

**EFFECTS OF RELATIONSHIP WITH SOCIALIZATION AGENTS AND
ACCEPTANCE OF MULTICULTURALISM ON PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR OF
MULTICULTURAL YOUTH IN SOUTH KOREA**

By

Goun Choi

THESIS

Submitted to

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER OF DEVELOPMENT POLICY

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The committee in charge:

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ABSTRACT

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Korea, which has been historically an ethnically homogenous country, is encountering demographical change due to the influx of foreign population and international marriage. Multicultural family and youth are one of the vulnerable ethnic minorities in Korea in terms of access to social services and the economy. Korea needs to accept multicultural families as new citizens and redefine national identity and social cohesion for inclusive social development. Prosocial behavior can be an indicator to measure whether multicultural population understands and practices social norms, feels belongingness and responsibility, and would contribute as a member of society. In this regard, this research questions what would trigger prosocial behavior of multicultural youth and run multiple regression with variables of prosocial behavior, socialization agents such as parents, peer-group, and school, and acceptance of multiculturalism in school and residential area using interaction effects. The results of analyses are that positive relationship with socialization agents is related to elicit prosocial behavior of general Korean youth but not multicultural youth. Receptive social climate, however, leads to prosocial behavior of multicultural youth, which implies the

significance of creating an open society to multiculturalism for adaptation of multicultural youth.

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

KCYPS	Korean Children and Youth Panel Survey
NYPI	National Youth Policy Institute
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

South Korea has achieved great economic development since the 1950s, and national solidarity is accounted for one of the key factors to this successful economic growth. Korean development history has shown national solidarity in economic development policy. For example, given the situation that North and South Korea were divided since a cease-fire agreement of the Korean War in 1953, Park Chung-hee, who ruled South Korea from 1963 to 1979, emphasized national power to confront communism of North Korea (Jang, 2010). Also, he implemented the Saemaeul Movement which required solidarity and unity of community in order to modernize agriculture and develop the local economy. Perhaps, the coercive political power of former president Park could have been a major source of creating solidarity among Koreans and making economic development. Despite the authoritative regime of the former president Park, it would be hard to see developed Korea of present-day were it not for the Korean people who voluntarily provided major labor force and contributed to Korean economy and society in every national plan from 50 years ago.

National solidarity is the driving force of economic growth, especially in the early stage of development. It leads citizens to focus on national development rather than the benefits of individual or specific groups (Jang et al., 2012). In order to gain and maintain national solidarity, there should be a network among citizens based upon shared cultures, values, and so on. In the case of South Korea, it was easy to arouse solidarity among citizens when everyone used the same language and lived in the same geographical area sharing the same

ethnicity and nationality. However, as international marriage and influx of foreign labor force have increased since the 1990s, Korean society became not homogenous anymore in terms of ethnicity, race, language, culture, and so on. Up until just about ten years ago, most Korean middle or high school students were learning how Korean people are “white-clad folk” called *baek ui minjok*, which implies that Korea is a single-race nation with pure-blooded descendants. However, no one can find the words, *baek ui minjok*, in a textbook anymore. Globalization breaks the traditional definition of the nation-state that consists not only of homogeneous race and ethnicity but also culture and norms. The advent of multicultural and migrant families in Korea is demographic phenomena as a result of globalization. In this regard, they could trigger to transform the existing idea of the relationship between nationality and ethnicity, which most Koreans align a concept about an ethnic group and nationality in the same extension

1.2 Current Status of Multicultural Family and Youth

Multicultural family is one of the consequential phenomena of the influx of foreign population. The total population of legal aliens who visited Korea has increased since the 1990s from 2,720,000 to 13,360,000 by 2015 (Ministry of Justice, 2015). Foreign population residing in Korea also has increased from 536,627 in 2006 to 1,741, 919 in 2015. The ratio of foreign residents in Korea to a total population of Korea is 3.4% in 2015, and it has been increasing (Ministry of the Interior, 2015). As a result, the youth population who has migrant history is also increasing. Ministry of the Interior reported that there are total 204,204 children of foreign residents in 6 to 18 years old as of 2014, which accounts for 11.9% of whole foreign residents (Ministry of the Interior, 2015).

Multicultural youth will be the main subjects in this research. Even though “migrant youth” is an official term for the youth population with migrant backgrounds, multicultural youth is the most well-known name to classify this specific youth population out of general Korean youth. Migrant youth can be divided into four categories depending on the type of migrant backgrounds; multicultural youth who have one Korean parent and one foreign parent, youth from foreign workers’ families, immigrant youth who entered South Korea during the adolescent period, and young North Korean refugees (Rainbowyouth). In this research, the term multicultural youth will be used interchangeably to refer to all youth affiliated with these four categories.

According to the Ministry of Education, the total number of multicultural youth in elementary-, middle-, and high schools are 67,806 as of 2014, and the number has increased by 21.6% year over year. It accounts for 1.1% of total students, and the number is expected to continue its upward trend (Ministry of Education, 2014). 41.4% of multicultural youth are of Chinese origin followed by Vietnamese, Filipino, Japanese, Cambodian, Mongolian, and Thai, and about 46% of the youth are primarily concentrated in metropolitan areas such as Seoul and Gyeonggi-province (Statistics Korea, 2015).

1.3 Problem Identification

Most multicultural youths have had experience of discrimination in Korea and come to a crisis of setting national identity and citizenship. One multicultural youth out of 5 reported that they had experienced discrimination or bullying in school. They have been discriminated because their physical appearance is different from general Korean students or because their Korean is not fluent (Jun et al., 2010). Korean Institute of Criminology surveyed 800

multicultural youth and reported that only 62.8% of multicultural youth consider themselves as Korean, 32.1% as Korean and foreigner, 3.3% as a foreigner, and 1.9% as none of them (Jeon & Shin, 2012). In case of immigrant youth who have come to South Korea alone during the adolescent period, as they do not have guaranteed social status with civil rights in Korea, they have no access to formal education or health service (Lee, 2014; Um, 2013). Language barrier causes poor academic performance of multicultural youth in school and leads to low self-esteem and high sense of inferiority by comparing themselves with general Korean students. It also affects the school life of multicultural youth. The attendance rate in elementary school of multicultural youth reached 70%; however, as they go on to middle- and high school the attendance rates decreased to 51% and 34.8% respectively (Kim & Kim 2014; Park 2012).

Most of the immigrant youth are likely to be in unstable family environments. For immigrant youth, since they have lived away from parents for a considerable amount of time, they feel a weak attachment and psychological distance from families, which are supposed to support the children in a development period, and go through frequent family discord (Lee, 2014; Kim & Kim, 2014; Jeon & Shin, 2012). Research on suicidal behavior of multicultural youth noted that 78.8% of multicultural youth of the sample answered that their parents had maintained their marriage compared to 89.0% of parents of general Korean students. It implies that multicultural families are more likely to break the family relationship (Kim & Kim, 2014). Also, for a multicultural family formed by marriage between Korean and a foreigner, there are frequent cultural clashes between parents or one parent and the family-in-law (mostly, mother-in-law). The cultural conflict weakens the family connection and stresses out children in the family.

