz, Pettit, & Joiner, 2002). The Cronbach's alpha in the current sample was .83.

Media Use Patterns

The present study examines five different media use patterns of North Korean refugee young adults: South Korean mass media experiences prior to coming to South Korea, daily South Korean mass media use, North Korea-related or North Korean refugee-related mass media content use, online social media use with South Koreans, and online social media use with North Korean refugees.

Respondents' previous experiences with South Korean mass media before they arrived in the country are assessed by asking respondents to describe their past experiences with five different types of South Korean mass media (newspapers, television dramas or show programs, radio, magazines, and movies) using the following categories: never (1), rarely (2), sometimes (3), frequently (4), and very frequently (5). To measure the overall extent of previous experiences with South Korean mass media, the total score of five items is used.

Respondents' South Korean mass media use patterns are measured by the degree of daily exposure to South Korean newspapers, radio, television, magazine, and websites. General South Korean website use is included as South Korean mass media use, given that website use is not

concentrated on socializing functions and user participation, which is differentiated from online social media use. Respondents are asked to report how long they use each medium in a usual day using the following categories: never (1), less than 1 hour (2), 1-2 hours (3), 3-4 hours (4), and more than 5 hours (5). The scores of five items are added to indicate the overall South Korean media use.

Respondents' North Korea-related mass media content use is assessed by the following four items: North Korea-related or the North Korean refugee community-related newspapers, television programs, radio, magazines, and websites. The frequency of using each item is measured on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (very frequently), and the scores of five items are added.

Finally, a series of questions measuring the intensity of use of online social media are asked based on Steinfield, Ellison, and Lampe's (2008) scale, which addresses the number of hours using online social media, the number of social media friends, and emotional connections to online social activities.

Respondents first describe how many hours they spend doing online social media in a usual day using the following categories: never (1), less than 30 minutes (2), 30 minutes-1hour (3), 2-3 hours (4), and more than 4 hours (5).

Then, the questionnaire asks the number of North Korean refugee friends and South Korean friends whom the respondents regularly contact using online social media. The numbers are reported in the following categories: none (1), 1-5 (2), 6-10 (3), 11-15 (4), and more than 16 (5). The numbers of the refugee friends and South Korean friends are used to indicate respondents' degrees of connection with North Korean friends and South Korean friends using online social media.

Respondents' emotional connections to online social activities are assessed using the following six items: Online social networking is part of my everyday activity (1); I am proud to tell people I like online social networking (2); online social networking is part of my daily routine (3); I feel out of touch when I haven't logged onto online social networking sites for a while (4); I feel I am part of the online social networking community (5); and I would be sorry if my online social networking sites were shut down (6). Using a five-point Likert scale, respondents report their levels of agreement with each item, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). The EFA with PCA extraction method showed one factor with 68.4 percent of total variance explained for emotional connections to online social activities, and the Cronbach's alpha was .81.

Respondents' overall use of online social media with South Korean friends is calculated by averaging the scores of the number of hours using online social media, the number of South Korean online social media friends, and the degree of emotional connections to online social activities. In the same manner, respondents' overall use of online social media with North Korean friends is calculated by averaging the scores of the number of hours using online social media, the number of North Korean refugee online social media friends, and the degree of emotional connections to online social activities.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Preliminary Statistical Analysis

Before testing hypotheses and research questions, preliminary descriptive statistical analyses were performed to understand the profile of respondents in terms of major variables. The mean scores of main criterion variables were as follows: cultural identity (NK: M = 3.40, SD = .90; SK: M = 3.41, SD = .81), language competence (NK: M = 2.32, SD = .91; SK: M = 3.93, SD = .78), cultural competence (NK: M = 2.90, SD = .83; SK: M = 3.26, SD = .76), the extent of social networks (NK: M = 5.80, SD = 3.04; SK: M = 8.35, SD = 3.84), community involvement (NK: M = 3.89, SD = .87; SK: M = 3.88, SD = .83), self-esteem (M = 3.87, SD = .71), and acculturative stress (M = 2.71, SD = .51). The sample population showed moderate levels of cultural identifications for both North Korean and South Korean cultures and significantly stronger South Korean language competence (t (106) = -3.06, $p < .01$) and South Korean cultural competence (t (106) = -10.47, $p < .001$) than North Korean ones. Also, the sample population tended to meet more number of South Korean people (approximately more than 20) than North Korean refugee people (approximately 10-19); t (105) = -9.10, $p < .001$.

Respondents who reported that they had participated in volunteer works for their local community were 41%, while those who had participated in volunteer works for the refugee community were 33%. The results from descriptive statistics indicated that the sample population as a whole showed relatively greater South Korean acculturation than North Korean acculturation, corresponding to the assimilation model. Respondents generally showed high levels of self-esteem and moderate levels of acculturative stress. The mean scores are presented in Table 2 and Table 3.

Bivariate correlations between demographic variables (age, gender, education/job status, length of stay in transitional countries, length of residence in South Korea, living conditions, and neighborhood) and main criterion variables of interest (cultural identity, language competence, cultural competence, the extent of social networks, community involvement, self-esteem, and acculturative stress) were calculated to explore potential effects of demographic variables on criterion variables. Categories with few responses were removed from the education/job status variable and the living condition variable, which resulted in two categories (alternative school students and college students) for the education/job status variable remained, and three categories (living in dormitories or dormitory-like facilities, living with family, and living alone) for the living condition variables remained. These categorical variables were transformed into dummy variables. The results of correlation analyses are presented in Table 2 and Table 3.

All correlations were weak to moderate, ranging between r = .21, $p < .01$ and r = .51, $p < .001$. Age turned out to be the most influential demographic variable, which was positively correlated with North Korean cultural identity (r =.25, $p < .05$), North Korean language competence (r =.38, $p < .001$), North Korean cultural competence (r =.43, $p < .01$), North Korean refugee social networks (r =.34, $p < .01$), and acculturative stress (r =.40, $p < .001$). Age was also marginally related to South Korean social networks (r =.18, $p = .08$). Gender was significantly associated with language competence; compared to male respondents, female respondents were more positively associated with South Korean language competence (r =.27, $p < .05$) while negatively related to North Korean language competence (r =-.40, $p < .001$). College students were more positively related than alternative school students to South Korean language competence (r =.23, $p < .05$), South Korean cultural competence (r =.22, $p < .05$), North Korean cultural competence (r =.26, $p < .05$), and North Korean community involvement

(r =.28, p < .05). Both length of stay in a transitional country (or countries) and length of residence in South Korea had positive correlations with South Korean acculturation domains. College students also showed a marginal, positive correlation with South Korean identity (r =.19, p = 0.8). Length of stay in a transitional country (or countries) was positively associated with South Korean language competence (r =.22, p < .05) and South Korean cultural competence (r =.21, p < .05) while negatively associated with North Korean cultural competence (r =.-22, p < .05). Similarly, length of residence in South Korea was positively correlated with South Korean cultural competence (r =.51, p < .001), and almost reached significance regarding South Korean language competence (r =.20, p = .06), but was negatively correlated with North Korean cultural competence (r =.-21, p < .05). Living condition variables showed unexpected correlation results. Living with family was negatively related to North Korean cultural identity (r =.-23, p < .05) but positively related to South Korean cultural competence (r =.21, p < .05). Living in a dormitory or a dormitory-like facility was negatively associated with North Korean refugee social networks (r =.-34, p < .01), while living alone was positively associated with both the refugee social networks (r =.29, p < .01) and South Korean social networks (r =.30, p < .05). Living in a neighborhood where there were some North Korean refugees was positively associated with North Korean cultural identity (r =.22, p < .05) but was negatively related to North Korean refugee community involvement (r =-.28, p < .01) and South Korean community involvement (r =-.29, p < .01). Living in a neighborhood with the refugee neighbors was also showed a marginal, positive relationship with North Korean language competence (r =.20, p = .06) and a marginal, negative relationship with South Korean language competence (r =-.19, p = .06).

Table 2

Correlations Between Demographic Variables and Cultural Identity, Language Competence, and Cultural Competence

	Cultural Identity		Language Competence		Cultural Competence	
Variable	NK	SK	NK	SK	NK	SK
Age	.25*	.11	.38***	-.33**	.43***	-.15
Gender	-.14	.17	-40***	.27*	-.02	-.03
Education Status	-.07	.19#	-.13	.23*	.26*	.22*
Length of Stay in Transitional Countries	-.13	.08	-.03	.22*	-.22*	.21*
Length of Residence in SK	-.14	.06	.03	.20#	-21*	.51***
Living (in/with)						
Dormitory	.13	-.09	.12	.00	.07	-.23
Family	-.23*	.10	-.06	.08	-.05	.21*
Alone	.18	.09	.01	-.10	.07	-.03
Refugee Neighbors	.22*	-.11	.20#	-.19#	-.05	-.05
Possible Range	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-5
Mean	3.40	3.41	2.32	3.93	2.90	3.26
SD	.90	.81	.91	.78	.83	.76

Note. NK = North Korea, SK = South Korea; Gender: 0 = Male, 1 = Female; Education Status: 0 =Alternative School, 1 = College; Refugee Neighbors: 0 = No, 1 = Yes
Statistical significance: # $p < .09$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

Table 3

Correlations Between Demographic Variables and Social Networks, Community Involvement, Self-Esteem, and Acculturative Stress

Variable	Social Networks		Community Involvement		Self-Esteem	Acculturative Stress
	NK	SK	NK	SK		
Age	.34**	.18#	.01	-.08	-.08	.40***
Gender	-.08	.14	.07	.04	.01	-.11
Education Status	.15	-.11	.28*	.18	.11	-.06
Length of Stay in Transitional Countries	-0.4	-.22*	.17	.17	-.22*	.03
Length of residence in SK	.07	.01	.07	.01	.18	-.18
Living (in/with)						
Dormitory	-.34**	-.19	.08	-.06	-.12	.14
Family	.00	-.06	-.07	-.00	.11	-.11
Alone	.29**	.29**	-.03	.00	-.03	-.06
Refugee Neighbors	.06	-.08	-.28**	-.29**	.09	-.02
Possible Range	0-20	0-20	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-5
Mean	5.80	8.35	3.89	3.88	3.87	2.71
SD	3.04	3.84	.87	.83	.71	.51

Note. NK = North Korea, SK = South Korea; Gender: 0 = Male, 1 = Female; Education Status: 0 = Alternative School, 1 = College; Refugee Neighbors: 0 = No, 1 = Yes
Statistical significance: # $p < .09$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

Next, descriptive statistics examining respondents' general media patterns were performed. The percentages of respondents who reported that they had experienced South Korean media before they arrived in South Korea were as follows: newspapers (49%), TV dramas/shows (66%), radio (57%), magazines (47%), and movies (65.2%). Respondents' general use of South Korean mass media before they arrived in South Korea ranged from below moderate levels to moderate levels. Movies showed the highest mean score (M = 2.91, SD = 1.58), followed by TV dramas/shows (M = 2.66, SD = 1.46), radio (M = 2.38, SD = 1.41), newspapers (M = 2.17, SD = 1.40), and magazines (M = 2.02, SD = 1.32).

Respondents' daily South Korean mass media use by media types was as follows: newspapers (M = 2.00, SD = .94), TV (M = 2. 83, SD = 1.16), radio (M = 1.57, SD = .75), magazines (M = 1.67, SD = .87), and websites (M = 3.11, SD = 1.21). Respondents' use of North Korea-related or North Korean refugee-related media content was as follows: newspapers (M = 2.11, SD = 1.10), TV programs (M = 2.06, SD = .94), radio (M = 1.68, SD = .83), magazines (M = 1.91, SD = 1.03), and websites (M = 2.87, SD = 1.05). In terms of purposes of using the Internet, respondents showed the highest mean score for information seeking (M = 3.91, SD = .96), followed by social networking and communication purposes (M = 2.65, SD = .96) and entertainment purposes (M = 2.26, SD = .81).

