

# Homeland Media Consumption of Diasporic Mothers: The Case of Korean Migrants in Vancouver

LEE Jinah<sup>1</sup> and LEE Kwangho<sup>2</sup>

## Introduction

The current study is to explore motherhood and media consumption of Korean mothers in their diasporic life currently residing in Vancouver, BC, Canada. Mothers are deeply involved in their children's education and care in the family. Particularly, diasporic mothers play a pivotal role as cultural gatekeepers including values and tradition from the homeland in transnational family. Previous researches have revealed mothers' role of maintaining and reproducing value of homeland (Giorgio, 2015), and media could serve as common reference points to diasporic mothers by keeping them updated on current values and cultures from the homeland (Naficy, 1993).

As Liamputtong (2006) noted, motherhood experience of diaspora mothers is often 'double burdens' by a combination of challenges and difficulties as migrants and parents. Previous studies have documented on how women preserve and reshape their ethnic identity in transnational family, facing challenges of motherhood and diasporic situation (Manuelrayan, 2012; Giorgio, 2015). However, there has been relatively little research connecting media consumption, parenting, and diasporic experiences among diasporic mothers. This study aims to investigate diasporic mothers' homeland media consumption and its meaning in their everyday life and transnational family.

As of 2013, the population of Korean or people of Korean descent amounts to 205,993 in Canada (Yonhap News), which is the fourth-largest Korean diaspora population as illustrated in Table 1. The Korean community is concentrated in the regions such as Great Toronto Area and Metro Vancouver. The statistics of South Korea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade based on 2011 Canada census show that the population of Korean diaspora in BC is 72,767 (see Table 2).

According to Yoon (2006), 'old' Korean migrants were mainly from the lower classes who headed to China, Japan, Russia, and America due primarily to political and economic reasons in the homeland, from the mid-nineteenth to the early

<sup>1</sup> Professor of the Department of Communication, Tokyo Woman's Christian University, Japan.

<sup>2</sup> Professor of the Faculty of Letters, Keio University, Japan.

twentieth century. By contrast, the ‘new’ Korean migrants from the middle class left homeland the US, European countries and Latin America for better opportunities since 1960s and go back and forth between Korea and their host societies, maintaining close family and community ties in the homeland (Yoon, 2006).

Another new wave of Korean migration was facilitated by factors such as economic and educational crisis since the mid-1990s. Education is top priority for highly educated middle class Korean parents. Students have to study and go to cram schools for long hours focusing on preparing for competitive college entrance examination. Education fever and the significance of English acquisition in the career and social success led to children’s early study abroad boom and so-called ‘goose’ family in Korea. Goose family, *Girogi* family in Korean language, means a family living apart for the sake of children’s education, mainly to avoid cram school environment and to acquire foreign language proficiency. Typically, mothers accompany children who study abroad as guardian and caretaker and fathers stay in Korea for work in order to provide for the family. As of 2006, around 30,000 primary and secondary students, over 10% of pre-college students left Korea for study abroad, mainly English-speaking countries including the US, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (Kang, 2012).

Table 1. Korean Diaspora Population as of 2013

Country	Number	%
China	2,573,928	36.7
US	2,091,432	29.8
Japan	892,704	12.7
Canada	205,993	2.9
Russia	176,411	2.5

Source: Yonhapnews based on the statistics of South Korea’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade

Table 2. Population of Korean Diaspora in BC, Canada

Gender	Total	Permanent residency	Status			Canadian citizenship
			Non-student	Student	Total	
Male	34,746	6,716	3,651	6,900	17,627	17,479
Female	38,021	7,843	5,181	7,100	20,124	17,897
Total	72,767	14,559	8,832	14,000	37,391	35,376

Source: South Korea’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade

The history of Korean migration to Canada is quite a short one. Korean immigration to Canada for the purpose of permanent residence grew gradually since 1970s due to the change of Canadian immigration policy (Yoon, 2006; Kwak, 2004). The 1997 foreign currency crisis in Korea has led to a new wave of migration from Korea and educational crisis in contemporary Korea is another reason as mentioned previously. Coupled with Australia and New Zealand, migration to Canada has been a social phenomenon since the mid-1990s, and Canada surpassed the US as a favored country to immigrate in the late 1990s (Yoon, 2006; Yoon, 2001).