Moreover, most of the youth from foreign workers' families are in poor living conditions (Oh, 2011). National Survey on Status of Multicultural Family reported that 85% of

multicultural families earn less than 2 million won per month, and they account for a significant portion among low-income families, given that the ratio of low-income families with monthly income below 2 million won to total population is only about 18% (Jeon et al., 2013).

Most of problems and discrimination that multicultural youth face do not happen as a consequence of their behavior, but rather incurred by things that had already been decided beyond their control: physical appearance, language, and compulsory migration by parents, for instance. These could put a heavy burden on the youth considering how they are in a developmental stage to establish self-awareness and face those complicated challenges at the same time. Discrimination, identity confusion, and low access to economic resources and social services hinder multicultural youth from adapting into Korean society. Moreover, low acceptance of multiculturalism among Korean people further impedes adaptation of multicultural youth to Korea. Gyeonggi-do Family and Women Research Institute reported that Korean students show a higher preference for North American and European as a friend but low preference on African and Southeast Asian (Jun et al., 2010). The research implies that there are pervasive bias and stereotype among Korean students regarding nationality and race. Thus, there needs to be education about multiculturalism so that multicultural youth will be welcomed into Korean society through support in terms of the receptive environment to multiculturalism regardless of colors of skin.

Multicultural youth are marginalized from Korean society, and as they grow up, there is more probability that they will form subcultures or different norms that go against the mainstream of society. According to a research study on juvenile delinquency in the multicultural family by Jeon and Shin, multicultural youth tend to commit criminal conducts such as vandalism, fighting, robbery more than a general Korean youth (Jeon & Shin, 2012). Even though cultural diversity should be allowed in multicultural society, those separately

formed subcultures and norms could exclude multicultural youth from the labor market and national or local decision-making process. Economic difficulty and lack of communication due to language barrier of multicultural youth cause unequal access to education, which could easily place them in vulnerable social status (Jun et al., 2010). Despite the growing number of multicultural population, Korean people and multicultural family and youth are still divided. This current social phenomenon could lead to more severe social division in economy and politics by ethnicity and race. Discrimination by physical difference would influence the quality of life of the marginalized group, not to mention hinder Korea to achieve inclusive and efficient development to a cohesive society.

1.4 Hypotheses

All things taken together, there are numerous obstacles for multicultural youth to adapting themselves to the mainstream Korean society on top of the developmental tasks, such as the establishment of self-identity. Here adaptation refers to a status of multicultural youth understanding and following social norms and creating a reciprocal relationship with family, peers, and citizens of society while still maintaining their ethnic and cultural heritage. A consequence of adaptation is reciprocal interaction between multicultural youth and Korean in which the society gives an equal opportunity for multicultural youth to display capacity that contributes to development and harmony of the society.

A first environment that multicultural youth face in the process of adaptation into Korean society is their family. The family is a primary environment that they are placed in the process of socialization, and it significantly influences the creation of a personality, lifestyle, and approach to solving the problem (Um, 2013; Giddens, 2009). Moreover, a peer group would be the following agents that take charge of the socialization of an adolescent

accompanied by schools (Giddens, 2009). Socialization during the adolescent period is an important process in the development of self-identity. Depending on what socialization process an individual goes through, not only behavior patterns but also the value system of the individual could be different (Giddens, 2009). Furthermore, in the process of socialization, youth create their network and personal relationships which are supportive resources to survive in society. In this regard, socialization would be a significant factor to determine the behavior of multicultural youth, in terms of how they build up their network where the society mainly consists of a single ethnicity with strong awareness of ethnic homogeneity.

In addition to agents of socialization, the level of acceptance of multiculturalism would be another determinant of behavioral change. Socialization agents are institutional factors that affect behavioral patterns of multicultural youth, and there is a certain involvement from multicultural youth at an individual level with the agents regardless of their will. On the contrary, a climate of acceptance of multiculturalism is an external factor that is pervasive in the local community to the whole society to change the behavior of multicultural youth. It is determined by a perception of non-multicultural people, and the perception would vary by experience and set of value of the non-multicultural individuals. Therefore, there is passive involvement from multicultural youth in forming a perception of multiculturalism and social atmosphere.

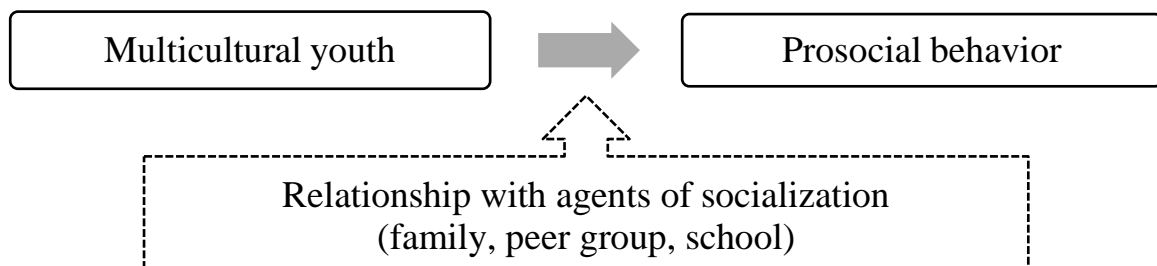
This research is going to look at to what extent the relationships with family, peer group, and school are related to the behavior of multicultural youth, and how acceptance level of multiculturalism is connected to it. The research is going to focus on prosocial behavior, specifically. Prosocial behavior could be one of the indicators to measure whether multicultural youth have followed social norms or not and also whether they had the willingness to contribute to their society. As previously stated in section 1.3, multicultural

youth have weak support from family due to the migrant background, a cultural clash within the family, and poor socioeconomic status, and they are discriminated by peer-group because of different physical appearance. Also, they get left behind in school and isolated from education owing to poverty, language barrier, and lack of communication required getting information. They have little chance to learn social norms in a safe and stable environment as they keep being marginalized from society and feeling unsafe even in their family. In other words, they do not have a network to learn what desire behavior is and socially acceptable norms are while they form self-identity maintaining diverse cultural background. Therefore, multicultural youth would show less prosocial behavior compared to general Korean youth if there is weak support or an insecure relationship with the agents of socialization. So the first hypothesis is:

H1: Distant relationship with socialization agents would elicit less prosocial behavior of multicultural youth.

The following figure illustrates the first hypothesis,

[Figure 1.1] Illustration of Hypothesis 1

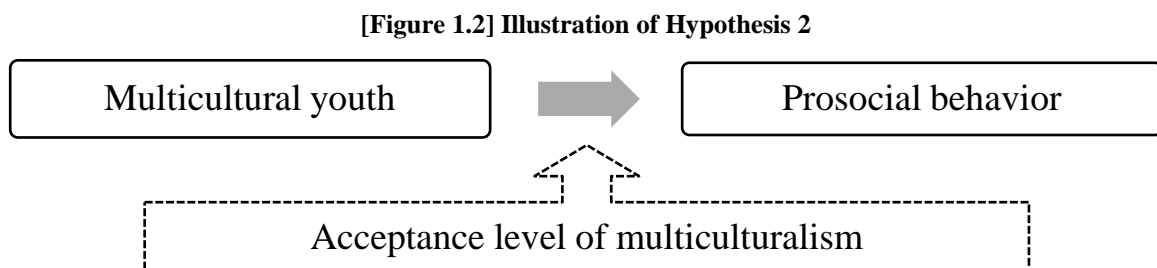


Also, there would be strong social exclusion against multiculturalism in ethnically homogenous society, and this social atmosphere would influence the behavior of multicultural youth. In a society which emphasizes group conscious than individual value, experience in deprivation will more demotivate the marginalized group to attempt to abide by the social norms. Not only because this social climate reduces the chance to adjust norms

with multicultural youth by closing the entrance to Korean society but also multicultural youth would not feel a social responsibility to behave prosocially when they do not feel a sense of belongingness by being marginalized from the mainstream society. So the second hypothesis is:

H2: Low acceptance level of multiculturalism would cause a low prosocial behavior tendency in multicultural youth.