Respondents reported that they used online social media more with South Koreans (M = 3.20, SD = .86) than with North Korean refugees (M = 2.87, SD = .75), and the difference was statistically significant (t (106) = -4.00, $p < .001$). The mean scores of online social media use by platform types were as follows: Kakaotalk (Korean instant messaging smartphone application; M = 4.60, SD = .76), KakaoStory (Korean social networking smartphone application; M = 3.76, SD = 1.15), Facebook (social networking site; M = 3.16, SD = 1.42), Twitter (microblogging; M =

1.92, *SD* = 1.18), Cyworld (Korean social networking site; *M* = 2.40, *SD* = 1.25), personal blogs (*M* = 1.88, *SD* = 1.08), online communities (*M* = 2.40, *SD* = 1.11). It was found that South Korean smartphone-based applications, especially Kakaotalk, were more frequently used than other platforms. Respondents who owned a smartphone were 90 (84.1%), and among 90 smartphone users, 65.4% answered that they used online social media with a smartphone almost every day. The mean score of the frequency of using online media with a smartphone was 4.44 (*SD* = 1.09), which indicated that the mean frequency was between 3-4 times a week and almost every day.

Last, bivariate correlations for five main predictor variables were conducted: previous use of South Korean media, daily media use, North Korea-related media use, online social media use with North Korean friends, and online social media use with South Korean friends. Table 5 shows the results of correlations. Significant correlations ranged from .31, $p < .01$ to .50, $p < .001$. Respondents' previous experiences with South Korean media were correlated with their current daily media use (r =.435, $p < .001$) but were not significantly correlated with other media types. The results revealed that respondents' daily media use was significantly related to their North Korea-related media content use (r =.39, $p < .001$) and online social media use with South Korean friends (r =.31, $p < .01$). Also, significant correlations were observed between North Korea-related media content use and online social media use with North Korean friends (r =.35, $p < .01$) and between online social media use with South Korean friends and online social media use with North Korean friends (r =.50, $p < .001$).

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics for Respondents' Media Use Patterns

Media Type	Mean Score (Possible Range: 1-5)	*SD*
Experiences with South Korean Media before Arriving in South Korea		
Newspapers	2.17	1.40
TV Dramas/Shows	2.66	1.46
Radio	2.38	1.41
Magazines	2.02	1.32
Movies	2.91	1.58
Daily South Korean Mass Media Use		
Newspapers	2.00	.94
TV	2.83	1.16
Radio	1.57	.75
Magazines	1.67	.87
Websites	3.11	1.21
North Korea-Related Mass Media Content Use		
Newspapers	2.11	1.10
TV Programs	2.06	.94
Radio	1.68	.83
Magazines	1.91	1.03
Websites	2.87	1.05
Online Social Media Use		
With South Koreans	3.20	.86
With North Korean Refugees	2.87	.75
Internet Motivation		
Information Seeking	3.91	.96
Social Networking/Communication	2.65	.96
Entertainment	2.26	.81
Online Social Media Use by Platform Types		
Kakaotalk (Korean Instant Messaging Smartphone Application)	4.60	.76
KakaoStory (Korean Social Networking Smartphone Application)	3.76	1.15
Facebook (Social Networking Site)	3.16	1.42
Twitter (Microblogging)	1.92	1.18
Cyworld (Korean Social Networking Site)	2.40	1.25
Personal Blogs	1.88	1.08
Online communities	2.40	1.11

Table 5

Correlations Among Main Predictor Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1. Previous Experiences with South Koran Mass Media	1				
2. Daily South Korean Mass Media Use	.44***	1			
3. North Korea-Related Mass Media Content Use	.11	.39***	1		
4. Online Social Media Use with South Korean Friends	-.04	.31**	.32**	1	
5. Online Social Media Use with North Korean Friends	.00	.12	.35**	.50***	1

Note. Statistical significance: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Testing Hypotheses and Research Questions

A series of hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to assess the relative contribution of media use to acculturation domains. Hierarchical multiple regression is an appropriate analysis method for the current study because it can examine the relationships between multiple predictor variables and a criterion variable while controlling effects of exogenous variables. For each analysis, the present study examined whether the data met assumptions for hierarchical multiple regression analyses regarding homoscedasticity, normality, linearity, and outliers, and observed that none of the test assumptions were violated. As found in the previous correlation analyses (see Table 5), some predictor variables showed statistically significant correlations, but testing for Variance Inflation Factors (VIF) found no multicollinearity problem for each analysis.

Based on the results from the correlation analysis between demographic variables and criterion variables (see Table 2 and Table 3), four demographic variables that correlated with more criterion variables and showed higher significant, coefficient values were selected to be controlled in main analyses: age, gender, length of stay in a transitional country (countries), and length of residence in South Korea. These four variables were entered in the first block. For the analyses of South Korean acculturation domains and psychological health domains, previous experiences with South Korean mass media before the respondents arrived in South Korea, daily South Korean mass media use, and online social media use with South Korean friends were entered in the second block. For the analyses of North Korean acculturation domains and psychological health domains, North Korea-related or North Korea refugee-related mass media content use and online social media use with North Korean friends were entered in the second block.

For criterion variables, the mean scores of South Korean cultural identity/North Korean cultural identity, South Korean language competence/North Korean language competence, South cultural competence/North Korean cultural competence, social networks with South Koreans/social networks with North Korean refugees, South Korean community involvement/ North Korean refugee community involvement, self-esteem, and acculturative stress were entered separately for each analysis.

The relationship between previous experiences with South Korean mass media use and current media use patterns (RQ1a). RQ1a asked how North Korean refugee young adults' previous use of South Korean mass media before arriving in South Korea would be associated with their current media use patterns. As presented in Table 5, respondents' previous experiences with South Korean mass media were positively associated with their current daily media use (r =.435, p < .001) but were not significantly associated with North Korea-related mass media content use and online social media use with South Koreans and North Korean refugees.

The relationship between South Korean identity and previous experiences with South Korean mass media (RQ1b)/daily South Korean mass media use (H1a)/online social media use with South Korean friends (H3a-1). The overall model was significant (F (7, 98) = 3.53, p < .01), explaining 23% of the total variance. In the first step of hierarchical multiple regression, age, gender, length of stay in a transitional country (countries), and length of residence in South Korea were entered, and the model explained 9% of the variance. In the first block, gender was found to have a significant relationship with South Korean identity (β =.27, p < .05). That is, females were related to greater South Korean identity. In the second block, three predictor variables, previous experiences with South Korean mass media, daily South Korean mass media use, and online social media use with South Korean friends, were entered, and the

model explained 14% of the variance. After the first block is controlled, two out of three predictor variables were statistically significant, with daily media use recording higher Beta value (β = .32, $p < .05$) than online social media use with South Korean (β =.30, $p < .01$). Thus, H1a and H3a-1 were supported.

The relationship between South Korean language competence and previous experiences with South Korean mass media (RQ1b)/daily South Korean mass media use (H1b)/online social media use with South Korean friends (H3a-2). The model as a whole was statistically significant (F (7, 98) = 7.3, $p < .001$), explaining 39% of the total variance. The first model with demographic predictor variables explained 30% of the variance. Gender (β =.29, $p < .01$) and length of residence in South Korea (β =.32, $p < .01$) were positively related to South Korean language competence, while age was negatively related (β =-.37, $p < .001$). In the second block, previous experiences with South Korean mass media, daily South Korean mass media use, and online social media use with South Korean friends were entered. The second block explained 9% of the variance. After the first block is controlled, daily South Korean mass media use was significantly associated with South Korean language competence (β =.36, $p < .01$), but previous experiences with South Korean mass media and online social media use with South Korean friends did not significantly predict South Korean language competence. Thus, H1b was supported, but H3a-2 was not supported.

The relationship between South Korean cultural competence and previous experiences with South Korean mass media (RQ1b)/daily South Korean mass media use (H1c)/online social media use with South Korean friends (H3a-3). The overall model was statistically significant (F (7, 98) = 7.2, $p < .001$), accounting for 39% of the total variance. The first block with demographic predictor variables accounted for 36% of the variance in South

Korean cultural competence. Two out of four variables were significant; length of residence in South Korea showed a strong, positive relationship with South Korean cultural competence (β =.60, $p < .001$), while age was negatively associated (β =-.29, $p < .01$). After the first block was controlled, the entry of previous experiences with South Korean mass media, daily South Korean mass media use, and online social media use with South Korean friends in the second block explained an additional 3% of variance in South Korean cultural competence, and none of the predictor variables significantly contributed to the model. Thus, H1c and H3a-3 were not supported.

The relationship between South Korean social networks and previous experiences with South Korean mass media (RQ1b)/daily South Korean mass media use (RQ2b-1)/online social media use with South Korean friends (H3a-4). The overall model was statistically significant (F (7, 97) = 9.4, $p < .001$) and explained 46% of the total variance. The first block with four demographic variables explained 16% of the variance. The results showed that age (β =.24, $p < .05$) and gender (β =.24, $p < .05$) were positively associated with South Korean social networks, while length of stay in a transitional country (or countries) was negatively associated (β =-.33, $p < .01$). After these variables were controlled, the variance explained by the second model was 30%. In the second model, online social media use with South Korean friends was the only significant, positive variable (β =.57, $p < .001$) to predict South Korean social networks. Thus, H3a-4 was supported.

The relationship between South Korean community involvement and previous experiences with South Korean mass media (RQ1b)/daily South Korean mass media use (RQ2b-2)/online social media use with South Korean friends (H3a-5). The model as a whole was significant (F (7, 99) = 3.5, $p < .05$), accounting for 16% of the total variance. The first

model examining demographic variables explained 5% of the variance. Among the four demographic predictor variables, length of residence in South Korea was marginally correlated with South Korean community involvement (β =.21, p = .07), while other variables did not show significance. The second model explained an additional 11% of variance in South Korean community involvement after removing effects of the first block. Social media use with South Korean friends approached the relationship, but it did not reach significance (β =.21, p =.07). Previous experiences with South Korean mass media and daily South Korean mass media use were not significantly related to South Korean community involvement. Thus, H3a-4 was partially supported.

The relationship between self-esteem and previous experiences with South Korean mass media (RQ1b)/daily South Korean mass media use (RQ2b-3)/online social media use with South Korean friends (H3a-6). The results revealed that the overall model was not statistically significant, and none of the predictor variables in the first and the second blocks showed statistical significance for self-esteem. That is, previous experiences with South Korean mass media, daily South Korean mass media use, and online social media use with South Korean friends did not predict respondents' self-esteem. Thus, H3a-4 was not supported.

The relationship between acculturative stress and previous experiences with South Korean mass media (RQ1b)/daily South Korean mass media use (RQ2b-4)/online social media use with South Korean friends (H3a-7). The overall model was statistically significant (F (7, 98) = 4.8, p < .01), explaining 26% of the total variance. The first model investigating demographic variables explained 21% of the variance in acculturative stress. Among the demographic variables, age was significantly related to acculturative stress (β =.41, p < .001), while length of residence in South Korea was negatively related (β =-.27, p < .05). The second

block explained 5% of the variance. After effects of the first block were controlled, online social media use with South Korean friends almost reached statistical significance (β =-.22, p = .06), but previous experiences with South Korean mass media and daily South Korean mass media use showed no significant association with acculturative stress. Thus, H3a-7 was partially supported.

