Stremfel, Michael. 1992. "Developers move ahead on 2 giant Koreatown projects; each one will encompass hotel, offices, restaurants." *Los Angeles Business Journal*. July 20.
Vankin, Deborah. 2004. "Cracking the Clubbing Code." *LA Weekly*. February 5.

14

Second-generation Korean Americans in Professional Fields in New York

Dae Young Kim
University of Maryland

This chapter examines the labor market experience of second-generation Korean Americans in professional fields in mainstream economy. Particularly, this chapter investigates the occupational choices of the second generation and their parents' advice concerning success and job selection. Unlike first-generation Korean immigrants who are primarily concentrating in self-employment, a substantial proportion of 1.5 and second-generation Korean Americans are attaining high levels of education and pursuing professional occupations in the mainstream economy. Not only are the children of Korean immigrants rejecting familyowned businesses in favor of white-collar occupations but their parents are equally pushing them toward high-status occupations in mainstream America. These heavy pressures from first-generation Korean parents and community may be construed as determining factors in the swift professionalization of the second generation. Yet, the rapid intergenerational occupational mobility of the second generation is the product of favorable socioeconomic status (i.e. middle-class background) of Korean immigrants and the financial stability provided by immigrant small businesses.

Introduction

One of the distinguishing features of the economic adaptation of first-generation Korean immigrants in the United States is their heavy reliance on self-employment. From corner greengrocers to drycleaners to an array of small businesses, Korean immigrants have actively pursued entrepreneurship; in the process, they invigorated and recreated many urban neighborhoods (Ilsoo Kim 1981; Ivan Light and Edna Bonacich 1988; Pyong Gap Min 1996; Kyeyoung Park 1997; In-Jin Yoon 1997). Korean immigrants today operate small businesses in a variety of locations, serving a diverse clientele ranging from Black and Latino customers in minority neighborhoods (acting as middleman minorities) to co-ethnics (fellow Koreans) in ethnic enclaves (Koreatowns) and also white patrons in prime urban settings. The 2000 U.S. Census IPUMS[1] (1%) data indicates that 24% of those who identified as "Korean alone" were self-employed in comparison to 11.5% for Whites, 5.1% for Blacks, 11.4% for Asians, 8.2% for Latinos, and 8.7% for Native Americans. Apparently, Korean immigrants and the Korean community alike identify with immigrant entrepreneurship and endorse self-employment as an important venue for economic advancement for the first generation (Ilsoo Kim 1987; Dae Young Kim 1999).

In contrast, it is noteworthy that an increasing number of the 1.5 and second-generation Korean Americans, raised and educated in the United States, are turning their back against the entrepreneurial activities of their immigrant parents in favor of professional occupations in the mainstream economy. The 2000 U.S. Census IPUMS (5%) data reveal a precipitous drop in self-employment among the second generation, from 27.9% among the first-generation Koreans to 9.9% among the 1.5 generation and 8.8% in the second generation (U.S.-born Koreans).[2] My survey data also showed that only 11% of the 1.5- and second-generation Korean American respondents were self-employed.

The sharp drop in self-employment among the second generation points to a dramatic occupational shift among Korean Americans. Small-business entrepreneurialism, the principal economic pillar for post-1960s Korean immigrants that buttressed a flourishing ethnic economy is reaching its apex in the Korean American community because its first generation is rapidly reaching retirement age. Meanwhile, their children are now finishing school and entering professional career fields in greater numbers. Whereas the first-generation Korean immigrants gravitated toward the ethnic economy route, particularly the small business path[3]; second-generation Korean Americans are readily abandoning the ethnic economy for professional occupations in mainstream economy. Their growing visibility in the Korean ethnic community and their contrasting career choices raise an important question about the long-term prospects of assimilation for the children and grandchildren of these immigrants. What prompts the second generation to reject the small business route of the first generation and seek professional occupations instead? What has their experience been like in the professional sectors of the mainstream economy? What are their prospects in these professional career fields?

To address these important questions, a survey combined with in-depth interview was conducted on a sample of second-generation Korean Americans who were working in professional fields in the New York-New Jersey metropolitan area. The survey examined the occupational choices and labor market experiences of the second generation and the nature of the advice that they received from their parents about job selection and success. The data show that second-generation Korean Americans are quite successful in their attempts to break into mainstream labor markets. In one generation's timeframe, the second generation is achieving occupational assimilation.

Literature Review

The literature on the prospects of the new second generation is characterized by both optimism and pessimism. The immigrant optimism or assimilation thesis predicts eventual economic progress for the children of post-1960s immigrants just like the successful assimilation by the descendants of European immigrants (Portes and Zhou 1993; Hirschman 2001; Alba and Nee 2003). Initially distinguished by residential, occupational and identity separation, over time, the descendants of the turn-of-the-century European immigrants closed the ethnic gap (Warner and Srole 1945; Alba and N

2003). While this model was based on the European immigrant experience and therefore may be less applicable to the experience of racial minorities, the proponents of this view (Alba and Nee 2003) argue that the framework of assimilation should still be useful to understand the experience of post-1960s immigrants and their children.

In contrast, the proponents of the second-generation decline and segmented assimilation theses (Gans 1992; Portes and Zhou 1993; Hirschman 2001) are more pessimistic about the prospects of the children of post-1960s immigrants for the following reasons. First, the post-1960s immigrants and their children are facing a restructured, postindustrial, "hour-glass" U.S. economy which is very different from an expanding industrial economy encountered by the turn-of-the-century European immigrants (Portes and Rumbaut 1990, 2001). Second, the enduring power of race in American life continues to affect the mobility chances of the new second generation who are considered and treated as non-Whites (Gans 1992). The segmented assimilation theory contends that mobility prospects for children of immigrants will also vary because post-1960s immigrant groups are heterogeneous in their human and social capital. Immigrants with high levels of human capital could capitalize on their class resources to provide educational opportunities for their children.

As a result, children of such middle-class immigrants could follow the classic "straight-line" model of assimilation (the white middle-class route) to upward mobility (Warner and Srole 1945; Gordon 1964). Immigrants who arrive here poor, by contrast, have limited opportunities for mobility because of class and racial disadvantage. If children of working-class immigrants adopt negative peer culture prevalent in an inner city instead of their immigrant parents' culture and norms, which is likely because of youth subcultures and racial discrimination, they then may experience downward mobility (Gans 1992; Portes and Zhou 1993).

Yet, if children of poor immigrants remain attached to their immigrant parents' culture and identity because of strong ethnic networks and viable ethnic niches, their acculturation may be delayed but with far better consequences (Gibson 1989; Zhou and Bankston 1998). Strong ethnic communities and vibrant ethnic economies provide not only tangible job opportunities and networks but also transmit community values and norms that encourage academic and occupational achievement. Such social capital could enable children of poor immigrants to offset class disadvantage and prevent rapid acculturation to underclass peer culture. According to Min Zhou and Carl Bankston (1998), strong intervention and integration from the Vietnamese community kept second-generation Vietnamese Americans from dropping out and graduating from high school despite poverty, low human capital, and proximity to racial minority subcultures.

