Collectivism and Individualism as Bicultural Values: South Korean Undergraduates' Adjustment to College

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This study examined cultural values as resources for South Korean students' adjustment to college. Both collectivistic and individualistic values were hypothesized to be important for South Korean students for continued harmonious relationships with their family, as well as adjustment to the new college environment. Survey data from 173 male and 88 female students included measures of cultural values (collectivism and individualism), academic and social college adjustment, and self-esteem (as an indicator of satisfaction with ones' values choices). Collectivistic values were positively associated with academic adjustment and self-esteem for both men and women, and with social adjustment for women, but not men. Individualism was positively correlated with academic adjustment and self-esteem

for men, but not women. Multiple regression analyses suggested the bicultural values hypothesis was not supported for women, and supported for men with regard to positive self-esteem. Adopting a mixture of individualistic and collectivistic values is discussed as part of a larger process of acquiring bicultural competence that may be necessary for success in increasingly Western-oriented Korean universities.

The dimension of individualism–collectivism is one of the most salient differences between Western and non-Western cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis, 1994). For example, Hofstede (2001) reported that South Korea ranked 43rd in individualism, whereas the U.S. was the most individualistic of the 50 countries and 3 regions examined. Individualistic cultural values emphasize self-reliance, autonomy, competition, personal control, and individual goals. Behavior is governed primarily by personal calculations of gain and loss. In contrast, collectivistic cultural values emphasize filial devotion, harmony, sociability, and a willingness to put aside personal needs for the good of one's social group. The self is considered to be an aspect of a shared group identity. Behavior is governed primarily by a sense of social norms and obligations (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). Neither individualistic nor collectivistic values should be considered inherently superior, but rather each is the best functional adaptation to a given set of cultural circumstances (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). Triandis and his colleagues observed that collectivistic values tend to develop in cultures with resource scarcity, large families, and an economy based on types of agriculture that require cooperation; whereas individualistic values tend to develop in affluent cultures with high social and geographic mobility, cultural complexity, urban population centers, exposure to modern mass media, and economies structured to favor individual farmers, artisans, and wage laborers (Triandis et al., 1993).

In South Korea, perhaps due to its relative ethnic homogeneity, a distinct collectivism has evolved, distinguished from the collectivism in other Asian countries (Kashima et al., 1995; Rhee, Uleman, & Lee, 1996). Behavior is constrained by implicit shared norms in South Korea. The importance of emotional relatedness can be found in the emphasis on *cheong* (emotional connection) and *woori* (sense of "we") in interpersonal relationships. Koreans tend to strongly identify with an in-group (Na & Min, 1998) and develop *woori* toward this group, as well as a sense of out-groups as "others" who are clearly distinguished. Strong emotional bonds and relatedness through networks of extended family relationships increase in-group identification.

Although by tradition the culture of South Korea has been quite collectivistic, and many citizens hold quite fast to these values, some segments of society have recently experienced strong pressures to adopt more individualistic cultural values (Y.-S. Park & Kim, 2006). In spite of the changes of values in Korean society, few empirical studies have explored the collectivism and individualism of Korean. G. Han and Shin (1999) surveyed adults working at large companies across South Korea and reported that 51% could be classified as having individualistic cultural values. Observers note that beginning more than two decades ago, Korean society has become increasingly Westernized and individualized in the economic, social, and political spheres, with increasing emphasis on individual freedom and rights (G. Han & Shin, 1999). The importance of extended family or clan has decreased. Western operational styles have been adopted in education and business. Affluence and social and geographic mobility has increased. The culture has been more complex and urbanized. Exposure to Western mass media has increased, and more jobs are individual rather than cooperative. Especially for young adults in South Korea today, there is a heightened tension between newly emerging values of individual autonomy, and the traditional values of collectivistic group obligations,

hierarchy, and devotion to one's elders which remain very strong in the culture. Research points to some of the demographic fracture lines of these cultural tensions in South Korea. Surveys report that individualistic cultural values are associated with younger age, college education, living in the Seoul metropolitan area, and working for a large company, whereas collectivistic values are more likely to be held by older Koreans, those who had finished only a high school education, and those living in rural areas or cities outside of Seoul (Ahn, 1999; G. Han & Shin, 1999).