The following figure illustrates the second hypothesis,



Lastly, the research will combine the first two hypotheses to identify to what extent prosocial behavior of multicultural youth is triggered, given there is a certain level of relationship with agents of socialization and inclusive contextual factors exist. It is based upon the premises that the socialization process will encourage multicultural youth to have empathy and a sense of responsibility for others through the network, and the open society to multiculturalism will activate those motives and bring about prosocial behavior. Therefore the last hypothesis is:

H3: There would be more prosocial behavior when multicultural youth have a positive relationship with family, peers, and teachers in a society receptive to multiculturalism.

Until now, most of the researches about multicultural youth have attempted to identify current problems that they face or cause while living in Korea and suggested related policies to support them. Also, studies about prosocial behavior of minority youth have been conducted targeting western society. There have been only a few research on prosocial behavior of general Korean youth, and they have not targeted the ethnic minority. Moreover, those researches have not considered a development stage of youth and social climate surrounding them together to identify factors that affect youth behavior. Furthermore, they have not attempted to connect prosocial behavior with national development and its impact on future society. Given that current youth will play significant roles in running national economy and politics as members of future Korean society, it is crucial to pay attention to the process of growth of youth and help them to contribute to society while they pursue their benefits and well-being simultaneously. Likewise, it is an important issue for Korea in order to sustain social stability, to activate economy through resources utilization in an expanded and inclusive network of society, and to realize efficient democracy as people learn to manage different stances in a heterogeneous society. Next chapter will cover what implications prosocial behavior has about social cohesion and national development and what researches have been conducted so far on multicultural youth and prosocial behavior.

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Social Cohesion, Social Capital, and Prosocial Behavior

According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), only 64 percent of Koreans who answered a questionnaire about social cohesion “think that the city or area where they live is a good place for immigrants from other countries to live.” The social cohesion indicator of tolerance did not quite reach the average of OECD member states (OECD, 2014). Social cohesion in South Korea had been defined by solidarity and unity among citizens within the nation before it was influenced by globalization. The development history that Korean people have gone through together and single-ethnicity oriented educational contents lead Korean people to think national identity and ethnic identity as identical concepts. In other words, many Korean people, even to this day, tend to think that if a person is ethnically Korean, then she or he is Korean and if ethnically not then the person’s nationality is not Korean. The concept of social cohesion has emphasized solidarity and unity among ethnically Korean but does not embrace the new phenomena caused by foreign population and culture flowing into Korean society.

Even though OECD noted that there is little agreement on the definition of social cohesion, it defines a cohesive society as a society that “works towards the well-being of all its members, fights exclusion and marginalization, creates a sense of belonging, promotes trust, and offers its members the opportunity of upward mobility” (OECD, 2012: 51). Borrowing OECD’s definition, social cohesion is required to achieve sustainable and inclusive development regardless of the level of economic development. Social cohesion is

also defined as “a state of affairs concerning both the vertical and horizontal interactions amongst members of society as characterized by a set of attitudes and norms that include trust, a sense of belonging and the willingness to participate and help, as well as their behavioral manifestations” (Chan et al., 2006: 290). These two definitions do not limit a range of social cohesion applications within the boundary of ethnicity or race. Instead, they describe the social cohesion as the process of accumulating shared norms, trust, and networks based on the interaction between members of society. Social exclusion results from accumulated social stigma and isolation toward a specific group, and it causes the group to not only feel less belongingness to society but also have little chance to participate and embody their human rights in the society (Oxoby, 2009). By including the marginalized group, Korean society can realize reconstructed social cohesion and give incentives for individuals to contribute to society and facilitate decision-making process more efficiently and impartially while still acknowledging the diversity of the excluded group. The value system of Korea aligns national identity with ethnic identity together to define whether others are *our* citizens or not. However, the value system is challenged by international human migration and the inflow of foreign culture. Accordingly, there should be an expanded definition of social cohesion, considering problems of social exclusion and benefits of inclusion to reflect the diverse and heterogeneous environment of Korean society.

Social capital is one of the key ingredients to achieving a cohesive society. According to Robert Putnam, social capital is defined as “the features of social organizations, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinating actions” (Putnam, 1993: 167). Social capital brings about cooperative behavior by changing individual behavior and reducing transaction costs. People have a tacit social agreement that others would behave in the same reciprocal manner following socially acceptable norms

when they seek individual benefits. In this context, reciprocity allows the virtue of social capital to run continuously by paying off for reciprocal and trustworthy action of others.

Norms provide a guideline for members of society to decide whether a behavior is acceptable or not (Bartkus & Davis, 2009; Meier, 2006). However, universal norms cannot exist because norms are established and governed by the morality of a particular group (Woolcock, 1998). Moreover, the strength of ties would be different depending on how a person positions him/herself inside or outside of their group. Likewise, the level of trust and density of the network would be different from the personal relationship with a particular group. According to Alberto Alesina, trust level is negatively related to heterogeneity, such as racial fragmentation (Alesina & Ferrara, 2002). In this regards, Koreans are more likely to trust a person of the same ethnicity and be less generous to multiculturalism as shown in the OECD research on social cohesion. Michael Woolcock noted that there would be amoral familism where network extends only within an in-group to which an individual belongs, but there is no linkage to an out-group to which the individual does not belong (Woolcock, 1998). Mafia and extreme factions would be examples of amoral familism. If ethnic identity forms the strong in-group network, while little interaction exists outside of the group, it is likely to show negative bias and discrimination against out-group (Yang, 2009). This is why social inclusion and exclusion issues should be considered when it comes to social cohesion. Considering the range of social cohesion, Putnam classifies social capital with two categories: bridging social capital and bonding social capital. Bridging social capital integrates society regardless of social disparities, whereas bonding social capital intensifies in-group identity and exclusiveness of the group to the out-group (Putnam, 2001). Thus, even if the level of social capital within the society is high, the level of social inclusion of the marginalized group would be low and of social exclusion of out-group would be high if the interaction between the majority and the minority group is minimal. Korean society has

justified solidarity and emphasized homogeneity while disregarding racial, ethnic, and cultural diversities.

While there is a massive influx of foreign population in this homogeneous social context, the multicultural family would be one of the representative marginalized groups in South Korea. As seen in section 1.3, marginalization due to ethnicity places multicultural youth in poor economic status and precarious circumstances at home, school, and in the community. The marginalization also could deprive them of opportunities to participate in economic and political activities as they grow up.