The summary of hierarchical multiple regressions examining the relationships between South Korean acculturation domains/psychological health and previous experiences with South Korean mass media/daily South Korean mass media use/online social media use with South Korean friends is presented in Table 6.

Table 6

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Media Use Predicting South Korean Acculturation Domains and Psychological Health

	South Korean Acculturation Domains					Psychological Health	
	Cultural Identity	Language Competence	Cultural Competence	Social Networks	Community Involvement	Self-Esteem	Acculturative Stress
Variable	β						
1 Step							
Age	.13	-.37***	-.29**	.24*	-.05	.-.05	.45***
Gender	.27*	.29**	.06	.24*	.09	.13	-.15
Length of Stay in Transitional Countries	-16	.05	.01	-.33**	.00	-.29*	.09
Length of Residence in SK	.14	.32**	.60***	.05	.21#	.19	-.27*
R^2 Δ	.09	.30	.36	.16	.05	.10	.21
2 Step							
Previous Experiences with SK Mass Media	-.07	-.28	-.13	.11	.13	.09	-.15
Daily Mass Media Use	.32*	.36**	.16	.04	.20	-.16	.11
Online Social Media Use with SK Friends	.30**	.15	.14	.57***	.21#	.05	-.22#
R^2 Δ	.14	.10	.03	.30	.11	.01	.05
Total R^2	.23	.40	.39	.46	.16	.11	.26

Note. NK = North Korea, SK = South Korea; Gender: 0 = Male, 1 = Female
Statistical significance: # $p < .09$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

The relationship between North Korean identity and North Korea-related mass media content use (H2a)/online social media use with North Korean friends (H3b-1). The model as a whole was statistically significant (F (6, 99) = 3.9, $p < .01$) and explained 22% of variance in North Korean identity. In the first stage, age, gender, length of stay in a transitional country (countries), and length of residence in South Korea were entered. The first model explained 15% of the variance. Two out of four predictor variables were statistically significant; age was found to be positively related to North Korean identity (β =.33, $p < .01$), while length of residence in South Korea was negatively related (β =-.25, $p < .05$). The second model explained 7% of the variance. After controlling the first block, no statistical significance was observed in North Korea-related mass media content use, but online social media use with North Korean friends was positively related to North Korean identity (β =.28, $p < .05$). Thus, H2a was not supported, and H3b-1 was supported.

The relationship between North Korean language competence and North Korea-related mass media content use (H2b)/online social media use with North Korean friends (H3b-2). The overall model was statistically significant (F (6, 98) = 6.4, $p < .001$), and the variance explained by the model was 32%. The first model examining demographic variables explained 30% of the variance. Of four predictor variables, age (β =.41, $p < .001$) and gender (β =-.33, $p < .01$) showed statistical significance, indicating that older and male respondents had greater North Korean language competence. The second model accounted for 2% of the variance. After the first block was controlled, neither North Korea-related mass media content use nor online social media use with North Korean friends was significantly related to North Korean language competence. Thus, both H2b and H3b-s were not supported.

The relationship between North Korean cultural competence and North Korea-related mass media content use (H2c)/online social media use with North Korean friends (H3b-3). The whole model was statistically significant (F (6, 98) = 4.4, $p < .001$), accounting for 44% of the total variance. The first model explained 27% of the variance. The first model showed that age (β =.48, $p < .001$) had a strong, positive relationship with North Korean cultural competence, while length of residence in South Korea was negative related (β =-.28, $p < .01$). The second model explained 17% of variance in North Korean cultural competence. After the first block was controlled, both North Korea-related mass media content use (β =.29, $p < .01$) and online social media use with North Korean friends (β =.27, $p < .01$) were positively associated with North Korean cultural competence, showing similar Beta values. Thus, H2c and H3b-3 were supported.

The relationship between North Korean social networks and North Korea-related mass media content use (RQ3b-1)/online social media use with North Korean friends (H3b-4). The overall model was statistically significant (F (6, 90) = 7.0, $p < .001$), accounting for 34% of the total variance. The first model explained 11% of the variance, and age was the only predictor variable that had statistical significance (β =.31, $p < .01$). After effects of the first model were removed, the second model explained 23% of the variance. Online social media use with North Korean friends was positively related to North Korean social networks (β =.42, $p < .001$), but North Korea-related mass media content use was not statistically significant. Thus, H3b-4 was supported.

The relationship between North Korean refugee community involvement and North Korea-related mass media content use (RQ3b-2)/online social media use with North Korean friends (H3b-5). The model as a whole was statistically significant (F (6, 99) = 3.9, *p*

< .01), explaining 22% of variance in North Korean refugee community involvement. The first model explained 5% of the variance, and none of the demographic variables were statistically significant. The second model explained an additional 17% of the variance, and only North Korea-related mass media content use was positively related to North Korean refugee community involvement (β =.51, $p < .001$). Thus, H3b-5 was not supported.

The relationship between self-esteem and North Korea-related mass media content use (RQ3b-3)/online social media use with North Korean friends (H3b-6). This overall model was statistically significant (F (6, 99) = 2.2, $p < .05$) and accounted for 14% of the total variance. The first model examining demographic variables explained 9% of the variance. Among the four predictor variables, length of stay in a transitional country (or countries) showed a significant, negative relationship with self-esteem (β =-.28, $p < .05$), while length of residence in South Korea showed a marginal, positive association (β =.21, $p = .07$). The second block explained 5% of the variance, and only North Korea-related mass media content use had a significant relationship with self-esteem (β =.29, $p < .05$) after the first block was controlled. Thus, H3b-6 was not supported.

The relationship between acculturative stress and North Korea-related mass media content use (RQ3b-4)/online social media use with North Korean friends (H3b-7). The overall model was significant (F (6, 98) = 3.4, $p < .01$), and the total variance explained by the model as a whole was 22%. The first model accounted for 21% of the variance, and two out of four predictor variables were statistically significant; age (β =.41, $p < .001$) was positively related to acculturative stress, while length of residence in South Korea (β =-.28, $p < .05$) was negatively related. The second model explained 1% of variance in acculturative stress, and none of the predictor variables were significant. Thus, H3b-7 was not supported.

Table 7 shows the summary of hierarchical multiple regressions examining the relationships between North Korean acculturation domains/psychological health and North Korea-related mass media content use/online social media use with North Korean friends.

Table 7

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Media Use Predicting North Korean Acculturation Domains and Psychological Health

	North Korean Acculturation Domains					Psychological Health	
	Cultural Identity	Language Competence	Cultural Competence	Social Networks	Community Involvement	Self-Esteem	Acculturative Stress
Variable	β						
Step 1							
Age	.33**	.41***	.48***	.31**	-.01	-.05	.41***
Gender	-.09	-.33**	-.00	-.06	.08	.11	-.12
Length of Stay in Transitional Countries	-.07	.03	-.15	-.02	.14	-.28*	.09
Length of Residence in SK	-.26*	-.16	-.28**	.01	.14	.21#	-.27*
R^2 Δ	.15	.30	.27	.05	.04	.09	.21
Step 2							
NK-Related Mass Media Content Use	-.01	-.07	.29**	.16	.51***	.29*	.06
Online Social Media Use with NK Refugee Friends	.28*	-.12	.27**	.42***	-.05	-.07	-.12
R^2 Δ	.07	.02	.17	.17	.09	.05	.01
Total R^2	.22	.32	.44	.22	.13	.14	.22

Note. NK = North Korea, SK = South Korea; Gender: 0 = Male, 1 = Female
Statistical significance: # $p < .09$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Based on the results from the previous hierarchical multiple regressions, another series of hierarchical multiple regressions were performed to examine the varying effects of media use depending on different media types. In the following analyses, only the demographic and main predictor variables that showed significant results from the previous analyses were investigated.

The relationship between previous experiences with South Korean mass media and South Korean acculturation domains by media types (RQ1c). The previous analyses did not find any significant relationship between previous experiences with South Korean mass media and South Korean acculturation domains.

The relationship between daily South Korean mass media use and South Korean acculturation domains by media types (RQ2a). The previous analyses found that daily South Korean mass media use was significantly related to South Korean cultural identity (β =.32, $p < .05$) and South Korean language competence (β =.36, $p < .01$). These two variables were entered as a criterion variable in each analysis, and predictor variables were newspapers, TV, radio, magazines, and websites.

The overall model assessing the relationship between South Korean identity and five different media types was statistically significant ($F (7, 98) = 3.67$ $p < .01$), explaining 21% of the total variance. In the first block, gender was entered, and it accounted for 5% of the variance, Gender was significantly related to South Korean identity β =.23; $p < .05$. After the first block was controlled, newspapers, TV, radio, magazines, and websites were entered in the second block, accounting for 16% of the variance. Among the five predictor variables, only magazine use showed marginal significance (β =.23, $p = .07$).

The whole model assessing the relationship between South Korean language competence and five media types was statistically significant ($F (8, 97) = 3.43$ $p < .001$). The overall model

explained 39% of the variance. In the first block, age, gender, and length of residence in South Korea were entered, and the first model explained 27% of the variance. All three variables were significant with similar Beta values: β =-.33; $p < .01$ for age, β =.31; $p < .01$ for gender, and β =.34; $p < .01$ for length of residence in South Korea. In the second block, newspapers, TV, radio, magazines, and websites were entered. After the first block was controlled, the second model explained 12% of the variance. The results found that three out of five variables showed statistical significance or marginal significance; newspaper use (β =.37, $p < .01$) and radio use (β =-.22, $p < .05$) was positively associated with South Korean language competence, and TV use was marginally associated (β =.19, $p = .07$). See Table 8 for further details.

The relationship between North Korea-related mass media content use and North Korean acculturation domains/psychological health domains by media types (RQ3a). The previous analyses found that North Korea-related media content use was significantly related to North Korean cultural competence (β =.29, $p < .01$), North Korean community involvement (β =.51, $p < .001$), and self-esteem (β =.29, $p < .05$). Thus, these three variables were used as a criterion variable for each analysis, and five media types, newspapers, TV, radio, magazines, and websites were used as main predictor variables.

The overall model assessing the relationship between North Korean competence and North Korea-related media content use by media types was statistically significant ($F (7, 97) = 7.06$ $p < .001$), and the model explained 40% of the total variance. In the first block, age and length of residence in South Korea were entered as demographic variables. Age was found to be positively related to North Korean cultural competence (β =.51, $p < .001$), but length of residence in South Korea was negatively related (β =.-33, $p < .01$). The first model explained 29% of the variance. In the second block, North Korea-related newspaper content, TV content,

radio content, magazine, websites content were entered, and 11% of the variance was explained by the second model. None of these predictor variables were found to have a significant relationship with North Koran cultural competence. See Table 9 for further details.

In order to examine the relationship between North Korean community involvement and North Korea-related mass media content use by media types, a multiple regression was conducted because no demographic variable was found to be significant in the previous analysis. The model showed statistical significance ($F (5, 99) = 3.51$, $p < .01$), accounting for 17% of the total variance. Among newspaper content, TV content, radio content, magazine content, and website content, North Korea-related or North Korean refugee-related TV content use was the only predictor showed statistical significance ($\beta = .40$, $p < .01$). See Table 10 for further details.

The model examining the relationship between self-esteem and North Korea-related mass media content use by media types was not statistically significant. Among all predictor variables, only demographic variables in the first block showed statistical significance; length of stay in a transitional country (or countries) was negatively related ($\beta = -.26$, $p < .05$), and length of residence in South Korea reached marginal significance ($\beta = .18$, $p = .09$).