Overall, Korean migrants tend to maintain strong ethnic identity. Take Korean Australians for example: Markus (2016) showed that Korean community maintain strong ethnic identity: As a part of a wide-range survey (Australians today, The Australia@2015 Scanlon Foundation Survey), 1,803 people, born overseas and arrived in Australia between 2001 and 2015, were asked nine questions, including “To what extent do you have a sense of belonging in Australia”, “I feel as if I belong to Australia”, “When I discuss Australia I usually say ‘we’ rather than ‘they’” and so on. Those born in South Korea with low scores, meaning a low sense of belonging in Australia, have accounted for as much as 90.9% of respondents. Notably, South Korea was the only country that there were no respondents with high scores (over 30 points which means strong Australian identification).<sup>1</sup>

There is no such wide-range survey recently conducted in Canada to our knowledge, but the same would be probably true of Korean Canadians in terms of a sense of belonging in the host country. Although it is carried out in the early 2000s, Yoon (2001) showed similar ethnic identification to the ones of Australia. 333 respondents (243 were the first generation, 64 were 1.5 generation, and 26 were the second generation respectively) in Toronto were asked how much percentage they view themselves Korean or Canadian in terms of ethnic identification in the range of 100% Korean, 75% Korean, 50% Korean, 75% Canadian, 100% Canadian, and Korean-Canadian. 71.3% of the first generation and 35% of 1.5 generation view themselves 75% or 100% Korean. On the other hand, around 55% of 1.5 and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation regarded themselves 50% Korean or Korean-Canadian. Most respondents viewed their Korean ethnicity as a significant factor in everyday life, such as selecting a spouse (67.2%), food (51.6%), ways of thinking (48.4%), and making friends (43.6%).

## Literature Review

### ***Connecting Diaspora: Consumption of Homeland Media and Ethnic Media***

Diaspora has access to multiple media layers including homeland and ethnic media, and media in the host society. Internet shrinks physical and psychological distance between diaspora and homeland and connects dispersed diaspora members in the host societies (Parker & Song, 2006).

Regarding diaspora's contact with the homeland, Markus (2016) showed that 71% of immigrants to Australia keep contact with homeland community daily or several times a week by SMS and social media. 66% of respondents read news on the Internet daily or several times a week, and 32% watch television with cable or satellite from home country daily or several times a week. Markus (2016) pointed out that high level of contact by immigrants to homeland might be a reason of 'delayed identification' with Australia among recent arrivals between 2001 and 2015 mentioned previously.

In the same vein, Yin (2013) argued that the online homeland media provides Chinese migrants in New Zealand with a strong sense of 'authentic Chinese' nationality from out of the country. In addition, 'deterritorialized' online ethnic media keeps reconstructing 'being Chinese' and assimilates themselves into the host society as members of Chinese ethnic group. Likewise, from the analysis of two ethnic websites for South Asian and Chinese in Britain, Parker & Song (2006) indicated that 'collective ethnic identities' still matter, which are consistently redefined among young diaspora members through online interaction.

The ethnic media serves the needs of the ethnic community, including cultural, political, economic, and everyday needs (Shi, 2009). As Yin (2013) noted, the ethnic online media constructs "an identity that is embedded in the local experience specific to a migrant's physical location" (p.3) and keeps connecting diaspora to the host society (Zhou & Cai, 2002).

### ***Motives for the Consumption of Homeland Media***

Previous literature has consistently indicated the two main motives for the consumption of homeland media in the context of diaspora: 'Entertainment' and 'information'. For instance, Chinese migrants in the United States (Shi, 2005) and Australia (Yue, Hawkins, Pooking & Fox, 2001), Korean migrants in the United States (Lee, 2004), Korean Chinese in Japan (Lee & Lee, 2014; Lee & Lee, 2015), Korean and Japanese migrants in Canada (Lee, 2016) turn to their homeland media for both entertainment and information.

Shi (2005) pointed out that new migrants adjust the ways of media usage according to the media resources in the context of diaspora, but they are apt to strongly maintain the existing media habit. From the interviews with Chinese diaspora in the US, Shi (2005) revealed that 'pastime' is the most important motivation of ethnic media use among them, due mainly to language proficiency and cultural proximity. Specifically, many informants mentioned that Chinese media consumption is a way to relax and entertain themselves, unlike English-language media that needs much more effort to adequately comprehend. It can be said that they are 'emotionally' and 'hedonically' motivated in consuming ethnic media.

Diaspora members also consume ethnic and/or homeland media to maintain and reinforce their ethnic resources. Shi (2005) found that some informants feel it

necessary to keep them informed of the current situation in Mainland China so that they could compete effectively in the US as a cultural minority.