Methods

The current study draws upon a closed-ended telephone survey conducted with 200 second-generation Korean Americans, aged 23-35 years old, in the metropolitan New York-New Jersey area and a follow-up with forty in-person, in-depth interviews with children of small business owners and children of professionals conducted simultaneously with the telephone survey. The telephone survey was conducted from June through November 1998. The sample was randomly drawn using the surname methodology. The telephone survey took an average of thirty minutes to complete. The open-ended tape-recorded interviews lasted approximately one and a half hours. For a full description of methods, see Dae Young Kim (2004, 2006).

From Self-employment to Professional Occupations : The Rapid Mainstreaming of the Second Generation

The immigrant generation pursued entrepreneurship to circumvent language difficulties, credential transferability obstacles, and / or discrimination. The 1.5 and second-generation Korean Americans, in contrast, raised and educated in the United States, are less likely to face constraints with English or credential transferability problems that plagued the immigrant generation. Thus, the second generation should have more favorable employment prospects in the mainstream labor market.[4]

The 2000 U.S. Census and my survey data revealed a rapid transformation in labor market arrangements from the first generation to the next. A

distinctive occupational feature of the second generation is their expeditious exodus away from the ethnic economy of the first generation for professional occupations in the mainstream. According to the 2000 U.S. Census IPUMS (5%), more than a quarter (27.9%) of first-generation Koreans, aged 25 to 65 was self-employed. In contrast, only one-tenth (9.9%) of 1.5-generation Koreans and 8.7% of U.S.-born Koreans were self-employed, which is largely comparable to their white counterparts (11.5%). Men, particularly first-generation Korean men, show greater tendency toward self-employment than women. A third (32.9%) of first-generation Korean men, 13.1% of 1.5-generation and 11.8% of U.S.-born Korean men were self-employed compared to 23.3% of first-generation, 7.1% of 1.5-generation, and 5.9% of U.S.-born Korean women.

My survey data show similar findings as those of the 2000 U.S. Census. As shown in Table 1, the self-employment rate dropped from 43% among the respondents' fathers to 11% among second generation respondents (N=202).

When the analysis was restricted to 23 to 35 year olds in the 2000 U.S. Census IPUMS (5%), the self-employment rate dropped even further, including the proportions for first-generation Koreans. Only 11% of first-generation Koreans were involved in self-employment compared to 7.6% of 1.5-generation Koreans and 4.7% of U.S.-born Koreans. The self-employment figure for Whites aged 23-35 was 6.8%. Younger first-generation, 1.5-generation, and U.S.-born Korean Americans as well as Whites all exhibited low rates of self-employment. Gender differences in self-employment rate were minor for this age cohort, suggesting that younger men and women, regardless of generation, were not as heavily involved in self-employment as the older cohorts. It is quite evident that non-self-employment is a function of assimilation as much as age. The median (mean) age for first-generation Koreans, aged 23-35, was 30 (29.9) while it was 28 (28.3) for 1.5-generation Koreans and 27 (27.3) for U.S.-born Koreans.

The drop in self-employment is accompanied by rapid professionalization in the second generation. According to the occupational distribution in the 2000 U.S. Census IPUMS (5%), only 16.3% of first-generation Koreans (25-65 year olds) worked as professionals. In contrast, almost a third (32.9%) of 1.5-generation Koreans and 39.5% of U.S.-born Koreans held professional and

Table 1. Unweighted Sample Size and Weighted Educational, Occupational and Earnings Profile of Koreans Aged 25-65 by Generation, Nativity and Gender in the United States, Census IPUMS, 2000 (5%)

		First-Generation Koreans			1.5-Generation Koreans			US-Born Koreans		
		Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Unweighted Number of Observations		8,059	11,408	19,467	1,137	1,322	2,459	702	762	1,464
Education (Percentage)	High School Diploma-Highest Degree	17.44	27.98	23.63	7.21	10.64	9.06	11.73	11.61	11.67
	High School Graduates	93.35	85.38	88.67	99.81	96.67	96.86	95.58	94.2	94.86
	College Degree-Highest Degree	31.74	28.25	29.69	40.74	42.51	41.7	32.68	37.94	35.43
	College Graduates	54.16	36.51	43.8	63.26	58.88	60.9	58.89	64.55	61.61
	Masters or Higher Education	22.42	8.26	14.11	22.52	16.37	19.2	26.21	26.16	26.18
Occupation (Percentage)	Self-Employed	32.9 (2,434)	23.34 (1,915)	27.85 (4,349)	13.05 (141)	7.09 (86)	9.91 (227)	11.75 (71)	5.90 (43)	8.74 (114)
	Professional and Related Workers	21.42 (1,751)	12.74 (1,435)	16.33 (3,186)	34.88 (384)	31.17 (405)	32.88 (789)	39.51 (273)	39.54 (297)	39.53 (570)
	Management, Business and Financial Operations	15.71 (1,301)	7.65 (866)	10.98 (2,187)	20.36 (229)	16.01 (215)	18.01 (444)	15.59 (113)	15.94 (122)	15.78 (235)
Annual Earnings-*Median (Mean)*	Self-Employed	35,000 (53,635)	20,000 (32,067)	30,000 (44,728)	38,500 (67,757)	30,000 (45,095)	36,000 (59,673)	40,000 (70,880)	29,000 (45,994)	36,800 (63,858)
	Professional and Related Occupations	38,000 (57,557)	30,000 (37,911)	33,100 (49,047)	45,000 (64,630)	32,000 (42,318)	40,000 (53,516)	40,000 (51,411)	36,000 (47,181)	38,000 (49,214)
	Management, Business and Financial Operations	42,000 (60,303)	30,000 (43,098)	37,000 (53,657)	40,000 (61,521)	40,000 (48,564)	40,000 (55,494)	52,000 (82,761)	42,000 (48,333)	47,000 (65,169)
Age	Median (Mean)	43 (44.01)	44 (44.06)	44 (44.04)	30 (31.64)	30 (31.70)	30 (31.68)	30 (34.64)	31 (34.50)	31 (34.57)

Note : The figures in the brackets denote the unweighted sample sizes. The median and mean incomes include people who report zero or negative earnings.

related occupations. The figure for Whites was one-fifth (19.9%), a proportion slightly higher than first-generation Koreans but lower than the second generation.

The presence of second-generation Korean Americans in management, business, and financial operations occupations (25-65 year olds) also appear to be promising. Slightly less than one-fifth (18%) of 1.5-generation Koreans and 15.8% of U.S.-born Koreans held occupations in management. In comparison, only 11% of first-generation Koreans and 14.4% of Whites had occupations in these fields. Furthermore, a slightly higher proportion of 1.5-generation and second-generation Korean Americans held occupations in management than Whites.