Prosocial behavior is a significant indicator to identify if the members of society feel belongingness to society and follow the social norms in a sense that the social norms is simply defined as “what constitutes a good action” (Meier, 2006: 12). In other words, following social norms appeared as prosocial behavior means that an individual can understand and practice non-linguistic language and tacit agreement embedded in society as a person who is affiliated in the society, not as a stranger. Prosocial behavior forms social network and trust and brings about collective action which leads society to stability. Research showed that youth who behave prosocially form a desirable social network around them and contribute to social stability and group happiness (Song, 2008). It also creates a virtuous cycle over society. According to a research of Aknin et al., experience in prosocial spending is related to higher levels of happiness, and the happiness is more likely to induce prosocial spending (Aknin et al., 2012). Moreover, it is necessary for youth to have prosocial value to society in the process of self-identity development, and prosocial value is an important trait to live as good citizens belonging to a society (Shin et al., 2013).

2.2 Definition of Prosocial Behavior

Prosocial behavior is defined as a voluntary behavior to benefit others than self (Shin et al., 2013). Also, Nancy Eisenberg defined prosocial behavior as a spontaneous behavior that benefits others in a narrow range such as helping others in need, sharing resources, comforting, and cooperating to a broad range, displaying interest to others with responsibility, for instance (Eisenberg, 1983). In this research, the questionnaires of the National Youth Policy Institute (NYPI) for prosocial behavior specifically asked about altruistic tendency from as a friend to a citizen of the world (see Appendix). Definition of altruism is, according to Oxford Dictionaries, “disinterested and selfless concern for the well-being of others” (Oxford). Altruistic behavior implies that people do not always behave for their welfare but also the welfare of others (Batson et al., 2011).

2.3 Motives for Prosocial Behavior

A psychologist named Ervin Staub created three categories of motives for prosocial behavior. Firstly, it is self-benefit (Staub, 1978). Sometimes prosocial behavior accompanies self-sacrifice. However, it is not an action completely against pursuing their interest. Prosocial behavior would bring a person with benefit in the future from a group where the person belongs to (Twenge et al., 2007). Like prosocial behavior, altruism does not entail a complete cost to self, as self-benefits are also generated from doing something good to others as unintended consequences, such as happiness and subsequent pay-off from the recipient of prosocial behavior (Batson, 2011).

Secondly, another motive for prosocial behavior is internalized values, beliefs and norms (Staub, 1978). They generally indicate social climate pervaded among group members, such

as the norm of social responsibility, values about justice and equity, and reciprocity (cited from Christian Cadenhead & Richman, 1996). If norms of responsibility for others, justice, and reciprocity are prevalent in society, people tend to behave more prosocially. It indicates that socialization and social environment could enhance or hinder prosocial behavior (Christian Cadenhead & Richman, 1996). The significance of socialization and environment is also found in Flora Williams' research. He noted that Mexican American children and adolescents tend to behave cooperatively rather than competitively compared to European American, and he infers that their prosocial behavior is caused by the family environment of Mexican American that emphasizes more on what others did to help them (Williams, 1991). This research implies that rational or self-interested responses could not always be priorities in choosing an option. Sometimes, the given environmental context can change the behavior of an individual.

Lastly, empathy triggers prosocial behavior as well. Empathy needs a person to understand and simulate the emotions of other people, and it is aroused from the experience of a close tie with other people and brings about prosocial behavior (Batson, 1991). So as people interact with others and get to know each other, they might indirectly learn new emotions and experiences from others. As they repeat this process, they could share their emotions and feel a particular bond between them. Prosocial behavior is emerged, as a result, in the process of empathizing others and also as a reaction to people in the same bond.

These three motives for prosocial behavior are based on trust, norms, and networks. Brent Simpson and Robb Willer mentioned that communication between members of a group creates norms (Simpson and Willer, 2015). As the members communicate with each other, there would be a certain expectation among group members about what to do, and the tacit agreement would be embedded in the group interaction. Communication and interaction create social protocol within the group, enhance the strength of tie between group members,

and increase trust subsequently. In this context, there would be more prosocial behavior toward the in-group than the out-group since there would be more interactions within an in-group in general. In this regards, prosocial behavior of multicultural youth would be an indicator to measure the level of social inclusion toward multicultural youth and furthermore social cohesiveness by seeing the level of prosocial behavior as a consequence of embodying three motives which are based on trust, network, and responsibility for social norms to follow. It will be a proxy to estimate how much belongingness they feel in Korea and furthermore how they identify themselves while their physical and ethnic background remains different from the majority of Koreans. In order for the estimation, this research will focus on (a) the agents of socialization which affect a person in perceiving a certain internalized value and creating it, and (b) social exclusion which can numb empathy of a person and keep the motive from activating prosocial behavior.

2.4 Prosocial Behavior and Relationship with Socialization Agents

As briefly mentioned in section 1.4, socialization is significant for adolescents to form self-identity, personality, and value system. They create a personal and supportive connection within socialization institutes. Positive experience with the agents of socialization creates a positive perspective toward others and society, and it promotes prosocial behavior in the future (Shin et al., 2013). Moreover, Asha Spivak mentions that supports from parents, peers, and teachers are highly related to drawing motivation for prosocial behavior (Spivak, 2015).

2.4.1 Family

In the present-day society, most of the early stage of socialization occurs in the nuclear family, which consists of a mother, father, and one or two siblings. Even though some of the

youth are raised in single-parent's family or by relatives, family still plays a significant role in the socialization of youth from the neonatal period to post period of adolescence (Giddens, 2009). Even though the influence of the peer-group exceeds the influence of parents and there is more autonomy from parents during adolescence, it seems that parents are still a significant factor that influences the behavior of their child (Carlo et al., 1999). The reason is that parents provide information about what behaviors are socially desirable as a standard in youth coping behavior.

Some researches show consistent results in the relationship between prosocial behavior of parents and youth. The more parents behave prosocially; the more their children tend to behave prosocially as well (Waxler, 1979; Lee & Lee, 2008). As parents have decisive and direct effects on the behavior of youth, the youth observe and copy the behavior of parents (Waxler, 1979; Lee & Lee, 2008). Also, a positive relationship with support from parents gives their child psychological stability, and it leads to desirable behavior, such as caring or helping others (Lee & Lee, 2008). Regarding antisocial behavior and behavior of parents, some researches show that there is more antisocial behavior accompanied with aggression and delinquency as well as depression or self-blame when their parents have conflict in their marriage (Harold & Conger, 1997; Kwon & Lee, 1999). On the contrary, Carlo and his colleagues discovered that warm parenting, such as creating positive energy, responsiveness toward their child, and supportive relationship, encourage empathy and it is positively related to prosocial behavior of youth, including altruistic behavior (Carlo et al., 2010).

2.4.2 Peer-group

In early adolescence, the environment outside of the family, such as peer group, school, significantly influences behavior and attitude formation of youth (Spivak et al., 2015). If a family plays a leading role in socialization during childhood, peer-groups, schools, or local

communities share duties of socialization during adolescence (Giddens, 2009). Even though family is the primary influence on prosocial behavior of youth, relationship with peer-group is also significant in developing personality and forming a behavioral pattern as they want more autonomy from parents and spend more time with their friends (Lee & Lee, 2008). Through peer relationship, youth set up guidelines about expectations for prosocial behavior to each other (Spivak et al., 2015).