In addition, Naficy (1993) argued that the ethnic media serves as common reference points to diaspora: Diasporic members keep up with current events and the mentality of people in the homeland so as to communicate and share with the diaspora members in the host country and people in the homeland, which enables them to preserve and reinforce ethnic cultural capital.

### ***Diasporic Mothers: Their Role in Transnational Family and Ethnic Identification***

Cho (2007) noted that “motherhood is a gender issue that all women face in modern society” (p.148). Mothers still take more responsibility over fathers for home and family, and for educating and caring children based on traditional gender role in many countries. Previous studies have shown that the same could be true of diasporic mothers in the early migration period, but diasporic experiences might advance gender equality and empower women. Manuelravan (2012) analyzed women’s migration experience and lifestyle and their impact on their culture and identity from a questionnaire and interviews with Indian mothers and daughters in Australia. The migration of the first generation can be examined by a gender issue. All they could do was to follow their husbands who pursue their dream in Australia. However, mothers came to play a significant role in transnational family by keeping a balance between their Indian heritage from the homeland and Australian citizenry in the host society. Mothers have not only valued their culture and identity in the host society, but also encouraged their daughters to seek Australian values that inspire independence, freedom of expression, and Australia’s ‘fair go’ for all.

Likewise, Giorgio (2015) reviewed that recent researches on the role of Italian migrant mothers in constructing Italian identities among their families shed light on the mothers’ significant role of ‘reproducing’ and ‘guarding’ Italian morality. On the other hand, Giorgio (2015) argued that mothers might be keeping ‘questioning’ or ‘revising’ Italian values and identities from the homeland. In a study of interviews with 50 Italian immigrant mothers in New Zealand, the study analyzed the influence of the host country and the impact of change on the Italian community’s sense of ‘Italianness’. The transnational families keep their Italian way of life centered on family and church far from Italy, not different at all from the way they had been brought up in the homeland, and women still take responsibility for home and child rearing. However, women tend to get more support from husbands and children than do mothers in Italia. Giorgio (2015) argued that they were more flexible in choosing values and cultures out of the homeland at the time without communication technology and intergenerational exchange.

Asian countries are well known for their excessive education fever: *Girogi* family, Korean family living separately for children’s education as mentioned previously, *Kyoiku Mama*, Japanese mothers who are excessively education-

conscious, and *Tiger Mom*, title of a book written by a Chinese American, Amy Chua, and often used for strict parenting methods of Chinese and Asian mothers, all exemplify high fever and parental investment in education in those countries. Endo (2016) investigated how Japanese immigrant mothers are involved in children's education and shaping Nikkei diasporic identity. The study analyzed motherhood in a qualitative study with 10 Japanese immigrant mothers who raised the second-generation children in the US, with an emphasis on their aspiration for children's academic success and interpretations of diasporic Nikkei identity. The study revealed a range of ways by which Japanese diasporic mothers provide opportunities with their children so as to preserve Nikkei diasporic Japanese identification. The mothers centered on their children's academic success with cultural competence as well as confidence as bicultural Americans.

#### ***Homeland Media Consumption in Diasporic Family Context***

With regard to the media consumption in diasporic family, Elias & Lemish (2011) investigated the meaning of host, homeland, and global media in the lives of Russian-speaking immigrant families in Israel and Germany, focusing on 'inward' integration including family consolidation and preservation of ethnic culture and language and 'outward' integration into the new society. From focus group interviews with 60 families and 73 in-depth interviews with the young generation, the study showed that the media has significant meaning for immigrant families, especially by assisting them dealing with the challenges of inward and outward integration.

From in-depth interviews with Korean diaspora in Canada, Lee (2016) indicated the roles of homeland media in their reproduction of Korean diasporic identities. Some informants mentioned that they use media for the acquisition of children's Korean proficiency and preserving Korean identity. As mentioned previously, the number of children's early study abroad grew rapidly since 1990s for the purpose of acquisition of English proficiency, which influences the career and social success in Korea. Korean people tended to view themselves as having low pride in their own culture and admiration of foreign cultures, especially in western countries. However, recent economic development and *Hallyu*, Korean culture boom, have led to the high feeling of pride in Korea. Although they have no plans to go back to Korea at the moment, parent informants wanted their children to maintain Korean identity and language ability, which is 'appropriate' and 'advantageous' as Korean ethnicity for them. However, that does not mean they give much freedom to their children in accessing the Korean media. An informant mentioned that she does not watch television dramas with her children and some informants rather worried about their children's excessive use of the Korean media.