Korean American women in this age cohort also registered some improvement as the younger generation was able to close the occupational gap across generations. Occupationally, 1.5-generation (31.2%) Korean women trailed slightly behind their 1.5-generation (34.9%) and U.S.-born Korean male (39.5%) counterparts in the proportion of professional and related occupations, although U.S.-born Korean women (39.5%) were on par with the men. By contrast, a little more than a tenth (12.7%) of first-generation Korean women held professional and related occupations compared to 21.4% of first-generation Korean men. Similarly, second-generation Korean American women were able to reduce the gender gap in management, business, and financial operations occupations. While twice (15.7%) as many first-generation Korean men held management occupations than first-generation Korean women (7.7%), 1.5-generation (16%) and U.S.-born Korean women (15.9%) surpassed first-generation and second-generation Korean men (15.6%) in their proportions in management occupations. The gender gap, however, did remain between 1.5-generation Korean men (20.4%) and women (16%).

It should be noted, however, that the median (mean) age of Whites was 44 (43.98) whereas the median (mean) age for 1.5-generation and the second-generation was 30 (31.7) and 31 (34.6) respectively. The median (mean) age for first-generation Koreans was 44 (44). First-generation Koreans and Whites were disproportionately older than 1.5-generation and U.S.-born Koreans in this age range. To control for the potentially confounding effect of age on occupational distribution, the analysis was restricted to 23-35 age cohort. For this age cohort, both first-generation Koreans and Whites turn out to have roughly similar median (mean) age: 30. For 1.5-generation and U.S.-born Koreans, their median (mean) age was 28 (28.3) and 27 (27.3) respectively. With comparable median (mean) ages among this age cohort compared to the median (mean) age for those aged between 25 and 65, the status of the second generation in professional fields appeared optimistic again as shown in Table 3. According to the 2000 U.S. Census IPUMS (5%), close to a third (31.9%) of 1.5-generation Koreans and 42.8% of U.S.-born Koreans held professional and related occupations compared to 23.8% of first-generation Koreans and 21.1% of Whites. The proportion of the 1.5 and second generations in management positions was greater than Whites and first-generation Koreans, suggesting a favorable pattern of occupational attainment. Whereby 12.4% of Whites and 9.1% of first-generation Koreans were in management, business, and financial operations occupations, 17.1% of 1.5-generation Koreans and 14.9% of U.S.-born Koreans held such positions.

The survey data that I collected also reveal similar trends toward professionalization among the 1.5 and second-generation Korean Americans. Second-generation Korean Americans in my sample obtained a variety of professional positions as accountants, lawyers, network administrators, consultants, analysts, and investment bankers. Close to two-thirds (67%) of the second generation were in managerial and professional specialty occupations. In sharp contrast from the first generation, second-generation Korean Americans were trading the retail trade industries of their parents for professional and related occupations.

The gender gap remained a factor for this age cohort, particularly for younger first-generation Koreans : close to a third (29.1%) of first-generation Korean men held professional and related occupations compared to 19.5% of first-generation Korean women. However, 1.5-generation and U.S.-born Koreans in professional and related occupations were able to reduce the gender gap. This suggests that at least for younger Korean Americans with substantial U.S. upbringing, education, and proficiency in English, entry into professional and managerial occupations appeared very promising (Sakamoto and Xie 2006; Yang 2006).

Table 2. Unweighted Sample Size and Weighted Educational, Occupational, and Earnings Profile of Koreans and Whites Aged 25-65 by Nativity and Gender in the United States, Census IPUMS, 2000 (5%)

		All Foreign-Born Koreans			U.S.-Born Whites		
		Men	**Women**	**Total**	**Men**	**Women**	**Total**
Unweighted Number of Observations		9,196	12,730	21,926	509,453	514,313	1,023,766
Education (Percentage)	High School Diploma - Highest Degree	16.16	26.14	21.97	28.71	29.87	29.29
	High School Graduates	93.82	86.57	89.61	89.05	90.6	89.83
	College Degree - Highest Degree	32.87	29.76	31.06	19.49	18.69	19.09
	College Graduates	55.3	38.88	45.75	30.42	28.15	29.28
	Masters or Higher Education	22.43	9.12	14.69	10.93	9.46	10.19
Occupation (Percentage)	Self-Employed	30.31 (2,575)	21.23 (2,001)	25.51 (4,576)	14.24	8.52	11.52
	Professional and Related Workers	23.11 (2,135)	14.69 (1,840)	18.21 (3,975)	17.05	22.8	19.93
	Management, Business and Financial Operations	16.29 (1,530)	8.53 (1,101)	11.78 (2,631)	16.55	11.53	14.04
Annual Earnings- *Median (Mean)*	Self-employed	27,000 (54,437)	10,000 (32,657)	18,000 (45,506)	36,000 (62,149)	15,900 (28,815)	29,000 (51,097)
	Professional and Related Occupations	28,000 (58,939)	19,800 (38,968)	24,000 (50,009)	49,000 (63,908)	30,000 (33,931)	37,000 (47,066)
	Management, Business and Financial Operations	35,000 (60,503)	28,800 (44,263)	32,000 (53,995)	54,000 (74,863)	35,000 (43,019)	45,000 (62,035)
Age	Median (Mean)	41 (42.48)	42 (42.78)	42 (42.65)	44 (43.954)	44 (44)	44 (43.98)

Note : The figures in the brackets denote the unweighted sample sizes. The median and mean incomes include people who report zero or negative earnings.

Annual Earnings

In this section I examine the annual median (mean) earnings of the second generation, aged between 23 and 35, by their occupation. According to the 2000 U.S. Census IPUMS (5%), 1.5-generation and U.S.-born Koreans in professional and related occupations earned $33,000 ($40,355) and $30,000 ($34,812) respectively while first-generation Koreans earned $16,700 ($25,129) and Whites earned $29,700 ($33,027) annually (See Table 3). The annual median (mean) earnings of 1.5-generation and U.S.-born Koreans were slightly above the earnings of Whites, with the 1.5-generation earning slightly more than the second generation. First-generation Koreans' annual median (mean) earnings were only half the median earnings of the 1.5-generation, suggesting a link between earnings and occupational distribution.

Not surprisingly, the 1.5 and second generations as well as first-generation Koreans and Whites in management, business, financial operations occupations obtained higher median (mean) annual earnings than those in professional and related occupations and the self-employed. In fact, the annual median earnings of the self-employed were the lowest for all the above groups. The annual mean earnings of the self-employed, however, were slightly higher for all groups except for first-generation Koreans. The self-employed for these groups had slightly higher annual mean earnings than those in professional and related occupations (See Table 3).