These studies suggest that tensions in collectivistic versus individualistic cultural values may be especially strong for college students. Some of the best economic opportunities for South Korean college graduates are in multinational corporations, which bring a strong influence of Western corporate culture. In addition, exposure to Western media and commercial advertising throughout South Korean culture exerts an especially strong influence on young adults, at whom much of the advertising is targeted. Because of the requirements in many college majors to study Western texts, South Korean college students develop English language proficiency and have a greater exposure to Western culture than their non-college peers. College students tend to endorse more individualistic values compared to either younger students in high school, or peers in a similar age bracket who enter the workforce without attending college (Cho & Kim, 2001).

Because the contemporary Korean university system has adopted many U.S. features, the transition to college involves a type of major cultural adaptation for many Korean students, especially those with strong collectivistic beliefs and little identification with individualistic values. At the same time, collectivistic values still remain important for students in order to preserve harmony within their family and within peer groups. Therefore, this study was based on the premise that most

South Korean college students are faced with challenges that require bicultural competence, not between two sharply different international or racial/ethnic cultures, but nevertheless between two cultural environments within South Korea that place competing demands on students and may create considerable stress in their lives. The particular form that this bicultural competence takes for South Korean students is that they must adopt significant individualistic values to be successful in an increasingly Western-oriented university culture.

Collectivistic values are required to maintain good relationships with the students' family and primary in-group identification, whereas individualistic values and behavioral competences may be required for success in a college environment that is becoming so closely aligned with the North American model. In what has proven to be a very influential review, LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993) described bicultural competence as the ability to develop and maintain competence in two cultures. They considered knowledge of cultural beliefs and values as a distinct dimension of bicultural competence along with positive attitudes toward both cultures, confidence in one's continued well-being, communication ability, mastery of culturally appropriate roles and behaviors, and a well-developed social support system in both cultural groups. In the study of bicultural competence of college students in Hawaii, Yamada and Singelis (1999) defined the living experience in both collectivistic and individualistic culture as one of the indicators of bicultural competence. LaFromboise et al.'s review described the extensive benefits of bicultural competence for healthy adjustment and effective functioning in both cultures. In a recent study (David, Okazaki, & Saw, 2009), bicultural competence was positively associated with life satisfaction and negatively associated with depression in a mixed U.S. sample of Asian American, African American, Latino/a, multiracial, and international undergraduate students. In a study of Asian American, African American and Latino/a students on a

predominantly White U.S. university, bicultural competence served as a buffer that appeared to mitigate the impact of minority stress on depressive symptoms (Wei et al., 2010). However, LaFromboise et al. note that developing bicultural competence itself comes at the cost of considerable stress. Most of the studies regarding bicultural competence focused on the bicultural individuals including ethnic and cultural minorities, multiracial people, and immigrants (e.g., David et al., 2009). However, LaFromboise et al. suggested that bicultural competence is also needed for the individuals from the majority group who are exposed to other cultures.

A growing body of research suggests that individualistic and collectivistic values can coexist within the same individual, just as an entire society can manifest a unique blend of these beliefs (Oyserman, Kemmelmeier, & Coon, 2002; Singelis, 1994; Watson, Sherbak, & Morris, 1998). Individuals can be remarkably skilled at adopting different sets of cultural values that allow them to function in different circumstances. However, very few studies have examined the combination of values best suited to the success of Korean college students. A study that sampled high school students, college students, and adults from South Korea reported that collectivistic values were positively related to trust toward professionals in seeking professional help while individualistic values were negatively associated with stigma tolerance related to mental health (D.-H. Lee & Yoo, 2000). In research with Korean American students, pride in one's heritage ethnicity was a protective factor that moderated the impact of discrimination on depressive symptoms and social connection, but not on self-esteem (R. M. Lee, 2005). Another study of Korean American students found that their college adjustment was related to collectivistic values, but not individualistic ones — a finding attributed to the sense of "self-congruence" provided by collectivistic values (K.-H. Choi, 2002). However, the generalizability of research with Korean American

students for college students in South Korea is uncertain. In contrast to the U.S. research, at least one study suggests that collectivistic values are positively related to life satisfaction for people in China and Taiwan, but not for people in South Korea (Oishi, 2000).

