

Spatial Distribution of Korea-born Adoptees in the United States

Soon Ho Park*

Intercountry adoption, one type of forced migration, has increased significantly in recent decades. The adoption of Korea-born children by Americans has been the strongest intercountry adoption linkage in the world. The intercountry adoption stream was strongly influenced by intercountry adoption policies, and socio-cultural settings in both South Korea and the United States. Socio-cultural factors in South Korea made local adoption undesirable and helped for abandoned children to be adopted by Americans, while socio-cultural factors in the United States had reduced the number of locally available infants for adoption, and increased the demand for infants from abroad. Distribution of Korea-born adoptees shows concentration in the Pacific Northwest, Upper Midwest and Northeast areas which have not attracted Korean immigrants so generally. The trend of concentration shows some increased importances in the outlying states in the northern United States. The location and activity of agencies shaped the spatial distribution of Korea-born adoptees in the United States.

Key Words: intercountry adoption, Korea-born adoptees, forced migration, adoption agency, regression analysis.

1. Introduction

This research is concerned with intercountry adoption from South Korea to the United States. Intercountry adoption of Korea-born children began as a response to an area devastated by the Korean War. The process has continued and intensified since the 1970s, long after the emergency ended. Since the 1970s, the development of intercountry adoption has been a result of the effort of intercountry adoption agencies that serve people in need: parentless children and childless couples. From 1972 to 1991, Americans adopted 80,000 Korea-born children representing 50% of all intercountry

adoptions in the United States. Intercountry adoption between South Korea and the United States has been one of the most intensive migration streams of foreign-born adoption in the world.

Intercountry adoption has attracted little attention among social scientists. What little research that has been done has focused on the adjustment of foreign-born children in American families (Whang, 1976; Feigelman and Silverman, 1983; Altstein and Simon, 1991; Textor, 1991). One of the few studies by geographers on intercountry adoption is that by Weil (1984) who used secondary data such as the annual report of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service [INS]. He described the migration streams of intercountry adoptees between sending countries and the United States. The lack of research on intercountry adoption is

*Ph.D., University of Hawaii
Lecturer, Department of Geography, Kyungpook National University

a result of it being a relatively recent social phenomenon and because data on intercountry adoptions are very limited. Adoption is a very private matter, often treated with extreme confidence and even secrecy.

It is, however, a significant type of migration because intercountry adoption is a type of forced migration like slavery. Most intercountry adoptees are abandoned children in their origin countries. Intercountry adoptees are too young to decide where or when they will migrate. Most adoptees are infants when they are arrived in the United States. Adoption agencies make decisions about the migration of adoptees and their destinations.

Intercountry adoption comprises a noticeable portion of international migration and the volume of intercountry adoption has increased rapidly in the last 30 years. Korea-born intercountry adoptees compose about 13 percent of Korean immigrants, that are one of the fastest growing groups in the United States since 1965. Although the spatial pattern of immigrant ethnic minority is a central theme in geographical study, no detailed works have been done on the spatial distribution of intercountry adoptees.

The purpose of this research is to understand the nature of intercountry adoption of Korea-born adoptees in the United States. To attain the goal of this research, it is necessary to examine the trend of Korea-born adoptees in the United States; to look at social structure and the given cultures in South Korea and the United States; and to analyze the explanatory factors of the distribution of Korea-born adoptees by states. The data for this research came from magnetic tapes of U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service from 1972 to 1990,¹⁾ unpublished reports on intercountry adoption of Korea-born children: newspaper articles, and a questionnaire survey with intercountry adoption agencies.

2. The Trend of Korea-Born Adoptees in the United States

South Korea has become a major contributor of intercountry adoptees to the Western countries. From 1958 to 1990, about 122,000 Korea-born children were sent to Western

countries for adoption; 64 percent to the United States; and 36 percent to Western Europe, Canada and Australia. Since the Korean War (1950-1953), Korean orphans and abandoned children have been the largest group of foreign-born adoptees in the United States. The intercountry adoption stream from South Korea to the United States has operated under stringent government regulations in both countries. The history of the immigration of Korea-born adoptees to the United States can be divided into three periods: the beginning period (1953-1961); the development period (1962-1973); and the peak period (1974-1990).

1) Beginning period (1953-1962)

During 1953-1962, the four agencies²⁾ helped about 4,000 South Korea-born children to be adopted by Americans (Miller, 1971:3). South Korea-born children were the largest group among the total of 19,000 foreign-born children adopted by Americans (Weil, 1984:280-281; Altstein and Simon, 1991:14). This was a result of a combination of factors such as the availability of South Korea-born children for intercountry adoption, the willingness of the South Korean government to allow mixed-raced children to be adopted by foreigners, and publicity about Korean adoptees in the United States.