Although 1.5-generation and U.S.-born Korean women were able to close much of the occupational gap, a gender gap still remains in earnings, particularly for 1.5-generation women in professional and related occupations ($28,000) who were earning far less than the men ($39,400). The median earnings difference for first-generation and U.S.-born Korean men and women, however, was relatively small: $1600 and $1000 respectively, in favor of men.

Similarly, second-generation Korean American women in my sample trailed behind their male counterparts in annual earnings; whereas the median (mean) annual earnings of women were $32,000 ($44,685) (N=168) in their current jobs at the time of the interview, men earned $37,000 ($55,153) annually. Despite comparable or slightly higher share of U.S.-born Korean women in professional and management occupations, women were still earning less than men, suggesting that the glass ceiling and earnings

Table 3. Unweighted Sample Size and Weighted Educational, Occupational, and Earnings Profile of Koreans Aged 23-35 by Generation, Nativity, and Gender in the United States, Census IPUMS, 2000 (5%)

		First-Generation Koreans			1.5-Generation Koreans			US-Born Koreans		
		Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
	Unweighted number of observations	2,216	2,798	5,014	1,067	1,239	2,306	666	718	1,384
Education (Percentage)	High School Diploma-Highest Degree	12.23	17.77	15.32	9.29	10.44	9.91	11.66	8.61	10.09
	High School Graduates	96.83	96.67	96.75	97.48	97.09	97.28	96.85	97.22	97.04
	College Degree - Highest Degree	31.42	39.2	35.75	42.49	42.42	42.45	41.37	45.88	43.69
	College Graduates	56.02	52.83	54.25	59.06	57.14	58.02	62.86	68.71	65.87
	Masters or Higher Education	24.6	13.63	18.5	16.57	14.72	15.57	21.49	22.83	22.18
Occupation (Percentage)	Self-Employed	11.29 (204)	10.76 (201)	11.03 (405)	9.42 (92)	6.08 (70)	7.63 (162)	6.30 (38)	3.17 (26)	4.71 (64)
	Professional and Related Workers	29.12 (652)	19.53 (548)	23.78 (1,200)	32.39 (329)	31.56 (379)	31.94 (708)	43.70 (275)	41.94 (294)	42.80 (569)
	Management, Business and Financial Operations	10.58 (241)	7.84 (225)	9.05 (466)	19.38 (208)	15.16 (187)	17.10 (395)	14.47 (99)	15.29 (106)	14.89 (205)
Annual Earnings-Median (Mean)	Self-Employed	26,000 (34,561)	10,000 (20,196)	16,000 (27,481)	29,000 (46,126)	15,000 (34,828)	26,000 (41,308)	30,000 (45,060)	13,400 (26,936)	27,595 (38,883)
	Professional and Related Occupations	17,600 (27,750)	15,000 (22,016)	16,700 (25,129)	39,400 (50,816)	28,000 (34,267)	33,000 (40,355)	30,000 (34,291)	29,000 (35,327)	30,000 (34,812)
	Management, Business and Financial Operations	32,000 (42,085)	24,000 (27,052)	28,000 (34,839)	38,000 (47,327)	36,000 (40,524)	37,000 (45,557)	41,000 (66,509)	38,000 (39,076)	38,600 (52,058)
Age	Median (Mean)	30 (29.82)	30 (29.92)	30 (29.88)	28 (28.40)	28 (28.19)	28 (28.29)	27 (27.24)	27 (27.26)	27 (27.25)

Note : The figures in the brackets denote the unweighted sample sizes. The median and mean incomes include people who report zero or negative earnings.

inequality relative to men may continue to be a persistent barrier for Asian American women in professional occupations.

Reasons for Rejecting Small Business

The deliberate pursuit of entrepreneurship by Korean immigrants was, according to Nancy Abelmann and John Lie (1995), a strategic attempt to sidestep blocked mobility in their pursuit of modernity and mobility. However, small business ownership in capitalist societies tends to be short-lived because the next generation seeks to avoid it. Nancy Abelmann and John Lie (1995, p.129) write, "Many Korean American shopkeepers balk at the prospect of their children's succeeding them in their businesses or opening small retail stores of their own; the first generation's desire for the second generation is for them to achieve prestigious and remunerative careers." This trend is also observed by Pyong Gap Min (1988) who found from his 1982 survey in Atlanta that Korean small business owners wished for their children to obtain professional occupations instead of succeeding the family business.5)

For U.S.-born and / or-raised children, the reasons for rejecting small business were straightforward. Reared and socialized in the mindset of the host society, they were reluctant to take on the low-status and labor-intensive jobs of their immigrant parents (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou and Bankston 1998). Furthermore, children of Korean immigrants were unwilling to put in the long hours necessary for survival in small business (Min 1988). To be sure, second-generation Korean Americans were disinclined to take on labor-intensive mom and pop Korean immigrant businesses. Heesoo,6) a thirty-four-year old woman in my interview, aptly summed it up, "I don't have the urge to own my own business. I don't need to be a mover and shaker. Having seen my parents work so hard, I just want to collect my paycheck and enjoy my free time."

Since my earlier paper (See Kim 2004 for further discussion) amply discussed the major reasons for rejecting self-employment, it will suffice to briefly list several key reasons offered by the second generation. In addition to the low status and the labor intensive disposition of immigrant small business, a small number felt they were not suited for their parents' businesses. Others wanted to establish themselves without the help of

parents. Some concluded that there was very little chance that they could ever make millions through a mom and pop business. Finally, several having observed high rates of business turnovers and closures, were simply fearful of undertaking a business on their own (Dae Young Kim 2004).

Prospects for Self-Employment

Yet not everyone dismisses the possibility of entering entrepreneurship in the near future. In light of variability in small business size and profitability, some second-generation Korean Americans were willing to take over businesses that had growth potential and were profitable. The lure of financial independence was enormously appealing for many young adults. Several felt that striking on one's own and being able to decide one's own fate was what the American Dream was all about. Some were willing to consider self-employment if the risks that plagued businesses in general could be reduced significantly (Dae Young Kim 2004).