The more youth perceive that their friends tend to behave prosocially, the more they are likely to display prosocial behavior since frequent contacts with friends who have prosocial tendency increase the opportunity for learning prosocial behavior (Lee & Lee, 2008). Also, low support from the peer-group causes aggressive or low prosocial behavior (Ha & Edwards, 2004). Even though it is controversial whether the friendship that adolescents establish is desirable or not depending on types, adolescents with supportive friendships still tend to have positive outcomes in grades and extracurricular activities and less involvement in problematic behavior (Berndt, 2002).

2.4.3 School (Teacher)

In school, youth are socialized by following school rules, reacting to the school authorities, and mingling with classmates (Giddens, 2009). Also, youth experience community life inside the school and learn how to coordinate their behavior and values with others. In terms of the effect of school, more prosocial behavior in adolescents is shown with a higher satisfaction level in school life. Moreover, the influence of the instructor was shown significantly in the research of Lee and Lee. The more teachers are supportive of youth, the more the youth show prosocial behavior as they learn socially desirable attitudes, behaviors, and norms through active interaction with their teachers (Lee & Lee, 2008).

In general, three environmental factors affect prosocial behavior of youth; family, peer-group, and school. As seen so far, these three socialization factors trigger prosocial behavior through activating motives for prosocial behavior, such as sharing social norms and forming empathy. However, most of the researches introduced so far have been conducted in western society and targeted general youth or children of between 5 to 12 years old on average. Therefore, this research will target the ethnic minority youth in Korea, specifically multicultural youth as mentioned previously and identify the relationship between their prosocial behavior and these three socialization agents.

2.5 Prosocial Behavior and Social Exclusion

Human is likely to place themselves and others in in-group and out-group by a perceived difference, such as physical appearance and colors of skins (Goffman, 1986). Categorization between in-group and out-group creates a bias toward out-group and causes different reactions depending on the affiliation of others. A society with a higher acceptance level of diversity is more inclusive as there is a less constant process of categorization (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In Korea, foreigners with a different ethnic and cultural background stand out as strangers against the majority of Koreans. Social exclusion against Korean multicultural youth occurs primarily in the process of social categorization by ethnicity. Considering how social exclusion connotes the opposite meaning of social inclusion, low acceptance level of multiculturalism indicates a high level of social exclusiveness. In this research, the acceptance level of multiculturalism is used to measure the degree of social exclusion of Korean youth.

Empirical investigations have shown that social exclusion reduces prosocial behavior. When people do not feel belongingness to others and society, they are likely to behave less

altruistically (Twenge et al., 2007; Shin et al., 2013). In an experiment of Jean Twenge, subjects who were notified that they would end up alone later in life tended to donate less money, come forward less to help further experiments and experimenter, and less cooperating in a mixed-motive game with money as well as points. The researcher commented that social exclusion impairs empathic ability, which is required to create a connection with people. Blocking empathic ability by social exclusion does not lead the excluded people to put themselves in shoes of someone in need and cause to feel a less sense of responsibility for others. The experiment also reported that the subjects who experienced future social exclusion are likely to show aggressive, impulsive, and uncooperative behaviors. Once they have experience of social exclusion, it was hard to induce their cooperative and altruistic behavior because they worried that they might be taken advantage of by being prosocial when there is no social connection (Twenge et al., 2007). A collective group identity raises a sense of “we-ness,” and it enables favorable social exchange, promotes empathy, and brings about prosocial behavior within the group (cited from Penner, Dovidio, Piliavin & Schroeder, 2005). In this context, social exclusion gets rid of opportunities to share norms and values with others, and consequently, the marginalized people do not tend to exhibit prosocial behavior due to the lack of belongingness to a group.

There has been a few research about prosocial behavior and social exclusion targeting Korean ethnic minorities. Most researches conducted in western society likewise are researches with the impact of socialization on prosocial behavior. The reason can be assumed that it is easy to relate social exclusion with antisocial behavior rather than to relate with prosocial behavior due to bias on the marginalized group. Also, unlike the U.S. or Canada, international migration is a recent phenomenon in Korea, so it could be premature to research with the multicultural family. However, it is hard to embrace them into society once they are excluded because they might already have become vulnerable to be isolated again (Twenge et

al., 2007). Furthermore, once you lose trust, it is hard to recover (Helliwell et al., 2014). So there should be more researches regarding prosocial behavior of multicultural family and youth in order to check whether they feel a sense of “we-ness” and share diverse norms and value creating trust in Korea.

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Description of Data and Variables

The data used in this research is the 1st wave of Korean Children and Youth Panel Survey (KCYPS) of NYPI. Samples of the data are first-year students of middle schools in Korea selected by multi-stage cluster sampling. The panel data has been collected annually, and the 1st wave data used in this research was collected in 2010. During the data collection process, sample attrition problem has occurred. Regarding this matter, dropped out samples were not substituted with new samples because initially, NYPI had expected that there would be relatively little attrition. In order to resolve the problem of representativeness of samples due to sample attrition, the data has been revised by setting weight (NYPI, 2015b).

Table 3.1 shows the list of variables used in this research, and the summary statistics of the listed variables are shown in Table 3.2. The response of the question about whether a respondent is a multicultural youth or not is binary with value 0 or 1, and value 1 means the respondent is categorized as multicultural youth. Prosocial behavior is derived from responses, which are measured by the level of likeliness or unlikeliness, of the following four statements; “I am willing to help friends in need,” “I am willing to do volunteer work in community center even on holidays,” “I am willing to donate money to help countries that are economically poor,” and “I am willing to participate in recycling and saving resources to save the earth.” These four questions are calculated into an arithmetic average value. Family, peer-group and school variables are also measured in the same method with prosocial behavior. Refer appendix for statements to measure the relationship with those agents of socialization.

Values of family, peer, and school variables are reversely recoded; 1 for negative to 4 for positive value only if original questions contain a positive statement, and they are calculated to the arithmetic mean values. The set of control variables are gender, father's education, father's employment status, and amount of income.

For acceptance of multiculturalism, the data with this variable is collected from the 2nd wave since it is researched from the 2nd wave. In order to merge the data of the 2nd wave with the 1st wave, firstly values from five questions about acceptance of multiculturalism (See appendix.) are calculated to the arithmetic mean subject to locations of school and residence respectively. So students in the same school and residential area have the same mean value. Then, the cross-sectional weight of the 2nd wave is set in the mean value of the acceptance of multiculturalism.