In the 1950s and 1960s, South Korea had about 500 child welfare institutions that accommodated over 50,000 children (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs [MHSA] of South Korea, 1955-1970). There were also mixed-raced children who had Korean mothers and American fathers. The mixed-raced children were not accepted into South Korean society. The South Korean government was willing to permit war orphans, especially mixed-raced children, to be adopted by Americans. When mixed-raced children were sent to the United States, representatives of the Ministry of Social Affairs often came to see the plane off and often expressed delight that the children were able to go to their fatherland (Holt, 1972, 252). Korean society considered that children belonged to their fathers; Koreans considered the mixed-raced children to be Americans.

After the Korean War, American missionaries joined Korean Christians to help war orphans, abandoned children, and widows (Suh, 1984, 323). American missionaries sought to raise funds in the United States to help the needy in South Korea. The process of fund raising included showing pictures of children in institutions who were starving for food and love, and of mixed-raced children who faced considerable prejudice within the homogeneous population of South Korea (Holt, 1956; 1972; 1986).

From 1953 to 1962, the immigration of South Korea-born adoptees into the United States was allowed by the Refugee Relief Acts and Orphan Bill, which limited the number of immigration of foreign-born adoptees to 2,000 a year and allowed proxy adoption (Pettiss, 1958). The prospective adoptive parents gave their power of attorney to intercountry adoption agencies in South Korea. The agencies would represent them by proxy in court and adopt children according to South Korean laws. All adoptees would enter the United States as sons and daughters of their adoptive parents in the United States.

Although the goal of the Refugee Relief Acts and Orphan Bill was to provide homes for outcast children fathered by American soldiers, it provided homes in the United States for many South Korea-born children of full Korean parentage (46 percent) in addition to mixed-raced children (54 percent) during 1958-1962 (MHSA, 1973). The number of families that wanted to adopt Korea-born children increased beyond the number of Amerasian children in South Korea, because of widespread publicity throughout the United States, the effort of adoption agencies, and the need to assume responsibility for the U.S. military and political involvement in South Korea.

2) Development period (1962-1973)

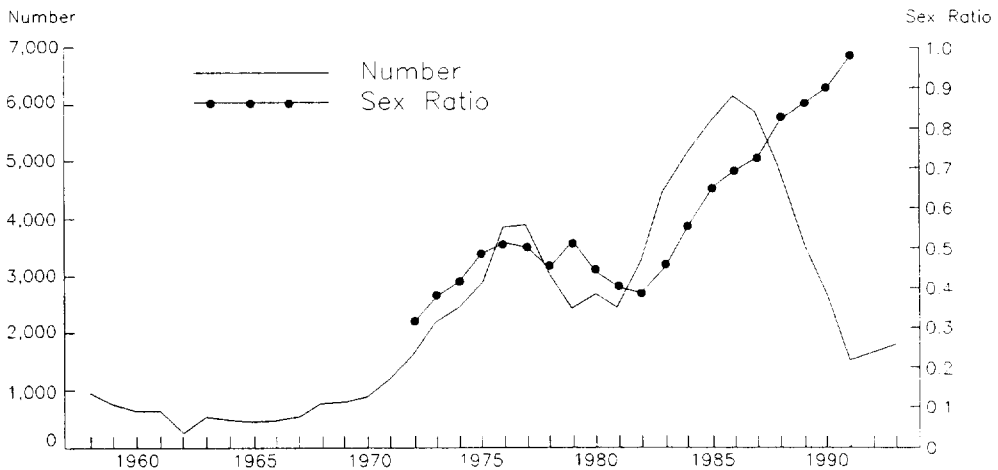
During 1962-1973, the process of intercountry adoption between South Korea and the United States was adjusted, and South Korea-born adoptees immigrated into the United States without any numerical limitation. During 1962-1973, 9,600 Korea-born adoptees arrived in the United States, comprising 39 percent of the total

foreign-born adoptees in the United States (Altstein and Simon, 1991, 14-15; MHSA, 1974). About 80 percent of Korea-born adoptees were full Koreans and about 20 percent mixed-raced children (MHSA, 1974). In 1973, over 69 percent were children under two years old upon arrival in the United States. The sex ratio of Korea-born adoptees was unbalanced with males numbering 38 for every 100 females (Figure 1).

At the beginning of this period, the number of South Korea-born adoptees rapidly decreased from 655 in 1961 to 244 in 1962 (MHSA, 1974) because of changes in the legal procedures for adoption and immigration into the United States. The intercountry adoption between the two countries was now governed by "The Special Law on Adoption of Orphans" of South Korea, and the American immigration bill of 1961 governing intercountry adoption. The change required intercountry adoption agencies to develop new adoption procedures. Prospective adoptive parents needed a social evaluation by a qualified social agency in the United States. The adoption process took longer than under the Orphan Bill of 1959.

In September 1961, the South Korean government passed "The Special Law on Adoption of Orphans," the first adoption law in South Korea (Hurh, 1986, 128; Kim and Carroll, 1975:234). The South Korean law stated that no child would be allowed to leave South Korea without being adopted under the laws of South Korea (Holt, 1986, 156). The purpose of this law was to facilitate intercountry adoption of South Korean orphans by providing procedures of intercountry adoption (Kim and Carroll, 1975, 234). This law was passed to help improve the well-being of abandoned children and mixed-raced children through intercountry adoption (Kim and Carroll, 1975, 234-235), and to alleviate social burdens on South Korean society.