In sum, both parents and their children mutually agreed that it was better to leave the family business in favor of professional occupations in the mainstream economy. The second generation is strongly uninterested in labor-intensive retail businesses; especially the kinds of middleman minority businesses that Korean immigrants are known for. In light of the impact of age on self-employment rate and the second generation's current position on the corporate ladder, it is still too early to rule out the possibility of self-employment for second-generation Korean Americans. These young adults may decide to strike on their own if they are faced with discrimination, the glass ceiling, or tokenism while climbing the corporate ladder. Others may be lured to "striking it rich" in the high-tech industry as was the case during the boom of the telecom and internet firms. Another possibility is that they may choose self-employment as independent contractors or consultants that provide professional services to corporations. In some cases, a few second generations may discover that their parents' small businesses can be quite lucrative. Even in these scenarios, it is likely, however, that they would avoid labor-intensive and low status small businesses. Some may get involved in these businesses only on the condition that they can remake them (by hiring managers, by expanding into new niches, or by professionalizing the small business). What was quite revealing about the

Table 4. Unweighted Sample Size and Weighted Educational, Occupational, and Earnings Profile of Koreans and Whites Aged 23-35 by Nativity and Gender in the United States, Census IPUMS, 2000 (5%)

		All Foreign-Born Koreans			US-Born Whites		
		Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
	Unweighted Number of Observations	3,283	4,037	7,320	150,849	151,734	302,583
Education (Percentage)	High School Diploma - Highest Degree	11.3	15.55	13.64	28.37	24.62	26.51
	High School Graduates	97.04	96.8	96.91	89.72	91.93	90.82
	College Degree- Highest Degree	34.93	40.17	37.82	22.61	25.25	23.92
	College Graduates	56.99	54.13	55.41	28.85	32.5	30.66
	Masters or Higher Education	22.06	13.96	17.59	6.24	7.25	6.74
Occupation (Percentage)	Self-Employed	10.64 (296)	8.99 (271)	9.79 (567)	7.86	5.58	6.76
	Professional and Related Workers	30.16 (981)	23.18 (927)	26.31 (1,908)	17.86	24.31	21.06
	Management, Business and Financial Operations	13.37 (449)	10.06 (412)	11.54 (861)	12.75	12.05	12.4
Annual Earnings-*Median (Mean)*	Self-Employed	28,000 (38,145)	10,000 (23,938)	17,000 (31,411)	29,000 (42,427)	10,400 (19,081)	20,000 (33,101)
	Professional and Related Occupations	27,000 (34,419)	20,000 (27,072)	23,400 (30,848)	35,000 (41,623)	25,000 (26,612)	29,700 (33,027)
	Management, Business and Financial Operations	35,000 (45,810)	30,000 (33,208)	32,000 (39,752)	40,000 (50,955)	30,000 (33,690)	35,000 (42,632)
Age	Median (Mean)	29 (29.36)	29 (29.39)	29 (29.37)	30 (29.43)	30 (29.43)	30 (29.43)

Note : The figures in the brackets denote the unweighted sample sizes. The median and mean incomes include people who report zero or negative earnings.

second generations' entrepreneurial preparedness was that only few were actually aware about the steps required to establish these businesses. For the most part, second-generation Korean Americans made an effort to attain valuable experience in their respective industries, hoping that these attempts will pay off in the future (Kim 2004). Thus, the prominent mode of economic adaptation for Korean immigrants, for example, labor-intensive immigrant small businesses, seem to be a one-generation phenomenon as the second generation makes rapid inroads into professional occupations in the mainstream economy (Yang 2006).

The World of Work in New York

In this section, interview data explores the experience of the second generation in professional fields. The second-generation Korean American interviewees in my study held a variety of professional occupations ranging from medical doctors, teachers, consultants, analysts, investment bankers, filmmakers and fashion designers to network administrators. The experiences of professional second generation in this study further explained the trials and tribulations of climbing the corporate ladder.

New York City, being the finance capital of the world, is home to a host of finance-related occupations. Given the opportunity structure of the New York labor market, it is not an accident that the most prominent industries for the second generation are in finance, insurance, and real estate (also known as "FIRE" occupations). Both Sungsoo and Joonshik work as analysts. Sungsoo, a twenty-three-year-old man at the time of the interview,7) worked as an analyst for a major consulting firm. Prior to this position, he had worked as a test engineer for a large manufacturing firm. Although his previous company offered to promote him to product engineer, Sungsoo chose a career in a consulting firm because it was a global company that paid better and offered opportunities to travel.

Joonshik, a thirty-year-old male who was a stockbroker before he left the finance industry after losing interest stated "Stockbroker, you deal much more with people but it just wasn't challenging intellectually. You learn certain products but that's about it." Consequently, he became an analyst because he thought the experience as an analyst would enhance his application to an MBA program. He said:

> I was a stockbroker at a discount firm. Actually the same one I got my brother the job. I was a supervisor there. And my plan really, I thought it might be better just going into an MBA but I thought I'd get a better MBA if I had some experience as an analyst or get into a better program. And I just saw it and I thought I might as well give it a shot. And it worked out.

His main duties as an analyst were examining company reports and spreadsheets to forecast the performance of those stocks. When asked about the reasons for seeking an MBA, Joonshik's response was:

> I've had enough. I think I've learned as much as I could really and also it's just time. I'm 30 now... I want to get an MBA as quickly as possible. Unless you have a lot of experience, a lot of success, an MBA isn't worth as much if you really start late. And there are a lot of types of industries where they would prefer someone in their low 30s or mid-to-late 20s.

With economic restructuring, consulting has become another prominent line of work in the corporate world. Jonathan, a twenty-seven-year-old, found work as an associate consultant for an accounting firm. He had been in that job for about two and one-half years. When he was looking for work he did not receive any other offers besides the current job. Due to his dissatisfaction with the operation / management of the firm, his plan was to stay in the company for only one additional year before he entered graduate school to earn an MBA. Jonathan explains:

> I am not learning anything. It's not necessarily a reflection on consulting as a practice... it's more a reflection on the company. It's not very well run. They are more interested in getting the job done rather than in nurturing you or training you.

Although their jobs are in different industries, Heesoo, Jeeun, and Sharon have various similarities. All worked in large corporate settings with good benefits and relatively excellent pay. Heesoo, a thirty-four-year old woman, was employed as an acquisition and development analyst for a real estate firm. She took the current job because the company had a favorable reputation for treating their employees well. Heesoo said that employees

at the company tended to remain there for life. Even though she had been offered a job that paid twice as much, she turned it down because it required longer working hours and moving to the suburbs. She was extremely satisfied with her work hours, duties, and pay.

Jeeun worked as a manager of corporate development in the hotel industry. She found her current job through a previous side job when she was a self-employed caterer. Recalling her job search, Jeeun emphasized that networks were critical in obtaining her current job. Jeeun, a twenty-nine-year-old woman, stated that her current position did not even exist until the owner of the hotel created her position after developing a strong rapport with her. As she put it, "so it's again who you know." Her main duties were mergers and acquisitions, including evaluating new business ventures.

Sharon, a thirty-three-year-old woman, worked for a fund management company. Sharon explains her position:

> It's a money management company but I'm not involved in the investment team. I'm in the corporate side. I'm in the product development area. I just started a couple of months ago. I'm working on projects so that we can think up new products to sell, a money management product. Product development strategy and how the company is going. If we're going to go public or not.

She was attracted to this job because the work required her to be versatile, enabled her to develop new skills with new projects, and to complete work in a timely manner. She was, however, uncertain as to how long she was going to remain at her current job. In response to her uncertainty, Sharon stated:

> As long as I like it. Who knows? This is only my third job out of college. My last job I was there for six years and there's no way in hell I could have told you that my first year there. I would have never thought I would have stayed that long but in that time, even at that last job, I probably did ten different jobs.