Table 3.1: Description of Variables

Variables	Description
Multicultural youth (dummy)	Youth of multicultural family (coded to 1, if not 0)
Prosocial behavior	Prosocial tendency of a respondent
Family	Self-report about to what extent parents are interested in a respondent in terms of parental control and warmth
Peer-group	Self-report about whether a respondent has a positive relationship with peer-group or not
School	Self-report about whether a respondent has a positive relationship with teachers or not
Acceptance of multiculturalism	Self-report about to what extent a respondent is able? to accept another person who has a different cultural background
Gender	Gender
Father's education	Education level of the respondent's father
Father's employment status	Employment status of respondent's father (employed or unemployed)
Income	Self-report on annual income (unit: Korean Won)
Location of school	Si(city), gun(county), or gu(district) where school is located
Location of residence	Si(city), gun(county), or gu(district) where residence is located

Table 3.2: Summary Statistics (both multicultural and non-multicultural youths)

Variable	Number of obs.	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Prosocial behavior	4468	2.86	0.62	1	4
Acceptance of multiculturalism (school level)	3555	2.80	0.14	2.20	3.40
Acceptance of multiculturalism (residential level)	3717	2.80	0.20	1.20	4
Support from family	4464	3.19	0.57	1	4
Relationship with peer	4467	3.03	0.44	1	4
Relationship with teacher	4470	2.91	0.70	1	4
Multicultural youth dummy	4462	0.01	0.12	0	1
Gender	4471	1.49	0.50	1	2
Father's education	4162	3.00	1.07	1	5
Father's employment status	4172	0.97	0.17	0	1
Log income (won)	4326	8.35	1.11	4.25	13.82

3.2 Analysis Method and Models

Multiple regression is employed to predict the prosocial behavior of multicultural youth from variables represented as agents of socialization and acceptance level of multiculturalism. The first model displays impacts of being multicultural youth and relationship with agents of socialization on prosocial behavior. Firstly, there is an analysis of the relationship between prosocial behavior of all youth and agents of socialization individually in this model. Then, the interaction effect, which is calculated by multiplication of multicultural youth and socializations variables respectively, is added to identify the marginal effects of multicultural youth. Lastly, all agents of socialization variables are included in an equation and also interaction effects of each socialization agent as for the last stage of analysis. The equations for the analyses mentioned above are:

$$PB_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 M_i + X_i \delta + \varepsilon_i \quad \dots (1)$$

$$PB_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 M_i + \beta_2 F_i + X_i \delta + \varepsilon_i \quad \dots (2)$$

$$PB_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 M_i + \beta_2 F_i + \beta_3 (M * F)_i + X_i \delta + \varepsilon_i \quad \dots (3)$$

$$PB_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 M_i + \beta_2 P_i + X_i \delta + \varepsilon_i \quad \dots (4)$$

$$PB_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 M_i + \beta_2 P_i + \beta_3 (M * P)_i + X_i \delta + \varepsilon_i \quad \dots (5)$$

$$PB_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 M_i + \beta_2 T_i + X_i \delta + \varepsilon_i \quad \dots (6)$$

$$PB_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 M_i + \beta_2 T_i + \beta_3 (M * T)_i + X_i \delta + \varepsilon_i \quad \dots (7)$$

$$PB_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 M_i + \beta_2 F_i + \beta_3 P_i + \beta_4 T_i + X_i \delta + \varepsilon_i \quad \dots (8)$$

$$PB_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 M_i + \beta_2 F_i + \beta_3 P_i + \beta_4 T_i + \beta_5 (M * F)_i + \beta_6 (M * P)_i + \beta_7 (M * T)_i + X_i \delta + \varepsilon_i \quad \dots (9)$$

where,

PB_i is prosocial behavior of youth

M_i is dummy variable for multicultural youth

F_i is family support

P_i is a peer relationship

T_i is a relationship with the teacher

Vector X_i has all demographic information including gender, father's education and employment status, and log income

ε_i is the error term in the equation

The second model analyzes the impact of acceptance of multiculturalism in the level of school and residence level respectively on the prosocial behavior of multicultural youth. The second model is divided into two environments: school and residence. It examines the influence of acceptance climate of multiculturalism in schools and residential areas on prosocial behavior of multicultural youth. Also, the interaction effect of multicultural youth and acceptance of multiculturalism is added as the first model in order to identify the marginal effect of multicultural youth. Equations for the second model are:

$$PB_{is} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 M_{is} + \beta_2 AM_{is} + X_{is} \delta + \varepsilon_{is} \quad \dots (10)$$

$$PB_{is} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 M_{is} + \beta_2 AM_{is} + \beta_3 (M * AM)_{is} + X_{is} \delta + \varepsilon_{is} \quad \dots (11)$$

$$PB_{ir} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 M_{ir} + \beta_2 AM_{ir} + X_{ir} \delta + \varepsilon_{ir} \quad \dots (12)$$

$$PB_{ir} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 M_{ir} + \beta_2 AM_{ir} + \beta_3 (M * AM)_{ir} + X_{ir} \delta + \varepsilon_{ir} \quad \dots (13)$$

where,

i_s is school location of individual i

i_r is residence location of individual i

AM_{i_s/i_r} is acceptance of multiculturalism

RESULTS & DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Results

4.1.1 Relationship with Socialization Agents and Prosocial Behavior

Table 4.1 shows multiple regression results of the effects of family support and peer relationship on prosocial behavior following equations (1) to (5). As shown in column (1), multicultural youth is likely to behave less prosocially controlling gender, father's education, employment status, and household income. Furthermore, variables of family support and peer relationship are added respectively to the equation (1). In column (2), as parents show more parental concern with the life of their child and warm linguistic or non-linguistic expressions, adolescents tend to display more prosocial behavior. However, as seen in column (3) in which interaction effect is added, there is no significant evidence that strong support from parents is related to prosocial behavior of multicultural youth, even though it has positive correlation coefficient value. Similar results were found in the influence of peer relationship on prosocial behavior. Stable and supportive peer relationship in school promotes prosocial behavior of all youth. However, like the case of parental support, there is not enough evidence that positive peer relationship elicits prosocial behavior from multicultural youth.

Following analyses with family and peer-group variables, Table 4.2 displays the effects of a relationship with school teachers on prosocial behavior. The effect has also shown similar results with the cases of family and peers. The more adolescents have a positive relationship with their teacher, the more they tend to show prosocial behavior. However, the positive relationship does not influence prosocial behavior of multicultural youth exclusively.

Table 4.1: Effects of support from family and peer relationship on prosocial behavior

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Multicultural youth dummy	-0.26*** (0.09)	-0.25*** (0.08)	-0.73* (0.40)	-0.17** (0.08)	-0.38 (0.41)
Support from family		0.42*** (0.02)	0.42*** (0.02)		
Multicultural youth * family			0.16 (0.13)		
Peer relationship				0.59*** (0.02)	0.59*** (0.02)
Multicultural youth * peer					0.07 (0.14)
Gender	0.10*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)
Father's education					
High School	0.09 (0.06)	0.03 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)	0.04 (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)
2-year College Degree	0.11* (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)
4-year College Degree	0.19*** (0.06)	0.09* (0.05)	0.09 (0.05)	0.10* (0.06)	0.10* (0.06)
Masters/Doctoral	0.22*** (0.07)	0.08 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.10 (0.07)	0.10 (0.07)
Father's employment status	0.03 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.06)
Log income (won)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
Constant	2.32*** (0.11)	1.26*** (0.11)	1.28*** (0.11)	0.84*** (0.11)	0.85*** (0.12)
Observations	4024	4020	4020	4021	4021
Adjusted R-squared	0.0221	0.1676	0.1677	0.1951	0.1949

Robust Standard errors in parentheses

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Even when all socialization agents are added in one regression model as seen in column (9), the results are the consistent; there is little evidence that prosocial behavior of multicultural youth will be encouraged by support from parents, and good relationship with peers and teachers, though these agents do elicit prosocial behavior from whole youth in the survey.