Research also suggests sex differences in collectivistic and individualistic values. Women are reported to be higher in collectivism and lower in individualism than men across different cultures (e.g., Fischer & Manstead, 2000; Mortenson, 2002). It is because the traditional feminine gender stereotype emphasizes interdependence and harmonious relationships, whereas the male gender stereotype is associated with a degree of independence and autonomy even in Asian cultures (Kashima et al., 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). Furthermore, studies suggest that cultural values are related to the adjustment. Specifically, the quality of interpersonal relationships — a relatively collectivistic construct, predicts the positive and negative affect of women, but not for men (Reid, 2004). In addition, the quality of interpersonal relationships has been found to predict women's self-esteem, whereas personal achievement predicts men's self-esteem (Josephs, Markus, & Tafarodi, 1992).

College adjustment is a multidimensional construct (Baker, McNeil, Siryk, 1985; Baker & Siryk, 1984; Gerdes & Mallinckrodt, 1994). The dimension of *academic adjustment* involves how well a student deals with the academic demands of college (e.g., writing papers, taking tests, and time management). The dimension of *social adjustment* involves coping with the interpersonal challenges (e.g., making friends, joining clubs, and developing adult social skills). For the current study, we believed it was important to include self-esteem as a third indicator of college student adjustment in South Korea, because it is more likely than either academic or social adjustment to capture the sense of inner satisfaction and harmony with one's own cultural "self-congruence."

Although there is some dispute about the nature of self-esteem in collectivistic culture, research suggests that self-esteem is strongly related to the life satisfaction of South Koreans (e.g., Sheldon, Elliot, Kim, & Kasser, 2001). We reasoned that low self-esteem could serve as one of the best indicators for inner feelings of tension and dissatisfaction in students who have not yet been able to achieve a self-congruent balance between individualistic and collectivistic values. Thus, for the purpose of this study, we defined college student adjustment as consisting of three elements: (a) academic adjustment, (b) social adjustment, and (c) self-esteem (as an indicator of self-congruent balance). We hypothesized that belief in individualistic and collectivistic cultural values would each have a significant independent positive association with all three forms of college adjustment. Considering the sex difference in cultural values, we examined sex differences and tested our hypotheses separately for men and women.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Survey data were collected from 264 undergraduate students who took psychology courses at a large university in Seoul, Korea. The primary researcher visited classrooms and described the purpose and procedure of study. Students were offered partial course credit for their participation. Those who volunteered completed the survey in the classroom. The survey packet did not request any form of identifying information. Following procedures recommended by Tabachnick and Fidell (2007), data from three students were designated as multivariate outliers (Mahalanobis distance, $p < .001$), and thus were deleted. Of the remaining 261 students, 173 (66%) were men and 88 (34%) were women. Their mean age was 22.42 years ($SD = 2.32$, range 19–27). Regarding class status, 88 (34%) were sophomores, 84 (32%) were juniors, and 89 (34%) were seniors. Of the 260 students who indicated

the region of their home, 139 (53%) lived in Seoul before attending this college, 35 (13%) were from Kyung-gi (an urban area near Seoul), and 86 (33%) were from areas of South Korea outside the Seoul metropolitan area, including some rural areas.