The INS Act of 1961 effectively treats the immigration of adoptees as "immediate relatives." The adoptive parents petition through INS form I-600 to classify an orphan as an immediate relative. These new immediate relatives are free from numerical limitations; thus, the child may enter the United States freely rather than being forced to wait for an opening (Kim and Carroll,



source: Ministry of Health and Social Affairs of South Korea, 1971, 1973 and 1992.
 U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1972-1990.
 Silver and Friedman, 1992:63
 Reuters, 1994.

Figure 1. Sex Ratio and Number of Korea-born Adoptees Admitted to the United States

1975, 232-233; Nelson-Erichsen, Erichsen and Haaberg, 1983, 28-30). The adoptees who enter the United States are officially readopted in the courts of the United States.

During 1962-1973, South Korea-born adoptees increased steadily (Figure 1). South Korea-born adoptees to the United States increased sixfold, from 370 to 2,183, while total foreign-born adoptees increased about 3 times from 1,481 to 4,015 (Altstein and Simon, 1991, 14-16). In 1973, 2,183 South Korea-born adoptees immigrated to the United States representing 54 percent of all intercountry adoptees. This is a substantial increase over 1963, when only 30 percent of all intercountry adoptees were from South Korea.

3) Peak period (1974-1990)

During 1974-1991, 69,500 Korea-born adoptees came to the United States, accounting for 58 percent of the total foreign-born adoptees entering the United States (INS, 1975-1991). About 99.5 percent of Korea-born adoptees were full Koreans and less than 0.5 percent were mixed-race children (Unpublished record in Holt Children's Services). Over 85 percent were children under two years old upon arrival in the United States and over 95 percent were under

five years. The sex ratio of adoptees now approximates the broader Korean child population; the sex ratio increased from 42 (42 males for every 100 females) in 1972 to 98 in 1990 (Figure 1). During 1974-1991, intercountry adoption between South Korea and the United States was strongly influenced by South Korean policies. The South Korean government announced programs of intercountry adoption in 1978, 1981, and 1988.

In 1978 South Korea announced a program to gradually reduce and eventually eliminate intercountry adoption over the following seven years, while domestic adoption would be strongly emphasized. The South Korean government requested four intercountry adoption agencies (Eastern Child Welfare, Korean Social Services, Social Welfare Society, and Holt Children's Welfare Society) to manage the domestic adoption program, and to adjust the ratios of intercountry to domestic adoption and/or long-term foster care: from 80 percent to 20 percent in 1979; to 70 to 30 in 1980; and to 60 to 40 in 1981. The South Korean government, however, discontinued this policy in September, 1981 (MHSA, 1991).

In 1981 the South Korean government announced that South Korea would send almost

unrestricted numbers of children to the United States and Europe for adoption to improve relations between South Korea and the receiving countries (MHSA, 1991; Altstein and Simon, 1991, 6). During 1982-1987, about 30,600 South Korea-born children were adopted, and the annual figures rapidly increased from 3,254 in 1982 to 6,188 in 1986.

In 1988, South Korea attempted to reduce the number of South Korea-born children allowed to leave Korea for adoption purposes. The South Korean government decided to decrease foreign adoptions 10 or 20 percent annually and finally to end foreign adoptions in 1996 (Sloane, 1993). In 1991, 1,534 Korean-born children were adopted by Americans down from 6,188 in 1986 (Figure 1).

This decision was in response to criticism from the mass media before and after the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games. In January 1988, *The Progressive* (a monthly magazine published in the United States) severely criticized the process of intercountry adoption in South Korea. An article entitled "Babies for Sale: South Korea Makes Them, Americans Buy Them" emphasized that the intercountry adoption is not a natural phenomenon for the well being of children and adoptive parents, but intercountry adoption is done by the South Korean government to earn dollars and to solve social problems (Rothschild, 1988, 18-23). Mass media in South Korea and in the United States described intercountry adoption in disparaging ways such as "sell the babies," "export babies" or "secure children" (Lindsey, 1987; Mathews, 1977; Rothschild, 1988; Serrill, 1991; Lewin, 1990). Some politicians criticized the South Korean government for sending Korea-born children abroad as it simply enabled the government to ignore the problem of abandoned children in South Korea.

Intercountry adoption is a way for the South Korean government to reduce social problems and to improve the well-being of abandoned children. The South Korean government does not export Korea-born children to earn dollars and secure children for intercountry adoption. There are more than 20,000 children in Child Welfare Institutions who are available for

adoption in South Korea. The mass media and politicians only focused on the appearance, and they did not look at the cost for adoption processing fees including foster care or intensive medical care, paperwork and transportation. Over 40 percent of intercountry adoptees are born with medical problems, mainly complications associated with premature births (unpublished records in Holt Children's Services). Many premature babies are referred to adoption agencies to receive intensive medical care. These babies are born through induced delivery around the seventh or eighth month of pregnancy and abandoned in the hospital by their biological mothers because Korean society does not accept unmarried mothers and their illegitimate children.