In summary, it is identified that relationship with the agents of socialization is effective for adolescents, in general, to behave prosocially, whereas the agents are not effective for multicultural youth. The results of this analysis are consistent with researches of Shin and Spivak in that encouragement from parents, peers, and teachers as well as positive experiences in socialization institutes promoted motivation for prosocial behavior (Shin et al., 2013; Spivak, 2015). Specifically, the results also underpin the analysis of Lee and Lee in that emotionally supportive parents induce adolescents to behave prosocially (Lee & Lee, 2008). Moreover, the effect of a positive relationship with peers displays similar results with the analyses of Ha & Edward (Ha & Edwards, 2004). Lastly, it is consistent with the research of Lee and Lee again in that supportive teachers draw prosocial behavior from adolescents as they learn desirable attitudes and norms from their instructors (Lee & Lee, 2008). However, it is unfortunately not verified whether those relationships with socialization agents are particularly influential on prosocial behavior of multicultural youth.

4.1.2 Acceptance of Multiculturalism and Prosocial Behavior

Results of analyses of how acceptance of multiculturalism level in school and residential area affects the prosocial behavior of adolescents in general and multicultural youth are displayed in Table 4.3. The results are divided into two parts: school-level analyses, which are in column (10) and (11), and residential level analyses in (12) and (13). Here, multicultural youth show less prosocial behavior in general.

Table 4.2: Effects of socialization (school, teachers, and all) on prosocial behavior

	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Multicultural youth dummy	-0.23*** (0.08)	-0.45 (0.33)	-0.18** (0.07)	-0.42 (0.45)
Support from family			0.21*** (0.02)	0.21*** (0.02)
Multicultural youth * family				0.07 (0.16)
Peer relationship			0.35*** (0.02)	0.35*** (0.02)
Multicultural youth * peer				-0.03 (0.21)
Relationship with teachers	0.35*** (0.01)	0.35*** (0.01)	0.21*** (0.02)	0.21*** (0.02)
Multicultural youth * teachers		0.08 (0.11)		0.05 (0.12)
Gender	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.05*** (0.02)	0.05*** (0.02)
Father's education				
High School	0.09* (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)	0.03 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)
2-year College Degree	0.09 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.01 (0.05)	0.01 (0.06)
4-year College Degree	0.17*** (0.06)	0.17*** (0.06)	0.07 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)
Masters/Doctoral	0.19*** (0.07)	0.19*** (0.07)	0.06 (0.06)	0.06 (0.06)
Father's employment status	0.02 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.05)
Log income (won)	0.01* (0.01)	0.01* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Constant	1.43*** (0.11)	1.44*** (0.11)	0.39*** (0.11)	0.40*** (0.11)
Observations	4024	4024	4017	4017
Adjusted R-squared	0.1799	0.1798	0.2894	0.2890

Robust Standard errors in parentheses

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

High level of acceptance of multiculturalism in school level is positively related to prosocial behavior of general youth. Also, the higher the acceptance level of multiculturalism is in school, the higher multicultural youth show prosocial behavior. This is shown similarly in the residential level as well, even though it has little evidence that receptive attitude to multiculturalism elicits prosocial behavior of adolescents in general. A higher level of acceptance of multiculturalism is likely to lead to prosocial behavior of multicultural youth. Those results in columns (10) to (13) support previous researches in which social exclusion tends to induce less prosocial behavior (Twenge et al., 2007; Shin et al., 2013).

Next part shows the results of additional analyses in order to check if there is any change in coefficient values or statistical significance when the two first and second models are combined. Since the interaction effects of multicultural youth and each socialization agents did not show any significance in the first part, they are not included in the regression model this time. The analyses results are in Table 4.4.

In the mixed model, the coefficient on prosocial behavior of multicultural youth is smaller than the previous two analyses. Also, influences of the relationship with socialization agents are generally positively related to prosocial behavior of youth. When controlling the socialization effects and demographic information, there is no significant evidence that the acceptance of multiculturalism in both school and residential level brings about prosocial behavior of the general youth, including multicultural youth. However, when interaction effects are added, all two models seem to have statistically significant evidence that the more adolescents are receptive to multiculturalism, the more multicultural youth tend to behave prosocially controlling relationships with socialization agents. These results reinforce the result of previous analyses on acceptance of multiculturalism and prosocial behavior.

Table 4.3: Effects of acceptance of multiculturalism on prosocial behavior

	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Multicultural youth dummy	-0.24*** (0.10)	-0.27*** (0.09)	-0.25*** (0.10)	-0.26*** (0.09)
Acceptance of multiculturalism (school level)	0.29*** (0.07)	0.26*** (0.08)		
Multi- youth * acceptance (school)		1.54*** (0.50)		
Acceptance of multiculturalism (residential level)			0.06 (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)
Multi- youth * acceptance (residential)				0.91** (0.36)
Gender	0.07*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)
Father's education				
High School	0.08 (0.07)	0.08 (0.07)	0.09 (0.07)	0.09 (0.07)
2-year College Degree	0.09 (0.07)	0.09 (0.07)	0.11 (0.07)	0.11 (0.07)
4-year College Degree	0.18*** (0.07)	0.18*** (0.07)	0.19*** (0.07)	0.19*** (0.07)
Masters/Doctoral	0.24*** (0.08)	0.24*** (0.08)	0.24*** (0.08)	0.25*** (0.08)
Father's employment status	0.03 (0.07)	0.04 (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)
Log income (won)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)
Constant	2.27*** (0.13)	2.26*** (0.13)	2.31*** (0.13)	2.31*** (0.13)
Observations	3147	3147	3300	3300
Adjusted R-squared	0.0264	0.0285	0.0212	0.0226

Robust Standard errors in parentheses

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 4.4: Effects of socialization and acceptance on prosocial behavior

	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
Multicultural youth dummy	-0.17** (0.08)	-0.19** (0.08)	-0.17** (0.08)	-0.17** (0.08)
Support from family	0.18*** (0.02)	0.18*** (0.02)	0.19*** (0.02)	0.19*** (0.02)
Relationship with peer	0.34*** (0.03)	0.34*** (0.03)	0.34*** (0.03)	0.34*** (0.03)
Relationship with teacher	0.22*** (0.02)	0.22*** (0.02)	0.22*** (0.02)	0.22*** (0.02)
Acceptance of multiculturalism (school level)	0.11 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)		
Multi- youth * acceptance (school)		1.19** (0.47)		
Acceptance of multiculturalism (residential level)			-0.02 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.05)
Multi- youth * acceptance (residential)				0.68** (0.28)
Gender	0.05*** (0.02)	0.05*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)
Father's education				
High School	0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)
2-year College Degree	0.04 (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)
4-year College Degree	0.11* (0.06)	0.11* (0.06)	0.11* (0.06)	0.11* (0.06)
Masters/Doctoral	0.13* (0.07)	0.13* (0.07)	0.12* (0.07)	0.12* (0.07)
Father's employment status	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)
Log income (won)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Constant	0.37*** (0.13)	0.37*** (0.13)	0.38*** (0.12)	0.38*** (0.12)
Observations	3141	3141	3294	3294
Adjusted R-squared	0.2702	0.2715	0.2738	0.2746

Robust Standard errors in parentheses

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

4.2 Discussions

In conclusion, the relationship with socialization agents is not a determinant factor of prosocial behavior of multicultural youth, but a receptive climate in school and residence is. The reason the former is not shown significance possibly has to do with the fact that the sample size of multicultural youth is too small to represent and generalize the behavior pattern of multicultural youth. The absolute number of multicultural youth who are engaged in the socialization institute appropriately could be too small and not reflect the behavior of youth who are outside of school since the samples are collected through schools. It could be a plausible surmise given that most multicultural youths are dropping out of school due to the language barrier and consequently marginalized from Korean mainstream society. Also, migrant youth especially could not have a conventional form of parents or family, which consists of father and mother with first marriage. Therefore it could be hard for some multicultural youth to give specific information by answering questions with statements about their family situations.