Instruments

The Individualism and Collectivism Scale — Korean version

The Individualism and Collectivism Scale — Korean version (INDCOL-K) (K. Kim & Kim, 1997) is based on the INDCOL scale (Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995). The original INDCOL scale contains 32 items that assess dimensions of collectivism and individualism in conjunction with the dimension of equality-hierarchy, to yield the following four subscales: Horizontal Individualism (HI), Vertical Individualism (VI), Horizontal Collectivism (HC), and Vertical Collectivism (VC). The INDCOL-K, translated by K. Kim and Kim (1997), also consists of 32 items, with eight items per subscale. The coefficient alphas of the four subscales were reported as .77, .76, .68, and .67 respectively in a sample of college students (D.-H. Lee & Yoo, 2000). In the current study, following the example of K.-H. Choi (2002), the Vertical and Horizontal scales were combined to produce a single measure of Individualism and Collectivism. Singelis et al. (1995) suggested that HC and VC can be merged when researchers are not interested in the separate constructs because they were statistically associated ($r = .39$, $p < .001$). Adopting their suggestion, we collapsed HC and VC, which were positively correlated in this study ($r = .52$, $p < .001$), to create a Collectivism subscale. We also merged HI and VI, because they were statistically associated ($r = .29$, $p < .001$), to create a single Individualism construct. Participants were asked to respond using a 9-point partially anchored response scale (1 = never or definitely no, 5 = neutral, 9 = always or definitely yes). Evidence of validity is provided by correlations in expected directions of INDCOL-K subscales

with perceptions of similarity with others and conformity among high school students (Cho & Kim, 2001). In the present study, coefficient alpha was .84 and .82 for the Individualism and Collectivism subscales respectively.

Student Adjustment in College Questionnaire

Student Adjustment in College Questionnaire (SACQ) (Baker et al., 1985) was developed to measure adjustment in several areas. Four subscales measure Academic Adjustment (AA, 24 items), Social Adjustment (SA, 18 items), Personal-Emotional Adjustment (PA, 15 items), and General Adjustment (GA, 14 items). Among the 67 items, some are included in more than one subscale, and two items do not load on any of the four subscales. The subscale scores are derived by the mean score of the items included in each subscale. E.-J. Kim, Lee, and Oh (1992) translated this scale into Korean to create the SACQ-K. The SACQ-K was reported to be positively related to parental support and negatively related to the perceived distance from their parents' home to where they stay for college education (J. C. Han & Jee, 1999). In the current study, two items — asking about dormitory life (item #26) and one's relationship with roommates (item #33) — were deleted because many South Korean college students live with their parents. Participants respond using a 9-point scale (1 = doesn't apply to me at all, 9 = applies very closely to me). Only the AA and SA subscales were used in the current study. E.-J. Kim et al. reported that coefficient alphas were .79 and .73 respectively for these two subscales in a sample of college students. In the current study, corresponding values were .88 and .87 for the AA and SA subscales respectively.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES) (Rosenberg, 1965) was developed to measure how people think and feel about themselves. This

scale consists of 10 items that use a 4-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree). Items are summed for a total score, with higher scores indicating more self-esteem. The validity of the scale has been established in over 100 studies that have used the RSES to measure self-esteem. The Korean version (RSES-K) was translated into Korean by Jon (1974). Significant negative correlations between RSES-K and depression have been reported among Korean college students (H. R. Choi, 1999). The internal reliability (coefficient alpha) of RSES-K in this study was .85.

Results

Sex differences were examined with a one-way MANOVA comparing the five variables of interest in this study. Results suggested that there were significant differences, $F(5, 255) = 4.85$, $p < .01$, partial eta squared $= .087$. Results of univariate follow-up t-tests are shown in Table 1. Men were significantly higher than women in both individualistic and collectivistic cultural values. Alpha level was adjusted to .01 in order to decrease possible Type I error in the t-tests due to the multiple tests of related variables. Correlations between the

Table 1. Sex Differences

Variables	Male ($n = 173$)		Female ($n = 88$)		$t(df = 260)$	Eta squared
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*		
Individualism	6.57	0.84	6.22	0.82	3.19**	.038
Collectivism	6.39	0.78	5.99	0.74	3.97**	.057
Academic adjustment	4.99	0.96	5.06	0.90	0.63	.002
Social adjustment	5.76	1.06	5.80	1.00	0.28	.000
Self-esteem	3.19	0.45	3.11	0.49	1.28	.006

** $p < .01$

Note: MANOVA for this analysis, $F(5, 255) = 4.85$, $p < .01$.

variables are presented separately for men and women in Table 2. It should be noted that individualism was significantly related to self-esteem for men ($r = .41$, $p < .01$), whereas the association was not significant for women ($r = .20$, $p = $ ns).