Among the survey respondents, quite a few worked in the medical and legal professions, as doctors and lawyers. However, the corporate side of the health care industry also drew people like Howard and Sarah who were

involved in the pharmaceutical and health insurance sector. Howard, thirty-four-year-old man, worked as an associate director for a pharmaceutical company. He also owned a consulting company on the side. His main responsibility in the pharmaceutical firm was to safeguard the health and safety of the employees in chemical and biological labs. He was hired at the current job because of his nuclear radiation safety major in college. While the pharmaceutical industry experienced frequent mergers, Howard's fortune improved with each merger as he was able to receive promotions at each and every step. Not surprisingly, he was very optimistic about reaching the upper levels of the corporate ladder.

Sarah, a twenty-six-year-old woman, by contrast, initially started out as a paralegal, working as a claims investigator assistant. After gaining some experience working on health-related cases, she changed occupations to and took a position in provider relations for a large health maintenance organization (HMO). Her decision to enter the health care industry, albeit on the health insurance side, went back to her college years when she took pre-med courses. In college, Sarah thought about attending medical school and becoming a physician. She describes her change in career plans by stating:

> I was going to go to medical school but then I decided I needed some time off after college. So I worked at the law firm. And the law firm I was working with, tobacco litigation, it was part of health-care but it was a different issue. I didn't want to stay at the law firm. I didn't want to become a career paralegal. I thought this [HMO] would be a better opportunity to give me more insight to health-care fields.

Shortly after her stint at the HMO, she began to notice that the HMO was not managed very efficiently. Consequently, she was planning to go back to graduate school after six months.

Home to the fashion and advertising industries, New York City offers design and creative work in these industries. Second-generation Korean American women, in particular, are involved as designers in fashion and graphic design. Jennifer was a twenty-five-year-old woman who worked as an assistant fashion designer. She found the job through her college job

placement office. Her principal duties were to design prints and patterns for menswear. Unhappy with her job, Jennifer did not want to remain at her current place of employment for more than a year. She was hoping to move to a different firm or if possible, start her own clothing line.

As attested by the interviews, second-generation Korean Americans have secured a range of professional occupations in mainstream economy. Often, the second generation found jobs that fit with their major in college. For others, their current line of work was quite different or far from it. Also the job situation varied among the second generation. Some were dissatisfied with their current job. They were unhappy with the pay, company management, and the challenges of their position. Hyun, a twentyseven-year-old woman who worked for a non-profit arbitration firm, expressed her displeasure by saying:

> I hate my job... it's not that bad, but it's definitely not where I thought I would be at this point in my life... I don't want to say it's demeaning, but it's very routine. It's not stimulating... The money is not that great.

Others, however, were very satisfied with their work, having found a good balance between pay and their work duties. A common theme emerging from these interviews was the need for additional schooling among a number of respondents. The prospects of promotions and increased pay, the respondents believed, would be enhanced by additional education such as an MBA or graduate degree.

Job Expectations from Parents

It is a well-known fact in the Korean community that Korean parents value high-status, financially lucrative professional occupations, particularly medical doctors and lawyers (Kim 1993; Kim 2004). Korean parents emphasize professional occupations because of their concern with social status and financial security. Given that the first generation encountered loss of status, the glass ceiling, and discrimination, they tend to believe that professional and technical careers (law, medicine, engineering, accounting, and sciences) could better shield their children from discrimination (Xie and Goyette 2004). Nancy Abelmann and John Lie (1995, p.127) concur by writing, "Personal experiences of discrimination goad many Korean immigrants to urge their children to pursue technical careers- fields in which subjective criteria are minimized."

What, in fact, is the advice that first-generation Korean parents give to their children? What kind of jobs do parents emphasize for their children and what are the reasons? How does the second generation respond to these expectations? According to the interviewees in my study, the typical advice that second-generation Korean Americans received from their parents on succeeding in the United States was hard work, diligence, and attainment of education. Some were even told they needed to work twice as hard as Whites. Out of all the recommendations, the single most frequent one from parents was education. That is, to "study hard" to get into a selective high school and then college. Typical of Korean parents, Horace's parents' advice was about "going to a good school, getting a certain job."

By "certain job," most of the respondents knew that Korean immigrant parents were referring to high-status occupations in medicine, law, and engineering.

> "I guess when I was growing up it was just doctor. Be a doctor... and then just [get] rich. If You're not a doctor or a lawyer become really rich."
>
> "Be a doctor. They wanted me to be successful. They wanted me to have a better life than they did."
>
> "They're like 'Study hard and you'll make a lot of money. Become a dentist or doctor.' Typical Korean advice."
>
> "I don't ever remember them saying, 'You should be this or that.' But I know my parents, in their minds, we were all going to be either doctors, engineers or lawyers and there was three jobs available in the world for us."

Besides these typical occupations, first-generation Korean parents also emphasize the next status occupation in the prestige ladder. Some parents wanted their daughters to become nurses, teachers, or pianists because they felt these careers were more suitable for women. Otherwise, parents

advocated practical professional careers that were financially secure. Many wanted their children to go into business, make money, and be successful.

According to Jeeun, her parents had advised her to "major in a technical or specialized field." Although Jeeun's father did not pressure her to pursue the typical professional careers like other Korean parents, she was, nevertheless, quite explicitly reminded to stay away from financially unviable occupations like art or music. For her father, as long as the occupation was financially viable, becoming a doctor or lawyer was not a necessity. Yet, Jeeun knew very well that her parents would have been more than pleased if she pursued medicine. She replied, "they would love it if we were doctors and had status." Ashley, a twenty-seven-year-old woman, agreed that her parents also wanted her to stay within a professional career track. Interestingly she noted that her parents did not stress the "typical" medical doctor or lawyer professions. Ashley said:

> I think they sort of wanted us to work within the system somewhat. Not to stray too far away from what was acceptable professionally, although they never said, 'You must be a doctor. You must be a lawyer.' They never said that.

Not all parents were stuck on such fixed notions of success and careers. According to Sarah, her parents were sincerely concerned about her and her brothers' happiness than the prestige of their professional careers. As Sarah put it:

> The only thing she ever said is that my brothers and I should do what makes us happy. As long as we are happy at what we are doing, then she will be happy at that. That's the only thing she said.

Very untypical of most Korean parents, Sarah's parents were one of the few who expressed deep concern over their children's happiness rather than their own career aspirations for their children.

While many Korean immigrant parents place great emphasis on status-bearing professions, the second generation's response to parental expectations varied from individual to individual. Some did succumb to parental pressures while others sought to make their own career decisions. Whereas a few regretted their decision for not following their parents' advice,

others were still trying to figure out how to raise these issues with their parents and negotiate their career choices with them. Horace, a twenty-six-year-old man, knew very well that his parents wanted him to pursue the "typical" professional careers. Horace reiterates their advice:

> It was 'You're going to do this. You're going to go to an Ivy League school. You're going to go to med school.' Blah, blah, blah. That's 90% of life, just thinking about what You're going to be.