In terms of 'outward' integration (Elias & Lemish, 2011), their life in Canada is pretty much same as the ones in Korea to some informants, including food,

communication, and socialization with the Korean community, mentioning “seems like I am in Canada only geographically”, and adaptation to the host country is hindered by commitment to the homeland (Lee, 2016).

Georgiou (2006) investigated generational interaction surrounding homeland media use among Greek Cypriots living in New York and London. Through the observation, she indicated that children watch Greek television and radio programs involuntarily due to parents’ daily homeland media use, which socializes children in the family and hands ethnic resources down to them. Along with parents’ motives for children’s education, children’s supportive attitude for a quality family time sustain ‘family watching’ of Greek television, which in turn led to the preference of Greek television and radio, and Greek pop songs among young generation.

## Research Purposes and Method

Researches indicated important roles that the homeland media plays in diasporic family context, but there has been little research on the motives that drive diasporic mothers engage in homeland media use. The primary focus was on the motives for the consumption of homeland media and its meaning in their everyday life in the context of diasporic family.

In March 2014, we conducted in-depth interviews with Korean diasporic mothers residing in Vancouver, BC, Canada (see Table 3). The interview questions were open-ended and semi-structured, and the interviews lasted between 40 minutes to an hour and a half, with the average interview being over one hour.

Informants were asked about their media consumption, including the extent to consume Korean media and which contents they prefer to read or watch. The interviews also consisted of questions to investigate their motives for the consumption of homeland media as well as its roles in everyday life and transnational family.

All informants were homemakers with highly educated middle class background. Informant A, B, C, D, and E have Canadian citizenship, and Informant F and G have accompanied their children for education (informant F is a permanent resident). Informant A, E, F, and G are *Girogi* family, which means they live apart for children’s education in Canada as mentioned above.

Table 3. Demographic Characteristics of Informants

Informant	Age	Status of residence	Duration of residence in Canada	Occupation
A	50s	Canadian citizen	15 years	Homemaker
B	40s	Canadian citizen	9 years	Homemaker
C	50s	Canadian citizen	13 years	Homemaker
D	40s	Canadian citizen	15 years	Homemaker
E	40s	Canadian citizen	13 years	Homemaker
F	40s	Permanent resident	8 years	Homemaker
G	40s	Dependent	6 years	Homemaker

## Findings

### *Diasporic Mothers' Motives for the Migration*

All of the diasporic mothers in this study were active in the decision and the process of migration, while women had no choice but to follow husbands' decision to head to new worlds in the old migration age.

Informant A decided to come to Canada for children's education owing to the heated competition in Korea. Her husband is mostly staying in Korea due to his work. It seems that relationship with family-in-law was another main reason.

"I had difficulties in dealing with relationships with in-laws. Although my husband was not eldest, he played the role of eldest son...I felt so free after living apart from in-laws, and now I feel like I have come to build a better relationship with them than before, which is good for all of us".

She wants to live in Canada and go back and forth between Korea and Canada at her convenience. She thought that it would be good for their family relationship not to interfere with one another.

Unlike informant A, the whole family of informant B migrated to Canada. When they were in Korea, the work had been so busy that her husband was eager to migrate to Canada. Informant D also mentioned that she did not like busy life and her husband's frequent drinking parties till late night with coworkers and clients in Korea. Family of Informant D traveled several cities in Canada and decided to live in Vancouver. Children's education was a secondary reason for them, but their children love to live in Canada, which makes them feel good about their choice.

Informant C came to Canada in late 2001. Her family lived in the US on his husband's business. After that, they decided to migrate to Canada for children's education and environment. Informant E migrated to Canada after working as a



professional career woman.

Informant F and G accompanied their children for early study abroad for several times. They go back and forth between Korea and Canada for children's education. Mothers like informant F and G are often called 'mothers of temporary stay children' by mothers who are Canadian citizens. Mothers seemed to distinguish from each other, particularly in terms of whether they go back to Korea shortly after children's education or stay in Canada in the long-term. Also, their views on current Korean society are sharply contrasted as mentioned below.