Table 8

Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Daily Mass Media Use by Media Types Predicting South Korean Identity and South Korean Language Competence

	South Korean Identity				South Korean Language Competence			
Variable	B	SE	β	$R^2\Delta$	B	SE	β	$R^2\Delta$
Step1				.5				.27
Age					-.06	.02	-.33**	
Gender	.39	.18	.23		.52	.16	.31**	
Length of Residence in SK					.01	.01	.34**	
Step 2				.16				.12
Newspapers	.13	.11	.16		.31	.11	.37**	
TV	.10	.08	.15		.13	.07	.12#	
Radio	.11	.12	.10		.23	.11	.22*	
Magazines	.21	.12	.23#		.05	.11	.02	
Websites	.05	.08	.07		-.03	.07	-.04	
Total R^2				.21				.39

Note. Statistical significance: # $p < .09$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 9

Hierarchical Regression Analysis for North Korea-Related Mass Media Content Use by Media Types Predicting North Korean Cultural Competence

	North Korean Cultural Competence			
Variable	B	SE	β	$R^2\Delta$
Step1				.29
Age	.09	.02	.51***	
Length of Residence in SK	-.01	.01	-.33**	
Step 2				.11
NK-Related Newspapers	.10	.10	.14	
NK-Related TV	.11	.12	.13	
NK-Related Radio	-.01	.12	.-.01	
NK-Related Magazines	.17	.12	.22	
NK-Related Websites	.11	.11	.15	
Total R^2				.40

Note. Statistical significance: # $p < .09$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 10

Regression Analysis for North Korea-Related Mass Media Content Use by Media Types Predicting North Korean Community Involvement

	North Korean Community Involvement			
Variable	B	SE	β	*Total R^2*
				.41
NK-Related Newspapers	-.15	.12	-.18	
NK-Related TV	.28	.11	.40**	
NK-Related Radio	.05	.15	-.05	
NK-Related Magazines	-.05	.14	-.06	
NK-Related Websites	.16	.11	.18	

Note. Statistical significance: # $p < .09$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Acculturation is a complex process in which individuals experience continuous changes through the interactions with different cultural contexts, and one of the significant social agents that influence various acculturation domains is media. The current research has investigated how media use is associated with the acculturation process of North Korean refugee young adults in South Korea, following the pluralism idea that acculturation involves multidimensional changes in both host cultural domains and original cultural domains (Berry, 1974, 1980, 1989, 1997; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997; Subervi-Velez, 1986). The major goal of the current study was to find evidence that the interplay between South Korean mass media use and North Korea-related media use would help the refugees maintain their cultural heritage while actively developing host cultural identification and competence. This study put special emphasis on identifying online social media's roles in the acculturation process of North Korean refugee young adults in addition to measuring effects of traditional mass media. Although previous studies have examined the relationships between mass media use and acculturation, few studies have investigated how the increasing phenomenon of online social media use impacts immigrants' and refugees' host acculturation and ethnic acculturation.

The current study measured respondents' online social media use with South Koreans and the use with North Korean refugees as two separate dimensions, expecting that each online social media use would be specifically related to the acculturation domains of a given culture. In the main analyses, South Korean media use was assessed by three variables: previous experiences with South Korean mass media before the refugees arrived in South Korea, daily South Korean mass media use, and online social media use with South Koreans. Also, respondents' North

Korea-related media use was measured by two variables: North Korea-related or North Korean refugee-related mass media content use and online social media use with North Korean refugees.

Overall, analyses revealed that North Korean refugee young adults' South Korea-related and North Korea-related media use significantly improved their acculturation domains of each culture. The refugees' daily use of South Korean mass media was associated with their greater South Korean identity and South Korea cultural competence, and the use of North Korea-related mass media content was positively associated with their North Korean cultural competence as well as their North Korean refugee community involvement. Respondents' online social media use with South Koreans and North Koreans was also significantly related to their South and North Korean identifications. Especially, these analyses revealed the significant impacts of online social media use on increasing the refugee young adults' social competence in host and ethnic social contexts. The current study found that the mass media use and online social media use played distinctive roles in the acculturation processes of North Korean refugees and thus the use of both media categories facilitated the refugee young adults' acculturation as a whole.

The first aim of the current research was to examine general acculturation and media patterns of North Korean refugee young adults. The results from preliminary descriptive statistics revealed that the sample population showed relatively greater South Korean acculturation than North Korean acculturation. Respondents reported similar levels of South Korean identity and North Korean identity, but their South Korean linguistic ability and cultural knowledge were significantly greater than North Korean ones. Analyses also observed that respondents tended to have close relationships with more number of South Koreans than North Korean refugees. These strong South Korean acculturation traits of the refugee young adults may be affected by their group characteristics and the societal level acculturation climate (Berry, 1989,

1997). North Korean refugees' migration to South Korea was involuntary, caused by economic and political suffering, and thus the refugee young adults may have a desire to retain their North Korean identity. However, in the situations where the refugee group is too small to provide cultural resources and also where the South Korean society as a whole promotes the assimilation model, the refugee young adults may not have opportunities to maintain their North Korean language skills and cultural knowledge. The tendency seems to become stronger as more time has passed since they left North Korea. The study found a significant, negative correlation between North Korean cultural competence and the length stay in transitional countries and South Korea.

Varying degrees of acculturation tendencies were observed within this study's age range of 18 to 30. Compared to younger respondents, older respondents were associated with stronger North Korean identity, greater competence in North Korean language and cultural knowledge, and bigger social networks with North Korean refugees. However, they found more difficulties in understanding and speaking South Korean words and expressions. Consequently, older respondents showed higher levels of acculturation stress than younger respondents. Gender was another demographic factor that significantly affected language competence. Female respondents showed greater competence in South Korean language, which seems consistent with the general notion that women have enhanced performance on linguistic tasks and are more open to learning a second language than men (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1979; Oxford, 1993).

Compared to alternative school students, college students were more likely to possess South Korean identity, South Korean language competence, and South Korean cultural competence. Also, they were more knowledgeable about North Korean culture and were more

willing to be involved in the North Korean refugee community. It appears that receiving higher education helps the refugee young adults to develop competence in both host and ethnic cultures.

Respondents living with family showed significantly lower North Korean cultural identity but stronger South Korean competence. This result is contrary to the findings from other U.S. studies that indicate social support from family is the most significant factor of ethnic cultural identity and competence (Knight, Bernel, Garza, Cota, & Ocampo, 1993). Considering that living with family was not significantly correlated with other demographic variables such as age and length of residence in South Korea, it seems that North Korean refugee families generally promote the assimilation strategy of acculturation to their children, hoping that their children live a better life than they have experienced (cf., J. Kim & Jang, 2007). The tendency to reject North Korean culture was also observed among respondents who had North Korean neighbors. Even though respondents living in a community with other refugee neighbors still considered themselves as North Koreans, they were less willing to be involved in both the refugee community and their local community. The results may reflect North Korean refugees' general mistrust of other refugees (Min, 2008).

The sample population as a whole showed above moderate levels of self-esteem and below moderate levels of acculturative stress. Length of stay in a transitional country (or countries) had negative influences on self-esteem and South Korean social networks. Given that no significant correlation was found between length of stay in transitional countries and other demographic factors such as age, the association of low self-esteem with length of stay in transitional countries was possibly caused by certain experiences the refugees had in a transition period. According to Chung (2009), when North Korean refugees stay in transitional countries illegally, they encounter a lot of difficulties such as little opportunity for work and education and

the constant fear of being deported back to North Korea. Thus, it appears that long stays in transitional counties result in more traumatic experiences and, therefore, hinders the refugee young adults' acculturation processes (Akhtar, 1999; Allen, Bsilier, & Hauff, 2006).

Findings from the preliminary analysis of demographic variables suggest that North Korean refugee young adults' acculturation is significantly influenced by the dynamic interactions among individual demographic characteristics, group characteristics, socialization agents such as family and school as well as the societal circumstance of South Korea (Berry, 1989, 1997; Bourhis et al., 1997). Therefore, in order to identify specific contributions of media use on acculturation, influences from demographic variables were controlled in the main analyses by performing a series of hierarchical multiple regressions. Also, the social contexts of the refugee young adults were taken into consideration for the interpretation of main analyses results.

To understand the general media use patterns of the refugee young adults, descriptive analyses and correlation analyses among different media use variables were initially conducted. More than 60 percent of respondents reported that they had experienced South Korean mass media before they arrived in South Korea, and their use levels ranged from below moderate levels to moderate levels. Entertainment-oriented media such as television drama and movies were more popular than information-oriented media such as newspapers. The results were consistent with the findings from prior North Korean refugee studies (e.g., D. W. Kang & J. R. Park, 2011; J. C. Lee, 2003; Sung, 2004) that have found the use of South Korean mass media is prevalent among North Koreans although it is highly restricted. The current study further explored the long-term influences of South Korean mass media use on the refugee young adults. It was found that experiences with South Korean mass media before arriving in South Korea was

positively correlated with the refugee young adults' current daily South Korean mass media use. That means that the refugee young adults' past South Korean mass media use habits may continue after they settle down in South Korea. No statistically significant relationship was found between previous experiences with South Korean mass media and South Korean acculturation domains. However because previous experiences with South Korean mass media were associated with greater use of current South Korean mass media, it seems that past South Korean mass media experiences may have indirect relationships with the refugee young adults' South Korean acculturation domains.

Respondents used South Korean websites for approximately two hours per day, and this level was similar to South Korean's average daily Internet use, which has been reported at 2.3 hours per day (Korea Internet & Security Agency, 2012). The next frequently used medium was television, which was viewed for one-to-two hours per day. Although not quite as popular, newspapers, radio, and magazines were consumed less than one hour per day. Given that the general population does not have access to North Korea's intranet, which is reserved for a select few at major governmental organizations (S. Park, 2012), it is important to note how dramatically North Korean refugees' internet use increases after they come to South Korea. Another noteworthy finding is that 90 percent of respondents reported that they owned a smartphone. Thus, it is recommended for future research to further investigate how North Korean refugee young adults adapt to and utilize information technologies and how these technologies affects their acculturation process.

Similar to the results of immigrant studies conducted in the U.S. context (e.g., Johnson, 1996; Y. Y. Kim, 1977, 1988, 2001), respondents' daily South Korean mass media use was significantly related to their South Korean identity and South Korean language competence,

meaning that as North Korean refugee young adults use more South Korean mass media, they self-identify more so as South Koreans and are able to better utilize South Korean words and expressions. However, the extent of South Korean social networks and the refugees' willingness to be involved in the South Korean community were not affected by South Korean mass media use. This suggests that the function of mass media is limited to providing South Korean information and that it does not function to motive refugees to become active participants in society. Even if the refugee young adults consume South Korean popular television shows for the purpose of collecting material that will help them socialize with South Korean peers (T. Y. Kang, Hwang, & K. M. Kang, 2011), it does not directly help them make more South Koran friends. In addition, South Korean mass media use neither improved respondents' self-esteem nor lowered acculturative stress. The results suggest that South Korean mass media use has positive but limited influences on the refugee young adults' acculturation.

The influences of South Korean mass media on South Korean identity and South Korean language competence were further investigated to find relative importance of different media types. No specific media type was significantly associated, but magazine was marginally associated with South Korean identity. Analyses also revealed that newspaper use was the most significant predictor of South Korean language competence, followed by radio use and TV use. This result supports the findings from previous studies that information-oriented media are a stronger predictor of host acculturation than entertainment-oriented media (Y. Y. Kim, 1977, 1988, 2001; T. Y. Kang, Hwang, and K. M. Kang, 2011) especially regarding host language competence (Sunoo, Trotter, and Aames, 1980).