Feeling fiercely independent, however, he felt that he needed to define his own course. His take was:

> You're going to live only one life. I'm not going to get married. I'm not going to any of that... Maybe it's a very selfish thing, but I'm going to live my life. I didn't realize that until very late in life.

While Horace was quite happy with his work as a manager of a restaurant, his parents were severely disappointed with his position. As Horace explains their dissatisfaction by stating, "They're not quite happy with it. They assume that I haven't really found myself... They're not happy with that job."

Sharon also described how she confronted her parents' expectations of majoring in something practical rather than what she wanted to study:

> Like I said I was the one that went away and became an English major. To my parents they have no idea. I don't even know what I wanted to be and they were, 'What are you going to do with that?' And I was, 'I don't know. But that's not my concern right now. I want to be an English major. That's what I want to study.' ...They wanted me to go to law school and I thought about that for a while but then I didn't want to be a lawyer so law school sounds interesting but I don't really want to be a lawyer. I think they knew it was too late with me for them to start getting involved and saying, 'Oh, you should be an engineer or you should be this.' Obviously I wasn't going to do that. I didn't want to do that. I could have done it if I wanted to but I didn't.

The same was true for Alex whose parents had emphasized a professional career path by wanting him to become a dentist. He recalled:

> They had high expectations for me to become a dentist so when I told them I wasn't going to go into being a dentist, they were very disappointed. [When] I graduated I had a very difficult time finding a job and once I got my first job, it was kind of like they were content with that and they saw that I could do well in this industry.

Alex's parents found huge relief after he found a stable job in spite of having rejected his parents' career advice and having difficulty with his initial job search. Alex, a twenty-four-year-old man said, "Yeah, it was a relief for my parents and they still have a high expectation for me to do well... Yeah, they are happy that I'm working and I'm not bumming off of them."

For others like Angela, a thirty-three-year-old woman, her views of education and career came to clash with her father's view, making it quite a struggle to obtain the approval from her parents:

> My dad has a thing with education. You're supposed to be educated but if I come home and think of a new concept like existentialism and I try to explain it, he's totally dismissive of the idea. It's garbage. His idea of education only has to do with technology or science or something. It can't be learning Indian philosophy or something like that. His view of education is very narrow. So there was an emphasis on education...to attain social status but otherwise it's no good.

Discussion and Conclusion

With the children of Korean immigrants coming of age, the occupational adaptation of the first generation via small business is quickly shifting to the direction of professional fields in the second generation. The occupational mainstreaming of the second generation has been promoted by the immigrant generation with both the Korean community and parents stressing high-status, well-paying, professional careers. Interviews with second-generation respondents attest to strong expectations of professional careers among Korean immigrant parents. However, the second generation did not respond to these occupational pressures in a uniform way. Not all sought the "typical" professions prescribed by the Korean community and their immigrant parents. Instead, they took advantage of the opportunity structure of the New York City labor market, finding work in different sectors of the corporate world as analysts, consultants, designers, network administrators, lawyers, and investment bankers.

Strong educational and occupational pressures from Korean parents and the Korean community may be construed as determining factors in the rapid advancement of the second generation into professional fields. In addition, parental and community expectations may exert strong pressure to excel.

However, it is critical to recognize the advantageous socioeconomic position (i.e. middle-class background) of Korean immigrants and the financial stability provided by immigrant small business as key factors in the rapid intergenerational occupational mobility of the second generation (Dae Young Kim 2004). Both the assimilation and segmented assimilation models hypothesized that children of middle-class immigrants would attain professional occupations through education. Middle-class background and immigrant entrepreneurship provide the resources for educational attainment, accelerating the entry of the second generation into the mainstream labor market. As segmented assimilation theory pointed out, the heterogeneity of class background of immigrants accounts for the diversity of outcomes for children of immigrants in the face of racialization and economic restructuring. The fact that a comparable number or higher proportion of second-generation Korean Americans are in professional fields as well as management, business, and financial operations sectors than their White cohorts of similar age group implies that occupational mainstreaming is taking place at least for children of middle-class immigrants. The phenomenal intergenerational occupational mobility observed among Korean immigrants and their children has its roots in the favorable socioeconomic status of Korean immigrants, their strategic economic adaptation through immigrant entrepreneurship, and parental and community emphasis and investment on education and professional careers.

Yet, in spite of having penetrated the professional fields in mainstream economy, it is unclear, due to their age and position on the corporate ladder, the obstacles that second-generation Korean Americans will face in the middle and upper echelons of the corporate hierarchy. Job satisfaction indicators hinted that some respondents were quite pleased with their line of work, pay, and company management. Others, dissatisfied with their pay,

job duties, and their employers' management styles, sought to change companies or obtain more education to improve their job status. For now, second-generation Korean Americans seem optimistic about their prospects on the corporate ladder and hold on to a meritocratic view of corporate promotions. They believe that hard work, additional education, and work experience will help overcome any glass ceiling in the future. It is conceivable that such a positive assessment of future prospects will encourage these young adults to continue to penetrate and succeed in the corporate world. As more gain entry and succeed there, their presence may be able to transform the institutional and racial structure of the corporate hierarchy. Nevertheless, if barriers remain to be more persistent and stiffer competition in the upper levels prevents their advancement, the second generation population may come to reconsider self-employment, if not in the labor-intensive retail sectors of immigrant entrepreneurship, then as independent contractors or consultants that provide professional services to corporations.

Finally, what is still uncertain is whether children of working-class Korean immigrants as well as children of working-class Asian immigrants would be able to achieve intergenerational educational and occupational mobility. Anecdotal evidence suggests that children of working-class Asian immigrants may be capitalizing on community social capital to offset class and racial disadvantage and achieve educational and occupational mobility (Min Zhou and Carl Banskton 1998; Philip Yang 2006). Yet, socioeconomic differences affect the receipt of quality of education (due to the selective nature of schools), impacting the occupational choices and earnings of working-class Asian Americans (Vivian Louie 2004, Dae Young Kim and Veena Kulkarni 2009). In future research, greater attention should be paid to differences in socioeconomic status, levels of social capital, modes of reception, and community history to understand the diversity of educational and occupational attainments among the immigrant second generation.