The reduction and ultimate elimination of intercountry adoption from South Korea is an ambitious, but not a new goal. Twice since 1970, the South Korean government has established programs to reduce and eliminate intercountry adoption, but the first effort was canceled in 1981, and only time will tell the result of the current effort. About 10,000 to 15,000 Korean children annually are abandoned, and in 1991 there were about 35,000 children in institutions in South Korea (MHSA, 1992). Many adoption agencies and the South Korean government believe that the abandoned children are better off in homes with parents, rather than in institutions. Because of Korean cultural attitudes, children in institutions are not generously accepted into South Korean society, and domestic adoption has increased little.

3. The Availability of Children for Adoption in South Korea and the United States

1) Children available for intercountry adoption in South Korea

In the 1950s, abandoned and parentless children in the child welfare institutions [CWI] were a result of the Korean War. Since the 1960s, abandoned children in CWI were from poor families, broken families and unmarried mothers. Although economic development in Europe (Greece, Italy, and Germany) solved the

problem of orphaned and abandoned children of World War II and have received foreign-born children for adoption (Rorbech, 1991, 127; Pilotti, 1985, 27), South Korea still has abandoned children and send Korea-born children to Western countries for intercountry adoption. This section examines the socio-cultural elements that might affect the number of abandoned children in South Korea since the 1960s.

Since 1962, South Korea has experienced rapid economic growth and rapid decreasing of birth rates; the total fertility rate has decreased from 5.6 in 1960 to 1.6 in 1990. The number of children in institutions began to increase from 1962 when the first Five-Year Economic Development Plan was launched. From 1960 to 1990, South Korea has kept an annual average of 38,000 children in Child Welfare Institutions [CWI] and an average of 11,600 abandoned children have been admitted every year to CWI (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs of South Korea [MHSA], 1960-1990).

The needy children in institutions are social orphans, abandoned or neglected by their parents; over 80 percent of the needy children in 1989 and 1990 resulted from abandonment; many were found on the street with no knowledge of their origin (MHSA, 1991). Some of the lost children were returned to their parents; others who could not find their parents

were admitted to the institutions. Most of the lost children were probably deliberately abandoned by their parents or guardians.

Figures 2 and 3 present the demographic characteristics of abandoned children from 1960 to 1989. The figures for the 1960s were different from those in the late 1970s and 1980s. The age of abandoned children in South Korea has become younger, and the sex ratio has

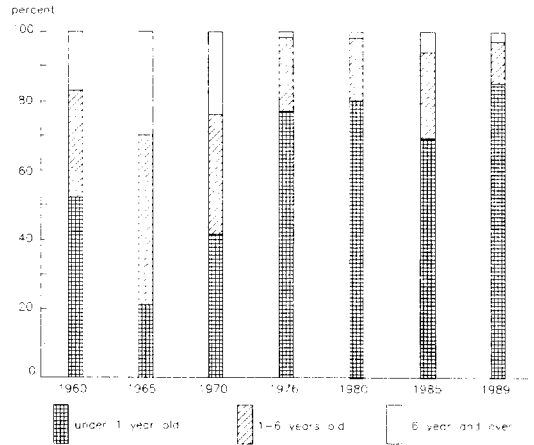


Figure 2. Age Distribution of Abandoned Children in South Korea, 1960-1989

source: Data for 1960-1970 are from Ministry of Health and Social Affairs of South Korea, 1962, 1966 and 1972. Data for 1976-1989 are from unpublished records of Holt Children's Services.

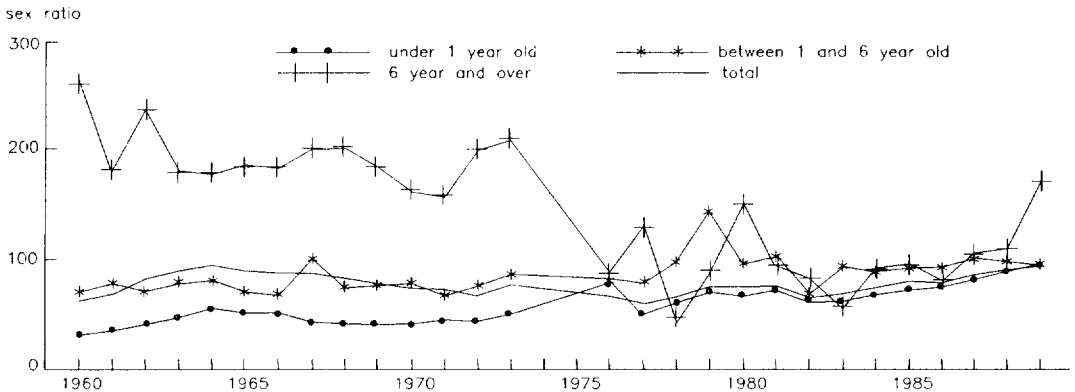


Figure 3. Sex Ratio of Abandoned Children by Age South Korea, 1960-1989.

source: Data for 1960-1973 are from Ministry of Health of Social Affairs of South Korea, 1962-1974.