Respondents showed low levels of North Korea-related mass media content use. The average scores indicate that North Korean refugee young adults rarely use North Korea-related

mass media content. This tendency seems understandable given that South Korean media outlets provide only limited numbers and types of North Korea-related content. Even the available North Korea-related mass media content or media outlets are likely to be focusing on political issues rather than covering everyday lives of North Korean refugees. Although North Korea-related mass media content may be not frequently used by North Korean refugee young adults, the current study found evidence of its significant and unique role in facilitating North Korean acculturation domains. The results revealed that respondents' use of North Korea-related or North Korean refugee-related mass media content was significantly associated with their North Korean cultural competence, North Korean community involvement, and self-esteem. It appears that use of North Korea-related mass media content reinforces refugee young adults' sense of North Korean membership, and thus it may naturally lead to their greater commitment to the refugee community. Moreover, the increased North Korean identity and the refugee community involvement may positively affect the refugee young adults' sense of self. The results suggest that North Korea-related mass media content can serve the similar functions of ethnic media in the United States (e.g., Cottle, 2000; Soruco, 1996; Viswanath & Arora, 2000; Ziegler, 1983) by supporting the refugees' ethnic identity and solidarity. It is important to note that the effects of North Korea-related mass media content were different from those of regular South Korean mass media given that daily South Korea mass media use did not predict South Korean community involvement. Although both media habits were moderated by mass media's one-way communication and provided indirect experiences only, the media content had greater impacts on motivating the users to be involved in the community when the refugee young adults found the content closer to their cultural heritage.

Compared to mass media, which provide limited culture learning experiences, online social media provide more direct and real experiences to North Korean refugee young adults by facilitating actual social relationships with South Koreans and North Korean refugees. The current study distinguishes general use of the Internet, such as utilization for information and entertainment, from online social media use by specifically focusing on online social media's distinctive features of social networking and user participation. The analyses were focused on identifying how online social media influence North Korean refugee young adults' acculturation domains and how these influences are differentiated from mass media effects.

The results found that respondents were more likely to use online social media with South Koreans than with North Korean refugees. This tendency may reflect the fact that respondents had greater South Korean social networks than North Korean refugee social networks. Therefore, greater use of online social media with South Koreans over North Korean refugees may simply indicate the differences in the sizes of social network. Online social media use with South Koreans was positively related to online social media use with North Korean friends, demonstrating that respondents who have more South Korean online social media friends are also likely to have a greater number of refugee friends on online social media. This phenomenon is comparable to the finding that respondents' daily South Korean mass media use was positively related to their North Korea-related mass media content use. The results propose that South Korea-related media and North Korea-related media consumption are not mutually exclusive, providing statistical support to refute the assertions from prior media studies following the assimilation model (e.g., Hwang & He, 1999; Y. Y. Kim, 1977; Lee & Tse, 1994; Shoemaker, Reese, & Danielson, 1985).

The analyses revealed that using online social media with South Koreans had significant and positive relationships with South Korean cultural identity and South Korean social networks and had marginal associations with greater South Korean community involvement and less acculturative stress. The results indicate that interacting with South Koreans using online social media allows the refugee young adults to narrow the emotional distance with South Koreans and to identify themselves more in line with fellow South Koreans. As discussed earlier, South Korean identity was also increased by the use of South Korean mass media. The Beta values of South Korean mass media use and online social media use with South Koreans show that the impacts of these two media on South Korean identity were similar. However, the current study proposes that each medium takes a different approach to develop South Korean identity. While mass media's one-way communication is concentrated on providing South Korean cultural information to the refugee young adults, online social media offer a participatory social context to the refugee young adults where they can build social relationships with South Koreans and thus naturally grow into South Koreans. As Weber and Mitchell describe (2008), everyday use of online social media with South Koreans allows North Korean refugee young adults to develop their South Korean identity in action.

The differences between online social media use and mass media use become apparent in South Korean social competence variables. While secondary cultural learning from South Korean mass media did not necessarily improve the refugees' social networks and South Korean community involvement, using online social media with South Koreans showed significant relationships with these variables. It indicates that enhancement in social competence would be the most distinctive benefit that North Korean refugee young adults receive from using social media with South Koreans. Y. Y. Kim (1977) argues that engaging in interactions with members

of the host culture is a stronger predictor of cultural adaptation than host media consumption. However since immigrants in the early stage of settlement have fewer opportunities to socialize with host members, immigrants tend to rely on receiving host cultural knowledge from mass media. The findings from this study suggest that online social media can facilitate immigrants' relationships with host members by increasing the efficiency of social relationship maintenance and by lowering social pressures and barriers during interactions. Online social media use with South Koreans also increased the refugee young adults' willingness to be involved in the South Korean community. According to McAdam (1982), people who have a strong attitude toward their community are more capable of effectively mobilizing their resources from social relationships. Therefore, using online social media with South Koreans helps the refugee young adults develop a sense of responsibility to be involved in the South Korean community and become more socially competent in utilizing their resources from the increased relationships with South Koreans.

The potential impact of using online social media with South Korean friends on lowering acculturative stress was also observed. Findings from other acculturation studies (Oppedal, Roysamb, & Sam, 2004; Oppedal, 2006) reveal that social supports from host peer relationships are significant factors for successful adaptation, and thus, they are often associated with immigrant youths' favorable psychological health. In the same vein, findings from this study indicate that the refugees' South Korean social competence may be enhanced by using online social media, which may also lower their acculturative stress in daily social interactions with South Koreans.

The current study found evidence that North Korean refugee young adults' use of online social media with other refugees can support bonds between North Korean refugees. Analyses

revealed that respondents who had greater use levels of online social media with North Korean refugees showed higher North Korean cultural identity, higher North Korean cultural competence, and greater social networks with other North Korean refugees. The results demonstrate that by socializing with fellow refugees through online social media, Korean refugee young adults can maintain their North Korean membership and develop North Korean cultural competence. These findings are remarkable given the current acculturation circumstances of North Korean refugee young adults. The refugees generally have difficulties in socializing with fellow North Korean refugees because they have deep-rooted mistrust toward other North Koreans, which was originated from North Korea's oppressive social system (Min, 2008). As a result, the refugees are reluctant to gather in public or share personal information with other refugees. Furthermore, because the South Korean society as a whole promotes the assimilation model of acculturation to the refugees (Chung, 2009), the refugees simply do not have enough resources and social supports to maintain their cultural heritage. In this situation, findings from the current study suggest that online social media can be an alternative community channel through which the refugees can socialize with one another in a more secure environment with less pressure and reinforce their North Korean cultural competence.

Comparisons between online social media use with other North Korean refugees and North Korea-related mass media content use provide better understanding on the distinctive contribution of each medium. This study revealed that online social media use with North Korean refugees was more effective in developing North Korean cultural identity and North Korean refugee social networks while North Korea-related mass media content use was more effective in enhancing North Korean community involvement and self-esteem. Both media were equally effective in increasing North Korean cultural competence. It is assumed that online social

media use had greater influences on North Korean identity than mass media because online social media provided an everyday cultural context where the refugee young adults can reinforce their North Korean identity through ongoing interactions with other refugees. Compared to online social media's high accessibility, the overall North Korea-related mass media content available to the refugee young adults is highly limited. Therefore, constant interactions with other refugees should be more effective in developing North Korean identity than limited use of North Korea-related media content. On the other hand, mass media can be more effective in enhancing the North Korean refugee community involvement because North Korea-related media content is usually highly political. Therefore, compared to online social media's everyday communication activities, consuming political media content can have greater impacts on users' attitudes toward social involvement even though the exposure to the political media content is less frequent than using online social media with refugee friends. It also explains why greater use of North Korea-related media content can be related to higher self-esteem because political attitudes and self-esteem are positively correlated (Carmines, 1978).

To sum up the findings from the analyses of online social media use, the most significant role of online social media communication in acculturation, which mass media cannot provide, was to expand the refugee young adults' social networks with both South Koreans and other refugees. Through the increased interactions with people of both cultural groups using online social media, the refugee young adults were able to develop dual cultural identifications. Furthermore, as the refugee young adults enhanced their social competence in the relationships with South Koreans and North Korean refugees, their other acculturation domains, such as cultural competence and psychological health, were positively influenced as well.

The current study proposes that mass media use and online social media use adopt two different approaches of acculturation. Mass media's approach is focused on secondary cultural learning by transmitting information about culturally appropriate values, attitudes, and behaviors of a given culture to the audience. On the other hand, online social media's approach to facilitate acculturation is focused on the developmental perspective of acculturation that includes cultural learning and maturation processes (Sam & Oppedal, 2002). From interactions with host members and ethnic individuals within the social contexts provided by online social media, users of online social media not only can lean cultural information but can also naturally develop a sense of host and ethnic cultural membership. This developmental perspective of acculturation is especially applicable to North Korean refugee young adults who are in a period of constant identity and role exploration (Arnett, 2000).

The findings from this study also highlight the dynamic interplay between mass media use and online social media use in the acculturation process of North Korean refugee young adults. Both mass media use and online social media use can facilitate different acculturation domains of the refugee young adults complementing each other's roles. For example, South Korean mass media was more effective in developing South Korean language competence, whereas online social media use with South Koreans was more effective in increasing South Korean community involvement. The results indicate that media's functions to facilitate acculturation processes would be maximized when informative roles of mass media and social connective roles of online social media are implemented simultaneously.

Another important point that the current study raised was the importance of the interplay between South Korean media use and North Korea-related media use. One strength of this study was that it measured multicultural dimensions of mass media and online social media

use. The results found evidence that supports Adoni, Cohen, and Carpi's (2002) assertion that the use of host media and the use of ethnic media construct the users' identifications with host and ethnic cultures. Corresponding to their argument, the analyses of the current study revealed significant, positive relationships between South Korean media use and South Korean acculturation domains and also between North Korea-related media use and North Korean acculturation domains. Each media use played distinctive roles in facilitating the refugee young adults' acculturation. For example when the study examined the psychological health domain, North Korea-related mass media content use positively influenced self-esteem by enhancing the refugee young adults' responsible attitudes toward the North Korean refugee community. On the other hand, online social media use with South Koreans lowered acculturative stress levels by helping the refugee young adults develop social competence in the relationships with South Koreans. To accomplish better psychological health, receiving benefits from both mass media and online media would be more helpful to the refugee young adults. Therefore, the acculturation processes of the refugee young adults require the interactions of both South Korean media use and North Korea-related media use.

Figure 2 portrays North Korean refugee young adults' media environment where the dynamic interactions between host media and ethnic media and also between mass media and online media occur. The media environment in Figure 2 consists of four main media factors: South Korean mass media use, North Korea-related mass media content use, online social media use with South Koreans, and online social media use with North Korean refugees. The four media factors are placed on the horizontal and vertical dimensions, which are cultural directions and acculturation approaches, respectively. The horizontal dimension indicates the two cultural directions of acculturation, host acculturation and ethnic acculturation, and the vertical

dimension indicates the two approaches of acculturation, secondary cultural learning and direct cultural experience.