Table 2.   Correlations of Cultural Values and Adjustment

Variables	1	2	3	4	5
1. Individualism	—	.41**	.18*	.15	.41**
2. Collectivism	.23	—	.33**	.27**	.47**
3. Academic adjustment	.06	.28**	—	.51**	.48**
4. Social adjustment	.08	.55**	.50**	—	.39**
5. Self-esteem	.20	.37**	.46**	.55**	—

** $p < .01$

Note: Correlations for men ($n = 173$) are shown above the diagonal, correlations for women ($n = 88$) are below the diagonal.

The primary hypothesis of this study predicted that endorsement of individualistic and collectivistic cultural values would *each* have a significant independent positive association with college adjustment. To test this hypothesis, two sets of three multiple regression analyses (one set for men and one set for women) were conducted to examine each of the three criterion variables: (a) academic adjustment, (b) social adjustment, and (c) self-esteem. In each analysis, the two independent variables were collectivistic and individualistic cultural values. Table 3 shows the results of these analyses. As expected, collectivistic values significantly predicted all three types of adjustment for both men and women. However, contrary to expectations, belief in individualistic cultural values was a significant predictor of adjustment in only one of the six analyses, namely self-esteem for men.

Finally, as an exploratory analysis, a one-way MANOVA was used to compare the five target variables of this study among students

Table 3. Regression Analysis of Individualism and Collectivism as Predictors of Adjustment

Analysis and variables	R^2	Adj. R^2	F	df	B	SE	β
Analysis 1: for men, academic adjustment							
	.11	.10	10.68***	(2, 170)			
Individualism					.054	.091	.048
Collectivism					.382	.097	.312**
Analysis 2: for women, academic adjustment							
	.08	.06	3.63*	(2, 85)			
Individualism					.001	.121	.000
Collectivism					.344	.131	.280**
Analysis 3: for men, social adjustment							
	.07	.06	6.75**	(2, 170)			
Individualism					.054	.102	.043
Collectivism					.339	.109	.251**
Analysis 4: for women, social adjustment							
	.31	.29	18.68***	(2, 85)			
Individualism					.067	.117	−.053
Collectivism					.767	.127	.562***
Analysis 5: for men, self-esteem							
	.28	.27	32.68***	(2, 170)			
Individualism					.142	.039	.261**
Collectivism					.210	.041	.363**
Analysis 6: for women, self-esteem							
	.15	.13	7.66**	(2, 85)			
Individualism					.077	.063	.126
Collectivism					.228	.068	.343**

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

Note: For man, $n = 173$; for women, $n = 88$.

who had come to the university from three different regions in Korea including Seoul, Kyung-gi (an urban area near Seoul), and areas outside the Seoul metropolitan area. Results suggested that there were significant differences, $F (10, 506) = 1.96$, $p < .05$, partial eta squared $= .037$. Univariate follow-up tests revealed that students from all three regions showed equivalent adjustment to college and collectivistic values, but that levels of individualistic cultural beliefs differed by region. A Scheffe post hoc test suggested that students from Seoul had significantly higher individualistic beliefs ($n = 139$, $M = 6.58$, $SD = 0.86$) than students from areas outside the Seoul metropolitan regions ($n = 86$, $M = 6.27$, $SD = 0.77$), $p < .05$. Because of the sex differences noted before, this comparison was conducted separately for men and women. Interestingly, individualism for men was not related to the regions that they came from. However, women from Seoul had significantly higher individualistic beliefs ($n = 95$, $M = 6.69$, $SD = 0.82$) than women from all areas outside the Seoul metropolitan area ($n = 58$, $M = 6.34$, $SD = 0.85$), $p < .05$.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to investigate an expectation that both individualistic and collectivistic cultural values are necessary for successful adjustment to college in contemporary South Korean undergraduates. "Adjustment" for the purpose of this study involved three components — social adjustment, academic adjustment, and self-esteem (as a general indicator of students' satisfaction with the balance of values they had adopted). In examining the research question, this study discovered several interesting possible differences between men and women. The bivariate correlations shown in Table 2 suggest that individualistic values were associated with academic adjustment and self-esteem for men, whereas for women there were no significant correlations between individualistic values and adjustment.