Data for 1976-1989 are from unpublished records of Holt Children's Services.

note: Data for 1974 and 1975 are unavailable.

approximated to the Korean population as a whole. This reflects the different causes of abandonment of children: in the 1960s, poverty in cities; and in the late 1970s and 1980s, unmarried mothers.

Throughout the 1960s, children aged between 1 and 6 years old constituted a large portion (an average of 43 percent) of those abandoned, reaching a high of 55 percent in 1968, while the other two groups decreased to 29 percent (infants) and 22 percent (over 6 years old) in 1968.

Poverty in the cities was a factor since many children were abandoned, not because of parental disinterest, but because the parents believed that abandonment would secure the child care they themselves could not provide (interviews with social workers in South Korea). Poor parents attempted to raise the additional child as long as they could, but many parents who migrated to the cities felt increasing pressure brought upon them by the additional child. Newly arrived urban families often have no one to help them when faced with problems such as inadequate housing, poor health, unemployment, desertion, or death. They abandoned the youngest and daughters first (interviews with adoption agencies in South Korea). The geographical mobility helped to weaken the once-solid extended family system in which all family members were responsible for the welfare of the members of their family.

In the 1960s, the sex ratio of all abandoned children was unbalanced with males numbering 82 for every 100 females. It was particularly unbalanced for infants (45 males for 100 females); and for those over age six (200 males for 100 females). More girl infants have been abandoned than boy infants, a direct reflection of Korean attitudes favoring sons over daughters. Among abandoned children over age six, boys outnumbered girls in a ratio that reached two to one in the 1960s. By the age of six, girls have become an economic asset as they can be baby-tenders or maids (Miller, 1971). On the other hand, boys become a temporary liability since they must be educated.

Since the late 1970s, the age structure of abandoned children changed rapidly. Infants

increased rapidly to 85 percent in 1989, while children aged between 1 and 6 declined to 12 percent in 1989, and children aged 6 and over to 3 percent. The high percentage of abandoned children who were admitted to CWI or foster care were born to unmarried mothers (Kim, 1983, 109). The sex ratio of abandoned infants began to approximate the child population as a whole as the sex ratio increased to 0.93 in 1989. The increase of infants and the increasing sex ratio results from the increase of unmarried mothers who were attracted to export-oriented manufacturing industries in large cities. Korea's Confucian ethic is hostile to unmarried motherhood and their offspring because it strongly disapproves of promiscuous sexual relationships. Unmarried mothers give up their children regardless of gender, and 95 percent of unmarried mothers relinquished babies within a month after birth (Chun, 1987, 299). The abandoned children were placed in CWI or foster care, and some were adopted by foreigners. Since 1989, only children whose parents (only the mother, if she is unmarried) submit a written statement of relinquishment of their children to directors of institutions and/or adoption agencies, have been adopted by foreigners.

2) High demand and short supply of adoptees in the United States

Recently a growing number of children adopted in the United States have come from abroad (Toch, 1994; Reuters, 1994, D6). Adoptees from abroad averaged fewer than 2,000 per year through the 1960s, and then climbed steadily to 10,097 in 1987. In 1987, this figure represented 20 percent of total non-related adoptions in the United States (National Committee for Adoption, 1991). The new adoption trends of high demand, short supply, and an increasing number of foreign-born adoptees in the United States have been strongly affected by social changes in the United States.

Increasingly in American society with stagnating or declining real per capita incomes since the early 1970s, many people have focused their attention more on career establishment and advancement rather than on family formation (Berke, 1989). Unstable employment prospects

have led many to seek financial security before venturing into marriage and child bearing. This along with increased self-absorption during the 1980s has given rise to the so-called "Yuppie" (young urban professional) culture.

Workplace instability and self-absorption have led to delayed marriage and child bearing. The time spent for career establishment and personal pleasure often meant that women were in their mid-30s or older when they and their spouses decided to have children. These women are in a period of rapidly decreasing fecundity³¹—hence decreasing success in child bearing. It is among these people that adoption becomes an alternative. Moreover, dual-income couples (often referred to as "Dinks"—dual income, no kids), who initially expressed no desire to have children, but succumbed to maternal/paternal urgings later on, often during the ages of decreasing fecundity, may turn to adoption.

Such social changes are playing an important role in the emerging shortage of domestic children for adoption and the high demand for those children. The shortage of domestic children for adoption is intensified by the legalization of abortion, the growing social acceptability of unmarried mothers, and the difficulties of transracial adoption within the United States (Register, 1991, 7; Day, 1979; Simon and Altstein, 1977; 1987). Legalization of abortion increases the cases of abortion and reduces the number of children who might otherwise be available for adoption (Mosher, 1987, 43; Altstein and Simon, 1992).

Greater acceptance and the increasing trend for unmarried mothers to keep their babies rather than putting them up for adoption are a result of changing social and sexual mores, the withering away of many of the traditional moral prohibitions in the 1950s, and acceptance of non-traditional families (Festinger, 1971; Register, 1991). Furthermore, the 1978 Indian Child Welfare Act limited placements of children with Indian heritage in non-Indian adoptive families. Also starting in the early 1970s, the National Association of Black Social Workers strongly opposed permanently placing black children with white adoptive families (Day, 1979; Altstein and Simon, 1992, 18).