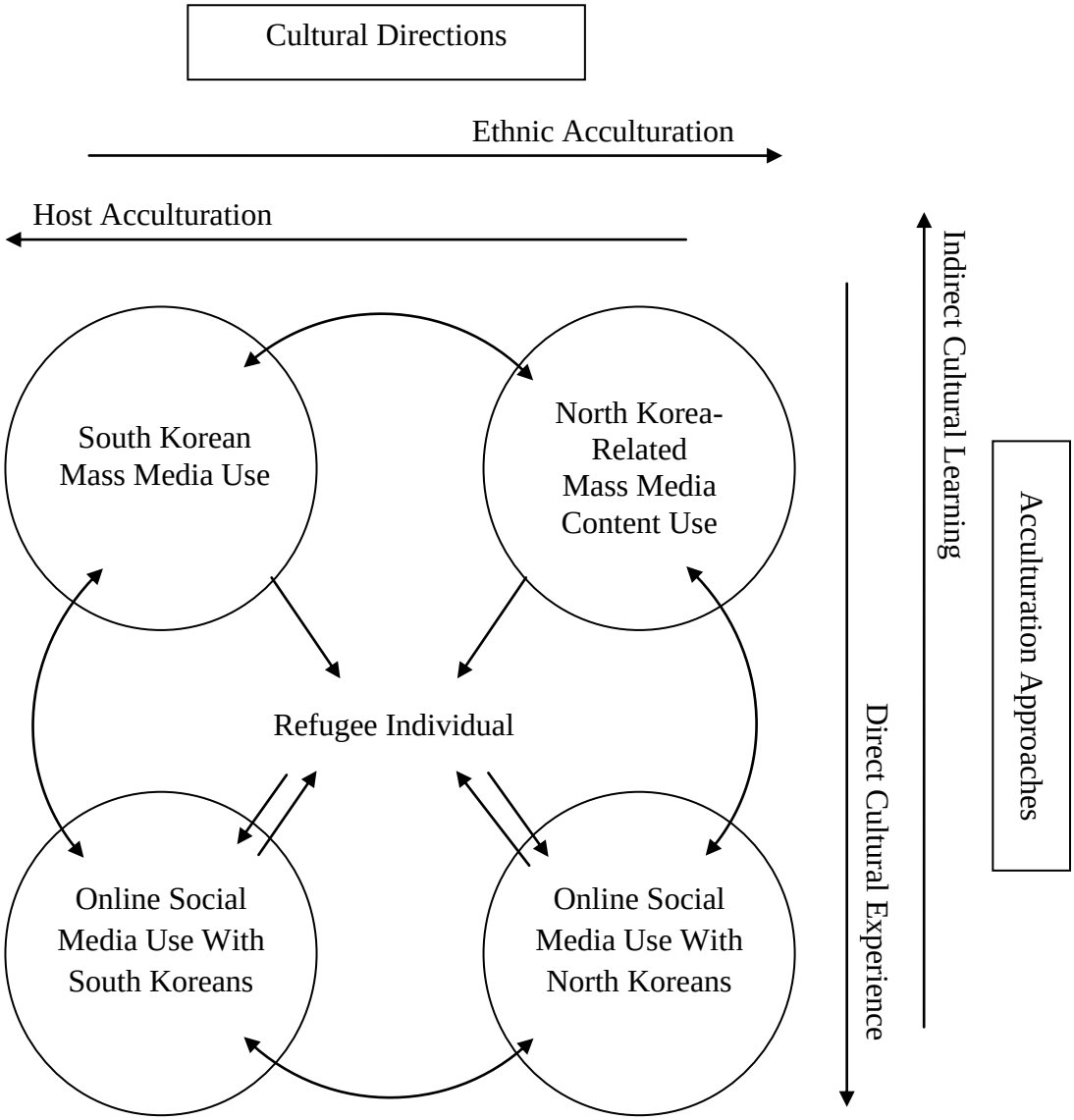

Figure 2. The media environment of North Korean refugee young adults in South Korea.

In Figure 2, the horizontal cultural direction dimension shows that the more media use of a given culture, the greater the development of the acculturation domains of that culture. The cultural direction is also bidimensional, indicating that host acculturation and ethnic acculturation are simultaneous, mutually non-exclusive processes. The vertical acculturation approach dimension shows that the refugee individuals' use of mass media is more related to secondary cultural learning while the use of online media is more related to direct cultural experience. Also, the acculturation approach is bidimensional, indicating that acculturation of the refugee young adults is a developmental process that involves both secondary cultural learning and maturation from direct experiences. The four media factors in this media environment are all interrelated, meaning that each media experience does not occur separately but that they constantly overlap with other media experiences.

The findings from this study support the pluralism model of acculturation. The sample population showed a tendency to identify themselves as North and South Koreans simultaneously, which supports the idea that cultural identity is multidimensional. In addition, their South Korean mass media use and North Korea-related mass media content use showed a positive correlation, and their online social media use with South Koreans was also positively related to online social media use with other refugees. These results suggest that developing South Korean acculturation through the use of South Korean mass media does not require the refugee young adults to reduce North Korea-related media content use, and vice versa. This finding supports the idea of the pluralism model that North Korean refugees can develop their host and ethnic acculturation simultaneously through the use of host and ethnic media.

This research raises issues for the current acculturation circumstances of the South Korean society. The South Korean government's acculturation policy and the refugee

acculturation programs have been focused on the assimilation model, merging the refugees into the South Korean society. This study revealed that, even though the refugee young adults showed a tendency to retain their North Korean identity, their North Korean language and cultural competence decreased the longer they lived in South Korea. The results suggest that it is difficult for the refugee young adults to maintain their cultural heritage because they have limited social supports and North Korean cultural resources. Studies have found that the assimilation model of acculturation is likely to increases the acculturative stress of immigrants (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; de Domanico, Crawford, & DeWolfe, 1994; Umana-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002) and also may cause social conflicts between the host and ethnic groups (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997; Subervi-Velez, 1986). The tendency of neglecting North Korean refugees' cultural heritage is contradictory to the South Korean government's recent policy directions that promote cultural diversity in a society (H. W. Kang, 2006).

The limitations of this study bear consideration. First, this study measured respondents' online social media use based on three aspects: hours for using online social media, number of friends on online social media, and the degree of emotional attachment to using online social media. This type of measurement is appropriate to assess the overall intensity of using online media, but it fails to capture different use patterns of online social media platforms. Online social media involves various types of online socializing platforms such as microblogging, social networking sites, and content sharing communities, and their characteristics vary greatly by platform types (Kaplan, & Haenlein, 2010). Therefore, there would be significant connections between platform types and immigrant users' acculturation domains. Thus, future studies should further explore these relationships. Also, platform specific influences can be investigated in detail to find more knowledge on the interactions between particular online social media

platforms and acculturation processes. Second, the sample population used in this study was limited to the current students and graduates of one refugee alternative school. Therefore, the limited sample requires careful consideration while generalizing the findings from this study to the total refugee young adult population. In addition, as discussed earlier, acculturation processes are closely related to group characteristics and the societal conditions. Immigrants and refugees in different cultural groups and societal contexts may have distinct acculturation and media patterns. Therefore, additional replications using different populations in various cultural contexts should be undertaken to expand knowledge on online social media's role in acculturation.

Based on the findings of this study, the following suggestions are recommended to facilitate North Korean refugee young adults' pluralism model of acculturation through media use. The most important contribution of the current study was to find evidence of the power of online social media to increase the refugee young adults' social networks with both South Koreans and North Korean refugees. As previously mentioned, building social relationships with host people is one of the most critical activities for the successful adjustment of refugees in South Korea. Also, interacting with other North Korean refugees provides opportunities for the refugees to maintain their North Korean cultural heritage. Therefore, this study recommends governmental and non-governmental organizations engaged with North Korean refugee social services to incorporate the positive effects of online social media into their acculturation programs. They could provide online social media education programs that teach the refugees how to use online social media effectively and safely. The programs not only would explain the technological features of online social media but would also discuss the economic and political impacts of online social media on the South Korean society and on issues related to privacy and

identity protection. This type of program would be especially important to the young refugees who have strong interests in new technologies but little knowledge and experiences with using online social media. The current study also reveals the positive effects of using North Korea-related media content on increasing the refugee young adults' self-esteem and on enhancing their motivations to be actively involved in the North Korean refugee community. Therefore, the government agencies should provide financial support to organizational and individual media producers to develop various media content related to North Korea and North Korean refugees. These governmental supports would benefit not only the refugee community but also South Korean media producers and practitioners.

The Summary

The current study examined how North Korean refugee young adults' media use would influence their acculturation processes, especially focusing on identifying the role of online social media. The study analyzed the acculturation and media patterns of the refugee young adults and revealed that South Korean mass media use and North Korea-related mass media content use had significant and positive influences on the refugees' acculturation domains of a given culture. The study was successful in identifying statistical evidence of online social media's positive roles in facilitating the acculturation process of North Korean refugee young adults. Especially, online social media use had strong effects on enhancing the refugee young adults' social competence in the interactions with both South Koreans and North Korean refugees. The study also revealed that online social media and mass media served distinctive functions in the acculturation processes of the refugee young adults. Mass media allowed the refugees to learn a given culture from secondary experiences by providing cultural information in one-way communication. One the other hand, online social media provided a social channel to

the refugees where they were able to learn and grow within the host and ethnic cultures from the real interactions with South Koreans and other refugees. Finally, the study proposed a model that described North Korean refugee young adults' media environment where the diverse interactions between South Korea-related media use and North Korea-related media use as well as between mass media use and online social media use occurred constantly and simultaneously. Based on the results of analyses, practical implications and directions for future research were suggested. The findings from this study bridge the knowledge gap in the media literature by expanding understanding on the roles of online social media in the acculturation of individuals in cross-cultural contexts.

APPENDIX A

INSTRUMENTS

Original Questionnaire

Research on Online Social Media Use of Young Adults from North Korea

The following questions ask your opinions about the North and the South cultures. Please indicate your opinion by circling the number that best describes your agreement or disagreement with each statement.

1. How much do you agree with the following statements?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neutral	Agree somewhat	Strongly agree
I think of myself as being North Korean.	1	2	3	4	5
I think of myself as being South Korean.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel good about being North Korean.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel good about being South Korean.	1	2	3	4	5
Being North Korean plays an important part in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
Being South Korean plays an important part in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel that I am part of North Korean culture.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel that I am part of South Korean culture	1	2	3	4	5
I have a strong sense of being North Korean.	1	2	3	4	5
I have a strong sense of being South Korean	1	2	3	4	5
I am proud of being North Korean.	1	2	3	4	5
I am proud of being South Korean.	1	2	3	4	5

2. There are a lot of differences in words and expressions used in North Korea and South Korea. How well do you speak and understand North Korean and South Korean in the following situations?

I speak and understand North Korean words and expressions…..	Not at all	A little	Neutral	Pretty well	Extremely well
With my families	1	2	3	4	5
With friends from North Korea	1	2	3	4	5
On the phone	1	2	3	4	5
With strangers	1	2	3	4	5
In general	1	2	3	4	5
On television or in movies	1	2	3	4	5
In newspapers and magazines	1	2	3	4	5
In songs	1	2	3	4	5

I speak and understand South Korean words and expressions…..	Not at all	A little	Neutral	Pretty well	Extremely well
At school or at work	1	2	3	4	5
With my South Korean friends	1	2	3	4	5
On the phone	1	2	3	4	5
With strangers	1	2	3	4	5
In general	1	2	3	4	5
On television or in movies	1	2	3	4	5
In newspapers and magazines	1	2	3	4	5
In songs	1	2	3	4	5

3. How well do you know the following items?

	Not at all	A little	Neutral	Pretty well	Extremely well
National heroes in North Korea	1	2	3	4	5
National heroes in South Korea	1	2	3	4	5
Popular television shows in North Korea	1	2	3	4	5
Popular television shows in South Korea	1	2	3	4	5
Popular newspapers and magazines in North Korea	1	2	3	4	5
Popular newspapers and magazines in South Korea	1	2	3	4	5
Popular actors and actresses in North Korea	1	2	3	4	5
Popular actors and actresses in South Korea	1	2	3	4	5
History of North Korea	1	2	3	4	5

History of South Korea	1	2	3	4	5
Political leaders in North Korea	1	2	3	4	5
Political leaders in South Korea	1	2	3	4	5

The following questions ask your social relationships and activities.