We predicted that both collectivistic and individualistic cultural values would have independent positive associations with college adjustment. The main tests of this hypothesis are the multiple regression analyses shown in Table 3. For women, the bicultural values hypothesis received no support. Only collectivistic values were associated with their adjustment. For men, the same pattern was also evident for academic and social adjustment. Perhaps this finding indicates that South Korean society is still, at a core level, solidly within the collectivistic and Confucian tradition (Cho, 2000; S.-Y. Park & Bernstein, 2008). As Hofstede (1991) suggested, Korean students may have developed individualistic cultural practice which is relatively easily changed, while they keep their collectivistic cultural values that were formed through the internalization of parent's cultural values in the early age. South Korean college students who internalized collectivistic values may feel congruent in the relatively collectivistic Korean society. Thus, the harmony of one's in-group and acceptance from group members that are part of collectivistic culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) still appear to be important sources of self-esteem and adjustment for the students in our study. It is interesting to note that endorsement of collectivistic and individualistic values was significantly positively correlated for men (see Table 2), reinforcing the notion that individuals can hold both sets of values (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oyserman et al., 2002; Singelis, 1994). It also needs to be noted that the direction of the association between individualism and collectivism was positive for women ($r = .23$, $p =$ ns) and the non-significant correlation may be partially because of the small sample size ($n = 88$). Given the small sample size of 88 and alpha at .05, this study had power of 58% to detect the correlation of .23 as significant (For men with 173 sample size, the power is 79% with the same correlation coefficient and alpha value).

Contrary to our hypothesis, it appears that the unique variance in individualistic values (i.e., not shared with collectivistic values) does not

predict adjustment for women, and does so for men only with regard to self-esteem. This connection between self-esteem and individualism is consistent with previous findings (Sedikides, Gaertner, & Toguchi, 2003). Considering that both college male and female students were similarly exposed to and affected by the Western culture, the significant relationship between self-esteem and individualism for men may be related to gender role socialization. Men in most cultures are socialized to be independent, self-directed, and work-oriented. These male gender role stereotypes are similar to Western individualistic values (Kashima et al., 1995). On the other hand, women are socialized to be caring and relationship-oriented, which may create conflict with individualistic Western values. Perhaps the increasingly Westernized Korean society encourages men more than women to be independent, autonomous, and competitive.

Male students in this study who endorsed individualistic values appear to have enhanced self-esteem. This does not seem to be the case for female students, although it needs to be noted that the direction of the non-significant association between individualism and self-esteem was positive for women ($r = .20$). Individualism is contradictory in some respects to the female gender role that Korean society expects of women, thus women may not get much reinforcement from society if they adopt individualistic values. Our exploratory analyses also suggested that women who attend this university from homes in Seoul had significantly higher individualistic beliefs than women from less metropolitan regions. Perhaps families living in the more cosmopolitan environment of Seoul are more influenced by Western culture, and may have less traditional views that limit the acceptable range of their daughters' behavior. These findings also suggest that female students from the most rural areas of Korea may experience more difficulty adjusting to college, to the extent that an individualistic values orientation is required for success.

In contrast to individualistic beliefs, collectivistic beliefs were broadly associated with adjustment for men and women. Students with collectivistic values may be more likely to share academic information with others, study together, and support one another. The positive association between collectivism and self-esteem found in this study is congruent with other studies (Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999; Sheldon et al., 2001; Watson et al., 1998). Because collectivistic values are a better fit with traditional values in the larger South Korean culture, they may represent a better person-environment fit (Triandis, 2000). Korean collectivistic values, which have been influenced by Confucianism, emphasize the hierarchy of men over women. Men may benefit from this inequality without feeling guilty, whereas women may feel badly about themselves if they do not sacrifice their needs in order to preserve group harmony (D.-W. Han & Kim, 2004; Y.-S. Park & Kim, 1997; Singelis et al., 1995).