High level of acceptance of multiculturalism could be interpreted in an expanded range of empathy from family to society as cosmopolitan and higher opportunity of the general youth to internalize and process diverse social norms and culture. As general youth have diverse and broad perspectives for society, they can communicate more with others with different cultural backgrounds and build trust with one another. The range of prosocial behavior of all youth becomes broader, and it influences multicultural youth or within general youth and induces them to copy the behavior. Also, the receptive social atmosphere could make migrant youth feel responsibility and want to contribute as a member of the society, as they feel little risk of being taken advantage of.

CONCLUSION

In a homogeneous society, it is hard for people with the identical ethnic background to accept new external culture. Korean society entered the stage in which definition of social solidarity and cohesion should be expansive considering cultural and demographical changes in Korean society by globalization. Many multicultural youths, representative groups of social demographical change of Korea, are marginalized due to different physical appearance and cultural background. Consequently, the marginalization causes not only limited access to formal education and labor market but also low participation in politics where they can assert their rights. Moreover, mixed culture and migrant history bring about frequent conflicts in family, school, and community. Multicultural youth who have grown up in precarious environments tend to show low self-esteem and be involved in delinquent conduct, such as vandalism. Korea cannot neglect the marginalization of multicultural family and youth if it wants to achieve effective and inclusive social development as well as improve the quality of life of the ethnic minority in Korea.

Since so many norms and cultures are embedded in society due to globalization, if there are strong ties within a group while lacking interaction between groups, there can be factions and the privileged ruling class. In this regard, social inclusion is important for a cohesive society. As some people are marginalized from society, they could feel less responsibility and little sense of belongingness in society. Also, they would not want to contribute or aim public interest. In this context, prosocial behavior is an important signal to check whether people feel a sense of belongingness to society and understand and follow social norms.

Motives for prosocial behavior are self-benefits, internalized value, and empathy. This research sets hypotheses that positive relationship with socialization agents, such as family, peers, and teachers, would stimulate those motives and lead to prosocial behavior, and if the social environment is receptive to multiculturalism, then multicultural youth would display more prosocial behavior. The results of analyses showed that positive relationship with socialization agents brings about prosocial behavior of all youth, but not exclusively of multicultural youth. However, receptive social climate was influential in eliciting prosocial behavior of multicultural youth as well as all youth in both school and residential levels.

Environmental factors are more likely to be influential than a personal relationship with socialization agents in bringing about prosocial behavior of multicultural youth. These results imply that adaptation of multicultural family- and youth-related policy should also focus on creating a positive social environment toward multicultural family and youth, accompanied by legal support for their quality of life in terms of equal opportunities in employment and education, participating in politics, or organizing the community for their fundamental rights as a human. In order to foster a positive perception of multiculturalism, there should be an education for Koreans to cultivate tolerance and internalize social and cultural changes of Korean society. The blueprint of policy for multicultural population should have bilateral nature; in other words, there should be mutual efforts from both Korean and multicultural family to understand and embrace each other as neighbors for a cohesive society.

Moreover, as seen in Section 1.2, there are many categories to classify multicultural youth. However, sometimes this classification keeps multicultural youth from accessing proper service for adaptation because some of the youth do not belong to any category due to various migrant routes and family background (Kim, 2012). Therefore there should be non-government organizations at the local level for multicultural youth to receive support in education and employment. Moreover, this grass-roots approach will increase the opportunity

for Koreans to be exposed to multiculturalism as well as be able to operate flexible social services for multicultural youth.

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APPENDIX

KCYPS Questions

Below table contains lists of variables, description, and questions used to measure the variables, and values of variables. They are not all the variables used in KCYPS but used only in this research. The codebook provided by NYPI is in Korean, and it is translated in English. Also, values of variables are recoded values from the originals.

Name of variable	Description	Questions/Statements	Value of variables
Multicultural youth (dummy)	Youth of multicultural family	(Asked parents of the students, survey subjects) Is your child (subject student) in the multicultural family?	0 No 1 Yes . Missing / Unanswered
Prosocial behavior	Prosocial tendency of a respondent	(1) I am willing to help friends in need. (2) I am willing to do volunteer work in the community center even on holidays. (3) I am willing to donate money to help countries that are economically poor. (4) I am willing to participate in recycling and saving resources to save the earth.	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree . Missing / Unanswered

Family	Self-report about to what extent parents are interested in respondent in terms of parental control and warmth.	<u>Parental Control</u> (1) Parents know where I go after school. (2) Parents know how I spend my time. (3) Parents know when I would come back in case I go out. <u>Parental warmth</u> (1) Parents respect my opinion. (2) Parents express their emotion that they love me. (3) Parents encourage me at hard times. (4) Parents give compliments frequently.	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree . Missing / Unanswered
Peer-group	Self-report about whether a respondent has a positive relationship with peer-group or not.	(1) I get along well with friends in general. (2) I apologize to friends first when I fight with them. (3) I lend my textbook or class materials to friends if they need. (4) I interrupt things that friends do. (5) Friends follow me well in activities.	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree . Missing / Unanswered (Recoded except (4))
School	Self-report about whether a respondent has a positive relationship with teachers or not.	(1) I greet teachers gladly. (2) I feel comfortable to talk with teachers. (3) I am happy to meet teachers outside of school. (4) Teachers are kind to me. (5) I wish I could have the current homeroom teacher next year again.	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree . Missing / Unanswered
Acceptance of multiculturalism	Self-report to what extent a respondent would be willing to accept other people who have a different cultural background.	(1) I can accept a person who has a different cultural background as a neighbor. (2) I can accept a youth who has a different cultural background as a classmate. (3) I can be the best friend with a youth who has a different cultural background. (4) I would date someone who has a different cultural background. (5) I would marry someone who has a different cultural background.	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree . Missing / Unanswered

Gender	Gender	What is your gender?	1 Male 2 Female
Father's education	Education level of a respondent's father	(Asked parents of the students, survey subjects) Please select your education attainment level.	1 Less than middle school 2 High school 3 2-year college degree 4 4-year college degree 5 Master/Doctoral . Missing/Unanswered
Father's employment status	Employment status of the father of respondent (Employed or unemployed)	(Asked parents of the students, survey subjects) Please select your employment status.	1 Working 2 Not working . Missing/Unanswered
Income	Self-reported annual income (unit: Korean Won)	(Asked parents of the students, survey subjects) What is the annual household income of the student, subject? Please write the exact amount of income (won).	. Missing/Unanswered
Location of school	Si(city), gun(county), or gu(district) where school is located	(Researchers enter the code of location)	
Location of residence	Si(city), gun(county), or gu(district) where residence is located	(Asked parents of the students, survey subjects) What is the location that the student is currently living in?	