4. Please indicate the approximate number of people with whom you currently maintain close relationships in the following categories:

	None	1-3	4-9	10-19	20 and more
Friends from North Korea	1	2	3	4	5
South Korean friends	1	2	3	4	5
North Korean friends in different countries	1	2	3	4	5
Families in different countries	1	2	3	4	5
Families in South Korea	1	2	3	4	5
School teachers of professors	1	2	3	4	5
Community center or government officials	1	2	3	4	5
People from North Korea in my neighborhood	1	2	3	4	5
Neighbors in my local community	1	2	3	4	5
People in my social groups (e.g., religious groups, school clubs, hobby communities)	1	2	3	4	5

5. Are you currently involved in the activities for your local community?

1. Yes 2. No

6. Are you currently involved in the activities for the North Korean community?

1. Yes 2. No

7. How much are you willing to participate in community activities in the future?

In the future, I plan to…..	Not at All	Very Little	Neutral	Somewhat	To a Great Extent
Do some volunteer work for my local community.	1	2	3	4	5
Do some volunteer work for North Korean refugees.	1	2	3	4	5
Become involved in my local community.	1	2	3	4	5

Become involved in the North Korean refugee community.	1	2	3	4	5
Participate in my local community action program.	1	2	3	4	5
Participate in the North Korean refugee community action program.	1	2	3	4	5
Become an active member of my local community.	1	2	3	4	5
Become an active member of the North Korean refugee community.	1	2	3	4	5
Participate in a local community service organization.	1	2	3	4	5
Participate in a North Korean refugee community services organization.	1	2	3	4	5
Help the people who are in difficulty in my local community.	1	2	3	4	5
Help the people who are in difficulty in the North Korean refugee community.	1	2	3	4	5
Be committed to making a positive difference in my local community.	1	2	3	4	5
Be committed to making a positive difference in the North Korean refugee community.	1	2	3	4	5

The following questions ask you about yourself.

8. How much do you agree with the following statements?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neutral	Agree somewhat	Strongly agree
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	1	2	3	4	5
At times, I think I am no good at all.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	1	2	3	4	5
I am able to do things as well as most other people.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	1	2	3	4	5
I certainly feel useless at times.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel that I'm a person of worth.	1	2	3	4	5
I wish I could have more respect for myself.	1	2	3	4	5
All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	1	2	3	4	5
I have a positive attitude toward myself.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel uncomfortable when others make jokes	1	2	3	4	5

about or put down North Korean people.					
I have more barriers to overcome.	1	2	3	4	5
It bothers me that family members I am close to not understand my new values.	1	2	3	4	5
Close family members and I have conflicting expectations about my future.	1	2	3	4	5
It is hard to express to my friends how I really feel.	1	2	3	4	5
It bothers me that I cannot be with my families in North Korea.	1	2	3	4	5
I don't have any close friends.	1	2	3	4	5
I don't feel at home.	1	2	3	4	5
People think that I'm not friendly when, in fact, I have trouble communicating in the South Korean dialect.	1	2	3	4	5
It bothers me when people pressure me to assimilate to South Korean culture.	1	2	3	4	5
It bothers me that I accidently use North Korean expressions sometimes.	1	2	3	4	5
I often think about North Korea.	1	2	3	4	5
Loosening the ties with North Korea is difficult.	1	2	3	4	5
It is difficult for me to "show off" my family.	1	2	3	4	5
I have trouble understanding others sometimes when they speak in the South Korean dialect.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel ignored sometimes by people who are supposed to assist me.	1	2	3	4	5
Because I am not originally from South Korea, I do not get enough credit for the work I do.	1	2	3	4	5
When I look for a good job in the future, I sometimes feel that being North Korean will be a limitation.	1	2	3	4	5
Many people have stereotypes about North Korea or North Korean refugees and treat me as if they are true.	1	2	3	4	5
I often feel that people actively try to stop me from advancing because I am from North Korea	1	2	3	4	5
Because of my North Korean background, I feel that others often leave me out from participating in their activities.	1	2	3	4	5
People look down upon me if I practice customs of North Korean culture.	1	2	3	4	5

The following questions ask your media use.

9. Before coming to South Korea, have you ever used the following South Korean mass media?

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Very Frequently
South Korean newspapers	1	2	3	4	5
South Korean TV dramas and show programs	1	2	3	4	5
South Korean radio	1	2	3	4	5
South Korean magazines	1	2	3	4	5
South Korean movies	1	2	3	4	5

10. How long do you usually use the following media on an average day?

	Almost never	Less than 1 hour	1 hour-2 hours	2 hours-3 hours	More than 3 hours
Newspapers	1	2	3	4	5
TV	1	2	3	4	5
Radio	1	2	3	4	5
Magazines	1	2	3	4	5
Websites	1	2	3	4	5

11. How often do you use the following media content related to North Korea or North Korean refugees?

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Very Frequently
North Korea or the North Korean refugee community related newspapers	1	2	3	4	5
North Korea or the North Korean refugee community related TV programs	1	2	3	4	5
North Korea or the North Korean refugee community related radio programs	1	2	3	4	5
North Korea or the North Korean refugee community related magazines	1	2	3	4	5
North Korea or the North Korean refugee community related websites	1	2	3	4	5

12. How often do you usually use the internet for what purposes?

	Never	A few times a month	1-2 times a week	3-4 times a week	Almost everyday
To get information	1	2	3	4	5
To study	1	2	3	4	5
To chat	1	2	3	4	5
To participate in online communities	1	2	3	4	5
To use social media (e.g., Facebook, Tweeter)	1	2	3	4	5
To use my personal website or blog	1	2	3	4	5
To play games	1	2	3	4	5
To pass time and enjoy myself	1	2	3	4	5
To download music/videos	1	2	3	4	5
To shop/To make reservations	1	2	3	4	5

13. Do you have a smartphone?

1. Yes 2. No

14. If you have a smartphone, how often do you usually use social media (e.g., Kakao Talk, Line, Facebook, Tweeter) with your smartphone?

Almost Never	A few times a year	A few times a month	A few times a week	Everyday

15. How many hours do you spend doing online social media in a usual day?

1. Never
2. Less than 30 minutes
3. 30 minutes-1hour
4. 2-3 hours
5. More than 4 hours

16. Please indicate the number of North Korea native friends on your Kakao Talk whom you regularly contact.

1. 0
2. 1-5
3. 6-10
4. 11-15
5. 16 and more

17. Please indicate the number of South Korea native friends on your Kakao Talk whom you regularly contact.

1. 0
2. 1-5
3. 6-10
4. 11-15
5. 16 and more

18. Please mark the number from the scale that best corresponds to your answer.

	Not at All	Very Little	Neutral	Somew hat	To a Great Extent
Online social media is part of my everyday activities.	1	2	3	4	5
I am proud to tell people that I'm on online social networking sites.	1	2	3	4	5
Facebook has become part of my daily routine.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel out of touch when I haven't logged onto online social media for a while.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel I am part of my online social community.	1	2	3	4	5
It would be sorry if my online social networking sites shut down.	1	2	3	4	5

Please answer the following questions about your general information.

1. How old are you? ( ) years old

2. What is your gender?

1. Male 2. Female

3. How long have you stayed in a transitional country or countries (e.g., China, Mongolia, Thailand, etc)?

( ) year(s) ( ) month(s)

4. How long have you lived in South Korea?

( ) year(s) ( ) month(s)

5. I am currently…

1. An alternative school student.
2. A college student.
3. Employed.
4. Unemployed.

6. I live…

1. In a dormitory.
2. In my relative's or acquaintance's home.
3. With my families
4. By myself.
5. With my roommate(s).

7. In my community…

1. There aren't any neighbors who came from North Korea.
2. There are some neighbors who came from North Korea.

Thanks you for your participation!

Korean Version Questionnaire

북한출신 청년들과 청소년들의 소셜미디어 사용에 관한 조사

아래 질문들은 북한과 남한 문화에 대한 당신의 의견을 물어보고 있습니다. 각 질문의 형식에 알맞게 응답해 주시고 해당하는 곳에 표시 해주세요.

1. 당신은 다음의 각 항목에 대해 얼마나 동의하시나요?

	전혀 그렇지 않다	별로 그렇지 않다	보통	어느정도 그렇다	매우 그렇다
나는 내가 북한사람이라고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 내가 남한사람이라고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 내가 북한출신인 것이 좋다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 내가 남한사람인 것이 좋다.	1	2	3	4	5
내가 북한출신이란 것은 나의 삶에서 중요한 의미를 가진다.	1	2	3	4	5
내가 남한사람이란 것은 나의 삶에서 중요한 의미를 가진다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 북한문화에 속한다고 느낀다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 남한문화에 속한다고 느낀다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 북한사람이라는 의식이 강하다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 남한사람이라는 의식이 강하다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 북한사람이라는 자부심이 있다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 남한사람이라는 자부심이 있다.	1	2	3	4	5

2. 북한과 남한에서 사용되는 말에는 많은 차이가 있습니다. 아래에 해당 상황에서 사용되는 **북한과 남한의** 용어나 표현을 당신이 얼마나 잘 말하고 이해하는지 대답해 주세요.

나는 **북한**의 용어나 표현을 …	전혀 잘 사용하지 않는다	별로 잘 사용하지 않는다	보통	어느정도 잘 사용한다	매우 잘 사용한다
가족들과	1	2	3	4	5
북한출신 친구들과	1	2	3	4	5
전화로 말할 때	1	2	3	4	5
낯선 사람들과	1	2	3	4	5
일반적으로	1	2	3	4	5
텔레비전이나 영화를 볼 때	1	2	3	4	5
신문이나 잡지를 볼 때	1	2	3	4	5
노래 가사를 들을 때	1	2	3	4	5

나는 **남한**의 용어나 표현을 …	전혀 잘 사용하지 않는다	별로 잘 사용하지 않는다	보통	어느정도 잘 사용한다	매우 잘 사용한다
학교나 일터에서	1	2	3	4	5
남한 친구들과	1	2	3	4	5

전화로 말할 때	1	2	3	4	5
낯선 사람들과	1	2	3	4	5
일반적으로	1	2	3	4	5
텔레비전이나 영화를 볼 때	1	2	3	4	5
신문이나 잡지를 볼 때	1	2	3	4	5
노래 가사를 들을 때	1	2	3	4	5

3. 당신은 아래 항목에 대해 얼마나 잘 알고 있습니까?

	전혀 모름	잘 모름	보통	잘 암	매우 잘 암
북한의 위인들(역사적인 인물들)	1	2	3	4	5
남한의 위인들(역사적인 인물들)	1	2	3	4	5
북한의 인기 있는 텔레비전 프로그램	1	2	3	4	5
남한의 인기 있는 텔레비전 프로그램	1	2	3	4	5
북한의 유명한 신문이나 잡지	1	2	3	4	5
남한의 유명한 신문이나 잡지	1	2	3	4	5
북한의 유명한 배우들	1	2	3	4	5
남한의 유명한 배우들	1	2	3	4	5
북한의 역사	1	2	3	4	5
남한의 역사	1	2	3	4	5
북한의 정치인	1	2	3	4	5
남한의 정치인	1	2	3	4	5

아래는 당신의 사회 활동에 관한 질문입니다.

4. 아래 항목별로 현재 **<u>자주 만나거나 연락하는 사람들</u>**의 대략적인 숫자에 표시해 주세요.