However, writers have pointed out that collectivistic values do not necessarily imply that an individual must completely sacrifice personal needs for the group, but instead these values can be interpreted to mean that working together and pursuing harmony with others is an important way of enhancing oneself (Chang, 2000; U. Kim, 1994). In addition, collectivistic values are most compatible with female gender role socialization, which may account for the observed relationships between collectivistic beliefs and adjustment for women. For men, it is also possible that the unique experience of military service may have affected their collectivistic beliefs and adjustment. Korean male college students are usually obliged to perform two years' military service during their college education, or immediately afterward. Compared to the civil culture, the military culture is very collectivistic, placing a high priority on obedience to the military organization and nation over personal values.

A number of important methodological limitations in this study must be acknowledged. First, English versions of instruments adapted into Korean by other researchers were used in this study. Although the psychometric properties reported in these previous studies and in this study were generally acceptable, quantitative methods were not used to verify the accuracy of the translation (Mallinckrodt & Wang, 2004). The validity of these instruments for South Korean culture remains to be fully established (Y.-S. Park & Kim, 1997; Slavin, Rainer, McCreary, & Gowda, 1991). In addition, the sample size of women was small, and the power to detect significant correlations was lower among women than among men. Bicultural competence is a much broader construct than bicultural values. Our study examined only endorsement of individualistic and collectivistic values, which we believe is a necessary beginning in a longer process that leads to bicultural competence. Finally, because this study examined South Korean college students' adjustment, generalizability is uncertain with regard to other members of Korean culture, to Korean college students studying in the U.S., and to college students from other East Asian countries.

Although the data for this study were drawn entirely from South Korea, we believe the findings do have some implications for counseling theory and practice more generally. The students in this study, like many people around the world, are faced with the need to adapt to a new cultural environment. The requirements for success in this new environment (i.e., college) may differ from the cultural values and skills best adapted for success in the previous environment (i.e., high school in rural areas). The findings of this study suggest that counselors working with college students who hold traditional Korean values, and perhaps with students from similar collectivistic cultures, must consider that the demands of succeeding in college can represent a cultural adaptation even for students who have not left their home country. The adaptive challenge may be in proportion to the strength of

their traditional collectivistic values compared with the degree their college environment aligns with a North American educational model. Counselors may be able to assist this adjustment by helping these students develop bicultural competence. The results of this study imply that cultural values should not be considered apart from gender role socialization. It appears that the Westernization of cultural values for South Korean college students, with greater emphasis on individualistic attitudes, is an adaptation that will be easier for young men than young women. This is because, for female clients, individualistic values may be in stronger conflict, relative to men, with both their general cultural values and also their gender role socialization. Future studies are needed to examine other aspects of bicultural competence (i.e., not only values), and to examine these competences separately for men and women.

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集體主義與個人主義二元文化價值：
南韓大學本科生的適應

本研究以文化價值觀的角度，探討南韓大學生的適應問題。研究假設了無論是集體主義價值觀或個人主義價值觀，都對南韓學生保持與家庭的和諧關係以及適應新的大學環境有重要的作用。研究調查了 173 名男學生和 88 名女學生的文化價值觀（集體主義和個人主義）、在大學的學習適應和社會適應，以及自尊（反映了他們對自己價值觀取態的滿意程度）。集體主義價值觀與學習適應和自尊有正相關，男女皆然，但與社會適應的正相關只見於女性。個人主義價值觀與學習適應和自尊的正相關則只見於男性。多元回歸分析的結果顯示，二元文化價值的假設不適用於女性，但在自尊這項目上則適用於男性。最後，本文討論，在漸採西方模式的韓國大學，學生要成功或許必須培養二元文化素養，而融和集體主義價值觀和個人主義價值觀是培養這素養的一端。