The demand of suitable children for adoption is influenced by a significant expansion in the number of single adult adoptions and increasing infertility (Branham, 1970; Kadushin, 1970; Klemsrud, 1984). Social acceptance and the increasing number of single-parent families have made adoption agencies think more positively about unmarried adults as potential adoptive parents. Increasing infertility is related to postponed marriage, delayed childbearing, and complications from modern birth control methods (Mosher, 1987, 42-43; Cole, 1987, 9; Pelton, 1988; Kleiman, 1979). The social changes in the United States spawn the high demand for adoptive children and the shortage of domestic children for adoption. Americans have been increasingly looking towards foreign-born babies to satisfy the demand for adoptive children.

4. Distribution of Korea-Born Adoptees and the Role of the Adoption Agency

The Location Quotient (LQ) is employed to examine the relative concentration of destination of Korea-born adoptees in the United States. States with the proportion of Korea-born adoptees less than the national proportion will have location quotients ranging between zero and 1.00, while states with proportions greater than the national proportion will have location quotients greater than 1.00. Figures 4 through 6 portray location quotients of Korea-born adoptees for the years 1972, 1980 and 1990. The 1972 location quotients show concentration in the Pacific Northwest, Upper Midwest, and Northeast areas. Figure 5 in 1980 shows some decline in the role of the Lower Mountain area; while, the spread of increased Korea-born adoptees impacted the outlying areas of the concentrated states in 1972. Figure 6 indicates a strong trend of increasing concentration in the northern area; while, in the southern area the relative degree of Korea-born adoptees has not changed much.

1) Correlation and regression analysis

It is very difficult to determine the critical variable that explains the uneven distribution of

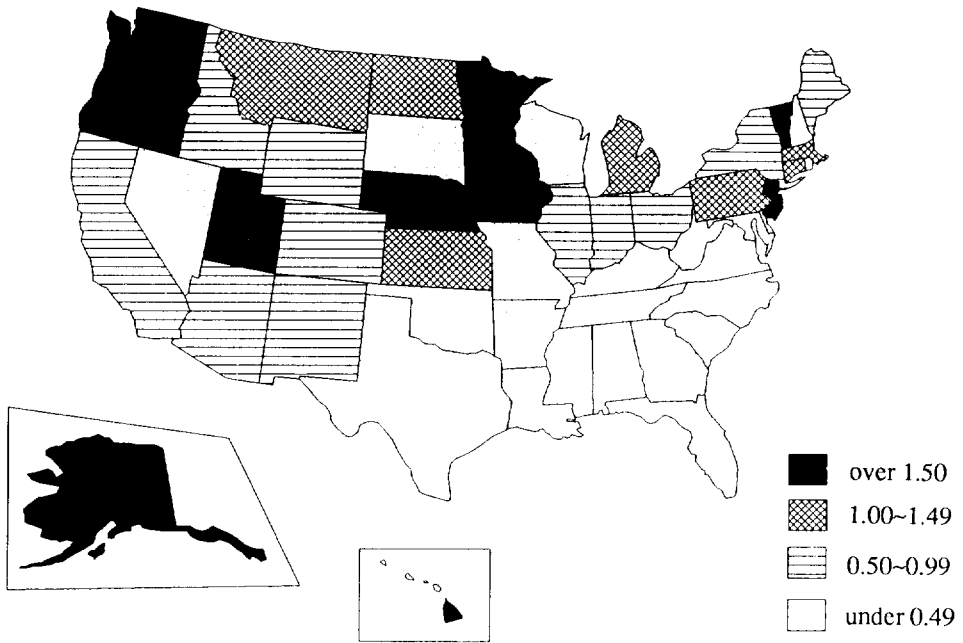


Figure 4. Location Quotient of Korea-born Adoptees Adopted in 1972.