Notes

1) Integrated Public Use Microdata Series.
2) I define the first-generation Koreans as those who were born in Korea and came to the United States by the age of 13 or older; the 1.5 generation as those born in Korea who came to the United States by the age of 12 or younger; and U.S.-born Koreans as those who were born in the United States with at least one Korean-born parent. The latest estimate from the 2006 American Community Survey (ACS) indicates that U.S.-born Koreans make a quarter of the Korean American population (Korean race alone). In my survey study of 1.5 and second-generation Korean Americans in the New York-New Jersey metropolitan area, 70% of the respondents were 1.5 generation and 30% were second generation.
3) The term ethnic enclave is used in the sense that Portes uses it to denote a vertical integration of co-ethnic manufacturers and wholesalers, retailers, customers, and workers. The ethnic economy is a larger category that includes other forms of economic enterprise such as middleman minorities in addition to ethnic enclaves. In both of these formulations, entrepreneurship and ethnic solidarity play important roles in immigrants' mobility and rapid integration to U.S. society.
4) Multiculturalism and diversity initiatives expanded job opportunities for the second generation including the role of ethnic mediators / brokers to tap into minority / Korean community markets.
5) Waldinger (1996) found similar responses from Korean business owners he had surveyed in New York.
6) The names of the respondents are all pseudonyms.
7) The age of the respondent refers to their age at the time of the interview.

References

Abelmann, Nancy and John Lie. 1995. *Blue Dreams: Korean Americans and the L.A. Riots*. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press.

Alba, Richard and Victor Nee. 2003. *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press.

Gans, Herbert. 1992. "Second Generation Decline: Scenarios for the Economic and Ethnic Futures of the post-1965 American Immigrants." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 15(2) : 173-193.

Gibson, Margaret. 1989. *Accommodation Without Assimilation: Sikh Immigrants in an American High School*. Ithaca, NY : Cornell University Press.

Gordon, Milton. 1964. *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religions, and National Origins*. New York, NY : Oxford University Press.

Hirschman, Charles. 2001. "The Educational Enrollment of Immigrant Youth : A Test of the Segmented-Assimilation Hypothesis." *Demography* 38(3): 317-336.

Kasinitz, Philip, John Mollenkopf, Mary Waters, and Jennifer Holdaway. 2008. *Inheriting the City : The Children of Immigrants Come of Age*. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press.

Kim, Dae Young. 1999. "Beyond Co-ethnic Solidarity: Mexican and Ecuadorean Employment in Korean-owned Businesses in New York City." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22(3) : 581-605.

Kim, Dae Young. 2004. "Leaving the Ethnic Economy: The Rapid Integration of Second-Generation Korean Americans in New York." pp.154-188. in Philip Kasinitz, John Mollenkopf, and Mary Waters (Eds.). *Becoming New Yorkers : Ethnographies of the New Second Generation*. New York, NY : Russell Sage Foundation.

Kim, Dae Young. 2006. "Stepping-Stone to Intergenerational Mobility? : The Springboard, Safety Net, or Mobility Trap Functions of Korean Immigrant Entrepreneurship for the Second Generation." *International Migration Review* 40(4) : 927-962.

Kim, Dae Young and Veena Kulkarni. 2009. "The Role of Father's Occupation on Intergenerational Educational and Occupational Mobility : The Case of Second-Generation Chinese Americans in New York." Forthcoming in *Sociological Forum*.

Kim, Eun-Young. 1993. "Career Choice among Second-Generation Korean Americans : Reflections of a Cultural Model of Success." *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 24(3) : 224-248.

Kim, Illsoo. 1981. *New Urban Immigrants: The Korean Community in New York*. Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press.

____. 1987. "The Koreans : Small business in an Urban Frontier." pp.219-242 in Nancy Foner (Ed.), *New Immigrants in New York*, New York, NY : Columbia University Press.

Light, Ivan and Edna Bonacich. 1988. *Immigrant Entrepreneurs : Koreans in Los Angeles, 1965-1982*. Berkeley, CA : University of California Press.

Louie, Vivian. 2004. *Compelled to Excel : Immigration, Education, and Opportunity among Chinese Americans*. Stanford, CA:Stanford University Press.

Min, Pyong Gap. 1988. *Ethnic Business Enterprise : Korean Small Business in Atlanta*. New York, NY : Center for Migration Studies.

____. 1995. *Asian Americans : Contemporary Trends and Issues*. Newbury Park, CA : Sage Publications.

____. 1996. *Caught in the Middle : Korean Communities in New York and Los Angeles*. Berkeley, CA : University of California Press.

Park, Kyeyoung. 1997. *The Korean American Dream : Immigrants and Small Business in New York City*. Ithaca, NY : Cornell University Press.

Portes, Alejandro and Min Zhou. 1993. "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530 : 7497.

Portes, Alejandro and Ruben Rumbaut. 2001. *Legacies : The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Sakamoto, Arthur and Yue Xie. 2006. "The Socioeconomic Attainments of Asian Americans." pp. 54-77 in Pyong Gap Min (Ed.). *Asian Americans: Contemporary Trends and Issues*, Thousand Oaks, CA:Pine Forge Press.

Waldinger, Roger. 1996. *Still the Promised City? : African-Americans and New Immigrants in Postindustrial New York*. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press.

Warner, W. Llyod and Leo Srole. 1945. *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups*. New Haven, CT : Yale University Press.

Xie, Yue and Kimberly Goyette. 2004. "A Demographic Portrait of Asian Americans." *The American People*. Russell Sage and Population Reference Bureau.

Yang, Philip. 2006. "Future Prospects of Asian Americans." pp.292-316 in Pyong Gap Min (Ed.). *Asian Americans: Contemporary Trends and Issues*, Thousand Oaks, CA : Pine Forge Press.

Yoon, In-Jin. 1997. *On My Own : Korean Businesses and Race Relations in America*. Chicago, IL : University of Chicago Press.

Zhou, Min and Carl Bankston III. 1998. *Growing Up American : How Vietnamese Children Adapt to Life in the United States*. New York : Russell Sage Foundation.

15

The Intergenerational Transition in Occupation and Economic Status among Korean Americans[1)]

In-Jin Yoon
Korea University

This paper aims at examining the social and economic status of the future generation of Korean Americans. Due to a shift in generations being one of the most important changes in the Korean American community, Korean Americans are distinguished into the first, 1.5, and second generations. Social and economic characteristics and status for each generation is compared. In addition, each generation of Korean Americans is compared with the corresponding generation of other Asian American groups. The main source of data came from the 5% Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) of the 2000 U.S. Census. The major research findings are as follows: At present, the 1.5 and second generations are in the 10-30 year age bracket; hence, many of them do not participate fully in the labor force. Once employed, the 1.5 and second generations are more likely than the first generation to work as professionals and administrators in private companies or government than as self-employed workers. They are more likely to work in the mainstream economy than in the Korean ethnic economy. The social and economic status of Korean American 1.5 and second generations are slightly lower than those of their Chinese- and Japanese counterparts, who have a longer history of residence in the United States, but are comparable to those of other more recent Asian Americans such as Asian Indians and Filipinos. However, with their relatively high level of education and English proficiency, the younger generation Korean Americans, are expected to enter the U.S. mainstream society and achieve high social and economic status.