	없다	1-3명	4-9명	10-19명	20명 이상
북한 출신 친구	1	2	3	4	5
남한 출신 친구	1	2	3	4	5
외국에 있는 친구	1	2	3	4	5
외국에 있는 가족	1	2	3	4	5
남한에 있는 가족	1	2	3	4	5
학교 선생님이나 교수님	1	2	3	4	5
복지센터 직원이나 공무원	1	2	3	4	5
주변에 알고 지내는 북한이탈주민	1	2	3	4	5
동네 이웃	1	2	3	4	5
내가 활동하는 사회 모임 사람들 (종교 단체/학교 동아리/동호회 모임 등)	1	2	3	4	5

5. 당신은 현재 지역사회를 위한 자원봉사활동이나 단체활동에 참여하고 계십니까?

1. 예　　2. 아니요

6. 당신은 현재 북한이탈주민사회를 위한 자원봉사활동이나 단체활동에 참여하고 계십니까?

1. 예 2. 아니요

7. 당신은 앞으로 얼마나 **사회 활동**에 참여하고 싶으십니까?

나는 앞으로…	전혀 그렇지 않다	별로 그렇지 않다	보통	어느정도 그렇다	매우 그렇다
내가 사는 지역을 위한 자원봉사활동을 할 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5
북한이탈주민을 위한 자원봉사활동을 할 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5
내가 사는 지역사회 활동에 참여할 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5
북한이탈주민사회 활동에 참여할 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5
내가 사는 지역의 사회운동프로그램에 참여할 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5
북한이탈주민의 사회운동프로그램에 참여할 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5
내가 사는 지역사회의 적극적인 일원이 될 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5
북한이탈주민사회의 적극적인 일원이 될 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5
내가 사는 지역사회 봉사에 참여할 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5
북한이탈주민사회 봉사에 참여할 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5
내가 사는 지역의 어려운 사람들을 돕고 싶다.	1	2	3	4	5
어려운 환경에 있는 북한이탈주민들을 돕고 싶다.	1	2	3	4	5
내가 사는 지역에 좋은 변화를 만들어 내고 싶다.	1	2	3	4	5
북한이탈주민사회에 좋은 변화를 만들어 내고 싶다.	1	2	3	4	5

아래는 당신이 생각하는 자신에 대한 질문입니다.

8. 당신은 다음의 각 항목에 대해 얼마나 동의하시나요?

	전혀 그렇지 않다	별로 그렇지 않다	보통	어느정도 그렇다	매우 그렇다
전체적으로 나는 나에대해 만족한다.	1	2	3	4	5
가끔 나는 내가 잘하는게 없다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 내가 좋은 점이 많다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 남들처럼 일을 잘할 수 있다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 자랑할 것이 없다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 가끔 내가 쓸모없다고 느낀다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 내가 가치 있다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 내가 나 자신을 더 존중했으면 좋겠다.	1	2	3	4	5

전체적으로 나는 실패자라고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 자신에 대한 긍정적 태도를 가지고 있다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 사람들이 북한에 대한 농담을 할때나 무시하는 것 같을 때 기분이 나쁘다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 넘어야 할 장애물이 많다.	1	2	3	4	5
가끔 나의 가족들이 나의 가치관을 이해해주지 못해서 속상하다.	1	2	3	4	5
나의 가족들은 나의 미래의 꿈에 대해서 나와 다른 생각을 하고 있다.	1	2	3	4	5
내가 어떻게 느끼고 생각하는지 친구들에게 표현하기가 쉽지 않다.	1	2	3	4	5
북한에 있는 가족들을 만날수 없다는 사실이 슬프다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 가까운 친구가 없다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 이곳이 편하지 못하다.	1	2	3	4	5
내가 남한말이 서툴어서 다가가지 못할 뿐인데 사람들은 내가 사교적이지 않다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
사람들이 나를 남한의 문화를 받아들이게 강요하는 것이 가끔 짜증난다.	1	2	3	4	5
내가 가끔 북한말투를 쓰는것이 신경쓰인다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 북한에 대해 자주 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
나의 삶이 북한과 멀어지는 것이 힘들다.	1	2	3	4	5
나의 가족들을 자랑스러워 하는 것은 쉽지 않다..	1	2	3	4	5
때로 남한사람들의 말을 이해하기가 힘들다.	1	2	3	4	5
때로 나를 도와주어야 하는사람들이 나를 도와주지 않아서 무시당한 기분이 든다..	1	2	3	4	5
내가 남한출신이 아니기 때문에 가끔 내가 한 일에 대해 보상을 덜 받는다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
나중에 내가 직업을 찾을 때에 내가 북한에서 왔다는 것이 방해가 될 수 도 있다고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
많은 사람들이 북한에 대한 잘못된 편견을 가지고 있고 나를 그렇게 대할 때가 있다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 종종 사람들이 내가 북한에서 왔기 때문에 내가 잘되려 하는 것을 막으려 한다는 기분이 든다.	1	2	3	4	5
내가 북한에서 왔기 때문에 일이나 활동에 참여하기 힘들 때가 있다.	1	2	3	4	5
내가 북한에서 했던 행동을 하면 사람들이 이상하게 본다.	1	2	3	4	5

아래는 당신의 미디어 사용에 관한 질문입니다.

9. 당신은 남한에 오기 전, 아래의 남한 미디어를 사용해 본 적이 있으신가요?

	전혀 사용한적이 없다	거의 사용하지 않았다	보통	가끔 사용했다	자주 사용했다
남한신문	1	2	3	4	5

남한 드라마나 쇼프로	1	2	3	4	5
남한 라디오	1	2	3	4	5
남한 잡지	1	2	3	4	5
남한 영화	1	2	3	4	5

10. 당신은 현재 아래의 미디어를 **하루에** 얼마나 자주 사용하시나요?

	거의 사용 안한다	1시간 이하	1시간-2시간	2시간-3시간	3 시간 이상
신문	1	2	3	4	5
텔레비젼	1	2	3	4	5
라디오	1	2	3	4	5
잡지	1	2	3	4	5
웹사이트	1	2	3	4	5

11. 당신은 현재 **북한에 관련된** 아래의 미디어를 얼마나 자주 사용하시나요?

	전혀 사용 한적이 없다	거의 사용하지 않는다	보통	가끔 사용한다	자주 사용한다
북한이나 북한이탈주민 관련 신문	1	2	3	4	5
북한이나 북한이탈주민 관련 텔레비젼 프로그램	1	2	3	4	5
북한이나 북한이탈주민 관련 라디오	1	2	3	4	5
북한이나 북한이탈주민 관련 잡지	1	2	3	4	5
북한이나 북한이탈주민 관련 웹사이트	1	2	3	4	5

12. 당신은 인터넷을 보통 무슨 용도로, 얼마나 자주 사용하시나요?

	거의 사용안함	한달에 몇번	일주일에 1-2번	일주일에 3-4번	거의 매일
정보검색	1	2	3	4	5
학업	1	2	3	4	5
메신저/채팅(예: 네이트온)	1	2	3	4	5
카페/동호회 활동	1	2	3	4	5
소셜 미디어(예: 페이스북, 트위터) 활동	1	2	3	4	5
개인 홈페이지/블로그 활동	1	2	3	4	5
게임	1	2	3	4	5
오락(시간 때우기)	1	2	3	4	5
음악/동영상 감상 및 다운로드	1	2	3	4	5
쇼핑/예약	1	2	3	4	5

13. 당신은 스마트 폰을 가지고 있으신가요?

1. 예　　2. 아니요

14. 만약 스마트 폰을 가지고 있다면, 스마트 폰을 통한 소셜 미디어(예: 카카오톡, 라인, 페이스북, 트위터)를 얼마나 자주 사용하시나요?

거의 사용안함	일 년에 몇 번	한 달에 몇 번	일주일에 몇 번	거의 매일

15. 당신은 보통 하루에 얼마나 온라인 소셜 미디어를 사용하시나요?

1. 전혀 사용하지 않는다
2. 30분 이하
3. 30분-1시간
4. 2시간-3시간
5. 4시간 이상

16. 카카오톡으로 주기적으로 연락하는 남한출신 친구는 몇 명 인가요?

1. 0 명
2. 1-5 명
3. 6-10 명
4. 11-15 명
5. 16 이상

17. 카카오톡으로 주기적으로 연락하는 북한출신 친구는 몇 명 인가요?

1. 0 명
2. 1-5 명
3. 6-10 명
4. 11-15 명
5. 16 이상

18. 아래 각각의 문장에 대해 여러분이 생각을 가장 잘 표현한 번호를 고르세요.

	전혀 그렇지 않다	별로 그렇지 않다	보통	어느정도 그렇다	매우 그렇다
온라인 소셜 미디어는 내 일상의 일부분이다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 사람들에게 내가 온라인 소셜 사이트를 한다고 자랑스럽게 말할 수 있다	1	2	3	4	5
온라인 소셜 미디어를 하는 것은 나의 일과이다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 소셜 미디어를 안하면 세상과 단절된 느낌이 든다.	1	2	3	4	5
나는 내가 속해있는 온라인 카페나 동호회의 한 일원이라고 생각한다.	1	2	3	4	5
만약 온라인 소셜 미디어가 중단된다면 매우 살기 힘들 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5

마지막으로 당신의 일반적인 배경에 대해 물어보겠습니다.

1. 당신의 나이는 무엇입니까? ( ) 살

2. 당신의 성별은 무엇입니까?

2. 남 2. 여

3. 당신은 남한에 오기 전 제 3 국(중국, 몽고, 태국, 기타 등)에서 대략 얼마나 오래 생활하였습니까?

( ) 년 ( ) 개월

4. 당신은 지금까지 남한에서 대략 얼마동안 생활하였습니까?

( ) 년 ( ) 개월

5. 나는 현재….

1. 대안학교 학생입니다.
2. 대학생입니다.
3. 직장인입니다.
4. 취업준비생입니다.

5. 당신은 현재 어디에 살고 있습니까?

1. 기숙사나 기숙사 형태의 그룹홈
2. 친척집이나 아는 집
3. 가족들과
4. 혼자 자취
5. 룸메이트와 함께 자취

7. 내가 살고 있는 동네에는…..

1. 북한이탈주민들이 거의 없습니다.
2. 북한이탈주민들이 있습니다.

질문이 끝났습니다. 끝까지 풀어주셔서 감사합니다!

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF ONLINE SOCIAL MEDIA IN THE ACCULTURATION PROCESS OF NORTH KOREAN REFUGEE YOUNG ADULTS IN SOUTH KOREA

by

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The purpose of this study is to investigate media's influences on the acculturation of North Korean refugee young adults in South Korea, especially focusing on identifying the role of online social media. The study examined the acculturation and media patterns of the refugee young adults and found evidence that the use of South Korean media and North Korea-related media enhanced the acculturation domains of South and North Korean cultures, and therefore the utilization of both media as a whole can facilitate the pluralism model of acculturation. Specifically, a series of hierarchical multiple regressions revealed that South Korean mass media use had positive, significant relationships with South Korean identity and language competence. In addition, online social media use with South Koreans was significantly related to greater South Korean identity and South Korean social networks, and it also showed marginal associations with greater involvement with the South Korean community and less acculturative stress. On the other hand, the use of North Korea-related mass media content was positively related to North Korean cultural competence, North Korean refugee community involvement, and self-esteem, and the use of online social media with North Korean refugees was positively related to North Korean identity and cultural competence and social networks with other refugees. These findings indicate that the acculturation process of North Korean

refugee young adults is significantly influenced by the dynamic interactions between South Korean media and North Korea-related media and also between the mass media and online social media. The theoretical model describing the media environment of North Korean refugees was presented along with the discussions of practical implications and directions for future research.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

Sung Mi Han was born and raised in Seoul, South Korea. She received her B.F.A. in Visual Communication Design from Hong-Ik University in South Korea and M. A. in Advertising from Michigan State University. In 2008, she entered the graduate program in Communication at Wayne State University in Detroit, MI. Her research interests include new media effects and cross-cultural communication.