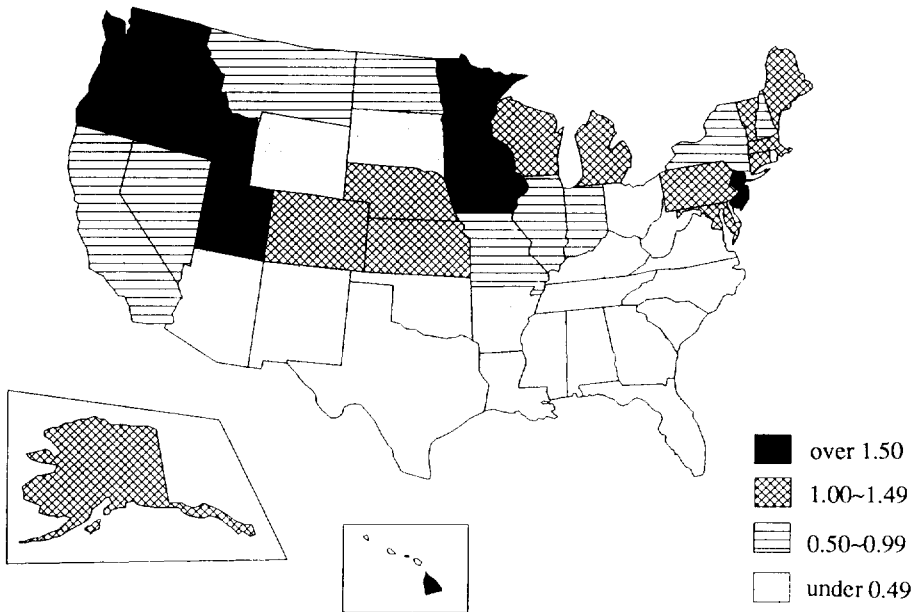


Figure 5. Location Quotient of Korea-born Adoptees adopted in 1980.

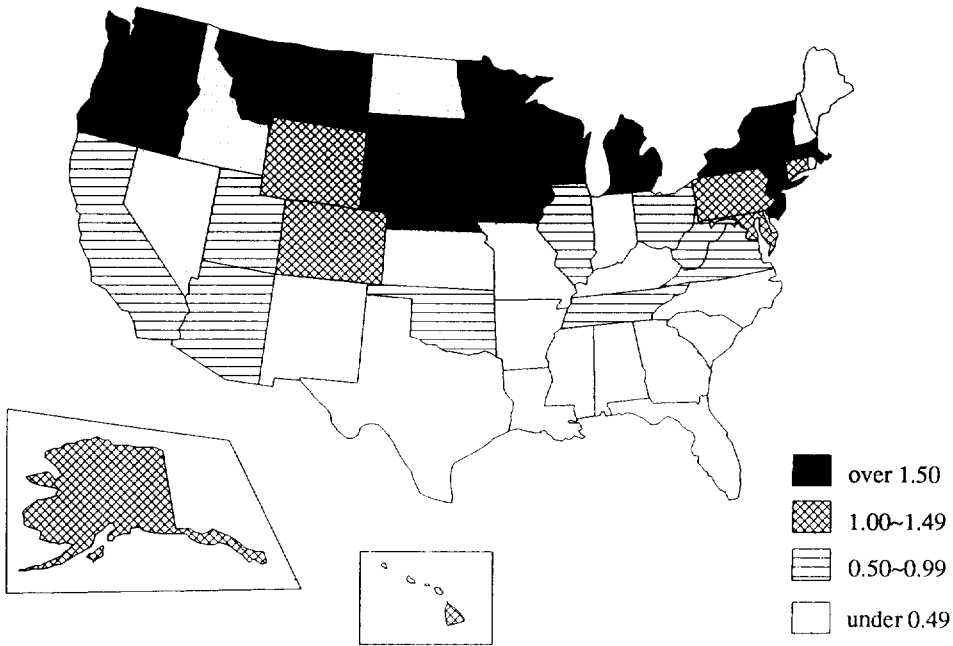


Figure 6. Location Quotient of Korea-born Adoptees Adopted in 1990.

Korea-born adoptees at the state level. The distribution of Korea-born adoptees might be influenced by adoption agencies having Korean adoption programs. Most intercountry adoptees are infants who are unable to participate in the migration decision-making process.

Intercountry adoption agencies deeply involved in the adoption decision-making process of adoptive parents by providing information on the availability of healthy infants and on a well-organized reliable system, and by encouraging potential adoptive parents to adopt a Korea-born child. Intercountry adoption agencies must be involved in the adoption process; potential adoptive parents must obtain the approval of a local intercountry adoption agency, and deal with the intercountry adoption agency in the source country of potential adoptees. In Figures 4-6, the states with the percentage of Korea-born adoptees greater than the national percentage have more agency offices practicing Korean adoption programs.

The number of adoption agency offices administering Korean adoption programs during the past five years was selected as an explanatory variable of the variation of

concentration of Korea-born adoptees in 1972, 1980 and 1990. A hypothesis was established that the location of adoption agency offices shapes the destination of Korea-born adoptees upon arrival in the United States. To examine the influence of agency location on the distribution of Korea-born adoptees, a simple regression analysis was adopted.

The hypothesis can be examined in a regression equation of the form:

$$Y = a + bX + e$$

where,

Y: LQ value in a state

X: number of agency offices administering Korean adoption programs for at least five years

a: constant

The equation was estimated for 1972, 1980 and 1990. The coefficient of simple correlation and determination, and regression coefficient are indicated in Table 1. Student's t provides an efficient means of significance testing of the parameter estimate (b) at the 0.05 level (Taylor, 1977, 118). If the Student's t of a parameter of

simple regression is greater than 2.015, it means that the parameter is significant in the regression at the 0.05 level.

In 1972, 1980 and 1990, the correlation coefficient between LQ values and the number of adoption agency offices confirm the hypothesis, and indicate that two variables are highly correlated. The independent variable is significant at the 0.05 level. The number of agency offices account for 43 percent of the variation of the LQ values in 1972, 39.4 percent in 1980, and 20.5 percent in 1990.