### ***Homeland Media Consumption: Connecting Diaspora with Homeland***

When informant B first came to Canada, it was not easy to watch Korean television shows. They mostly watch short television news due to slow Internet speed. They used to watch Korean news on the Canadian multicultural cable channel. In addition, they read *VanChosun*, an ethnic newspaper of a Korean national newspaper, *Chosun Ilbo*. Recently, they subscribed to *ALL TV* to watch Korean channel. *ALL TV* is the only Korean channel in Canada. She makes it a rule to watch Korean television news at noon and checks news on *Daum* and *Naver*, Korean portal websites. Regarding television shows, she often watches popular shows such as *Running Man* on weekends. She enjoys watching Korean television shows a lot and likes the way of making the shows with funny subtitles.

She often shares her opinions about Korean dramas with a walking club of Korean mothers. Also, she thinks she needs to watch those shows so that she can talk with the young generation. Her younger daughter also enjoys watching Korean television shows. Her daughter's friends, especially Chinese Canadians watch Korean television a lot and often ask her about Korean shows and culture. She does not enjoy watching Canadian television. After retirement and children's education, informant B is also thinking of going back to Korea due mainly to social security:

"I wonder whether I can understand and get the social security system fully in Canada. I even could not get the supporting subsidy for qualified recipient's business initiation when I started a small business with my husband. I am sure that I can make full use of social security system in Korea...I feel like I am Korean mentally even though I live here as Canadian citizen."

Therefore, she thinks that she needs to keep herself informed of the current Korean situation.

Informant D likes to watch movies including Korean movies with her husband. They usually watch television shows on the Internet. There are so many television programs on the Internet that they think they would be able to watch all of their favorite television shows without television. Regarding Korean news, they usually

check Korean portal sites such as *Naver* and *Daum*. When her family first came to Canada, they used to watch Korean programs for maintaining children's Korean language, which was also a quality family time. They also watch a popular drama series together. However, she thinks self-moderation is needed in watching Korean television, which is often quite addictive. Some families actually have trouble with addictive Korean television watching.

Informant D likes to chat on instant chat media such as *KakaoTalk* and talk on the phone with her family and friends in Korea using free Internet calls, which often lasts over a long time while cooking Korean food and doing household chores. She sometimes hears Korean news on the phone. She has a strong identification with Korea, even though she has lived in Vancouver for about 15 years as a Canadian citizen.

She is going back to Korea after her husband's retirement due mainly to medical service like informant B. The level of social security in Canada is high, but it takes much more time to get medical service, and she feels comfortable with medical services in Korean language.

When informant C first came to Canada, she did not watch Korean television often since she was busy settling into her new life and taking care of children. She did not feel homesick at all. Recently, she enjoys watching popular Korean dramas on the Internet using her tablet PC. Regarding the news, she checks headlines on the portal site such as *Naver*. She said that some mothers say that they did not concentrate on watching dramas when they were in Korea. She has an interest in music and enjoys watching some music programs. She is not familiar with the songs, even though they were popular in Korea, because she did not watch Korean television before. Her children finished their education, but she and her husband decided to stay in Canada. She mentioned:

“If I had planned to go back to Korea, I would watch Korean news more often. Instead, I just enjoy watching Korean dramas. Sometimes I feel annoyed when I watch Korean news, especially on politics.”

Their family watches Korean programs separately according to their preferences. Her eldest child is fluent in Korean and enjoys Korean music programs and dramas. Her children seem proud of Korea, especially since they started watching Korean television. She does not feel Korea has changed a lot when she goes back to Korea, because she always watches Korean television.

### ***Watching Korean Society on Homeland Media through the Lens of Diaspora***

Informant A has mostly consumed Canadian media and she even did not check news on the Internet before, since she did not want to follow Korean news. She started to watch some Korean dramas from four or five years ago. Her children

recommended her to watch the dramas. Recently, she sometimes checks Korean information on the Internet, which makes her feel as if Korea and Canada are not geographically separated at all.

It is interesting to know how Korea has changed since she left there when watching television dramas and shows. However, Korea seems a foreign country to her now. She was surprised to see conspicuous and excessive consumption when she visited Korea.

“Korea is changing so rapidly and losing its culture of good old days. I’ve heard young immigrants who went to Korea after education in Canada end up returning to Canada since they could not adapt themselves to Korea.”

When informant B started to watch Korean television on *ALL TV*, she also thought Korea had changed a lot. She pointed out that Korea seems more open than western countries, and she does not like that Koreans do not care about other people. When she watches Korean shows, there are so many product placements that she even tries to find it out. It seems like Korean people set the ideal type and try to chase it.

### ***Consumption of Host Society’s Media***

Informant A has not watched Korean television intentionally for English acquisition. It also took cost a lot for watching Korean television when she first came to Canada. She usually watched Canadian news and television shows including situation comedy and talk show. In addition, she made it a rule to read *Vancouver Sun*, which was useful for her to understand the local community in addition to English learning. She mentioned that she had a sense of fulfillment when she read Canadian newspapers.

Informant E mentioned that she has often read Canadian newspapers such as *Vancouver Sun* and magazines for both English acquisition and getting information about the host country. She canceled subscription of *Vancouver Sun*, because *North Shore News*, a free paper for North and West Vancouver area, was better than *Vancouver Sun* to get information on local North Vancouver news. She has a great deal of interest in the news, so she used to have access to news a lot in Korea. Recently she also follows news and information on social media, especially Facebook. She did not feel the need to watch Korean drama before; instead, she has often watched American dramas.

“I started to watch Korean drama because of Facebook and I also joined a drama community on Facebook. For me, watching Korean drama is not to feel less homesick. I often end up criticizing the ways people behave on drama... I used to socialize with parents of my children’s friends in

elementary school, but the opportunity of getting involved with the local community has decreased after children's going to secondary school and getting connected Korean people on social media.”

Although she tended to view Korean society with a critical eye, she hopes to go back to Korea and work in the future. However, it costs a lot to get back to homeland both psychologically and economically and she stays in Canada at the moment.

### ***Home Media Consumption of Short-Term and Temporary Diasporic Mothers***

Informant F has in common with Informant G in terms of homeland media consumption. They go back and forth between Korea and Canada for children's education. Last time they came to Canada, they were so busy taking care of children that they have little time to watch Korean television. Children are now secondary students and mothers have a plenty of time to watch Korean television. They told us that some mothers watch Korean programs outside in the car using smart phone or tablet PC while waiting for their children to pick up from school or club activities.

Also, they read and watch Korean news a lot for the reason that they will go back to Korea. Although they decided to have children study abroad for better opportunity and education environment, daughter of Informant G chose to go back to Korea for college education. Korean culture boom in Canada, especially among Chinese Canadians, made their children have pride in Korean culture. Informant F and G do not allow children to watch Korean television much because of their studies. They also try not to watch too much Korean television for the sake of children's study. They do not view current Korean society critically where their children are going back soon unlike some informants (A, B, and E) as mentioned above.

## **Discussion**

Overall, Korean mothers maintain a strong ethnic identity and 'Koreanness'. All of the informants have preserved their cultural heritage to a large extent, including values and language. Their Korean heritage is more important than their Canadian nationality to them. They live in Canada 'physically' and 'geographically' but they live in Korea 'culturally' and 'symbolically'. Media serves as a ground where their Korean identities and Koreanness are reproduced and reconstructed. Especially *Hallyu*, Korean culture boom boosted diasporic mother and children's pride with their culture and facilitated their homeland media use and Korean identification.

Korean mothers are active participants in the process of migration and children's education. Likewise, in a survey on Koreans in Toronto, Yoon (2001) showed that the main reasons why migrating to Canada were children's education,

high quality of life in Canada, corruption and excessive competition in Korea rather than economic reasons.

An implicit reason to migrate to Canada is to get away from psychological burden and social pressure in Korean society that married women are obliged to devote family-in-laws. As Cho (2007) noted mother's roles of 'education managers', informant mothers get deeply involved in children's education. Almost all of the informants' migration to Canada could be characterized as 'education migration'. For some informants, the migration brought freedom of putting emphasis on assisting children over serving family-in-laws and facing challenges at work. They have a tendency to enhance self-worth in the role of mothers as the person who devotes herself to raise and educate children. However, being a mother is no easy task at all, even far from homeland and living apart from husband for some mothers. Watching Korean dramas and variety shows is almost the 'only way' to be entertained and soothed in a self-sacrificed and lonely situation, which becomes motives that drive diasporic mothers to engage in sometimes 'heavy' and 'addictive' homeland media use. The stories of diasporic mothers are very important to understand migration process, but only a part of diasporic experiences in transnational family; therefore, in future studies, it is needed to investigate diasporic family including fathers and children and more dynamic process in transnational family context.

## NOTES

1. The proportion of low scores of other countries is as follows: New Zealand (55.8%), Malaysia (50.0%), Vietnam (43.3%), UK (42.4%), Indonesia (41.7%), China & Hong Kong (30.0%), Iran (22.4%), India (20.4%), Iraq (17.2%), Philippines (11.8%), and Afghanistan (9.1%). Those born in Iraq (59%) and Afghanistan (56%) got the highest proportion with Australia identification.

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