The number of adoption agency offices in a state explained well the variation in the LQ values of destination of Korea-born adoptees. Its effect might be influenced by the program of intercountry adoption agencies and by the requirement of "in-state service" of the South Korean government. Since the late 1960s, only the U.S co-agencies of an intercountry adoption agency in South Korea have helped American couples to adopt Korea-born children. In 1978, the South Korean government required "in-state service" to improve the well-being of Korea-born adoptees. The South Korean government required all American co-agencies to serve only potential adoptive parents who lived in the same state in which the agency office was located.

The regression models in 1972 and in 1980 better explained the LQ values than the model in 1990 as a result of the change of demand of Korea-born children for adoption and the availability of Korea-born children for adoption

in the United States. In the 1970s, U.S.-born children were more available for adoption and demand for Korea-born children for adoption was less intensive than in 1990. In the 1970s, the agencies having Korean adoption programs probably received the necessary number of children for the demand of potential adoptive parents. Since the late 1980s, the availability of Korea-born children has declined significantly as a result of South Korean adoption programs that reduced the number of children for intercountry adoption. The demand for Korea-born children has, moreover, increased rapidly as a result of the shortage of the desired U.S.-born children for adoption. Agencies that have maintained close relationships with Korean adoption agencies receive more Korea-born children. As the result of the shortage of supply and high demand of Korea-born adoptees in the United States, the distribution of Korea-born adoptees is influenced by the ability of an agency in 1990, rather than in 1972.

2) Residuals of simple regression

The regression analysis provides summary statements for the United States as a whole between the variation of relative concentration of Korea-born adoptees and the number of agency offices administering Korean adoption programs. The regression analysis describes the degree of spatial correspondence among the areal variations of variables as measures of the validity of the hypothesis constructed for the area as a whole (Robinson, Lindberg and Brinkman, 1968, 295). Geographers are more interested in areal variation in the degree of fit of the regional generalization.

The mapping of residuals from regression may help identify other variables to be considered. The residual is the prediction error, "unexplained variance" from a regression model. States with positive residuals (above +1.0) have greater the proportion of Korea-born adoptees over total population than the proportion predicted by the regression model. States with negative residuals (below -1.0) have lower the proportion than that predicted by the regression model.

Figures 7-9 portray the residuals in 1972, 1980 and 1990. In most of states the relative

Table 1. Results of Correlations and Coefficients of Regression, 1972, 1980 and 1990

Coefficient		r	R2
of Simple	LQ in 1972	0.6574	0.432
Correlation and	LQ in 1980	0.6277	0.394
Determination	LQ in 1990	0.4525	0.205
		a	x
Regression	LQ in 1972	0.965	2.449
Coefficient	(Student's t)	(4.462)	(6.044)
and Student's t	LQ in 1980	0.725	1.197
	(Student's t)	(3.445)	(5.586)
	LQ in 1990	0.778	0.475
	(Student's t)	(4.241)	(3.516)

* $t_{0.05, 48} = 2.015$

concentration of Korea-born adoptees is well-explained by the number of adoption agency offices having Korean adoption programs. The states with residuals between $-1.0 - +1.0$ are: 45 among 50 states in 1972; 42 in 1980; and 43 in 1990. The poor predicted states (above $+1.0$ and below -1.0) are as follows: in 1972, Alaska, Minnesota, Utah, Vermont and Pennsylvania; in 1980, Minnesota, Utah, Idaho, Iowa, Hawaii, Oklahoma, New York and Pennsylvania; and in 1990, Oregon, Montana, South Dakota, Nebraska, Minnesota, Iowa and New York.

In 1972, 1980 and 1990, the poor predicted states with residuals above $+1.0$ generally coincided with the states having a high proportion of Korea-born adoptees over total population as seen in Figures 4–6. Moreover, these states have most agencies that have had close relationships with adoption agencies in South Korea. According to the factors mentioned above, adoption agency activities could be considered another explanatory factor in the distribution of Korea-born adoptees.

The adoption community well recognizes the adoption agencies that have maintained positive relationships with intercountry adoption

agencies in South Korea. The names of adoption agencies and location of their offices follow. WACAP (World Association for Children & Parents) helped parents in Idaho, Alaska, and Utah to adopt Korea-born children; Lutheran Social Service of Minnesota places Korea-born adoptees in Minnesota and South Dakota; Holt International Children's Service has offices in Oregon and Iowa covering Iowa, South Dakota and Nebraska; Child Home Society of Minnesota helped Americans in Minnesota to adopt Korea-born children; Catholic Charities in Minnesota placed Korea-born children in Minnesota; and Hawaii International Child Placement helps Korea-born children to be adopted in Hawaii.

The activities of these agencies are examined to discern what activities these agencies do to maintain the close relationship with adoption agencies in South Korea. In the late 1960s, Child's Home Society of Minnesota invited a Korean social worker, Mrs. Han, to improve the Korean adoption programs and to facilitate communication with adoption agencies in South Korea. She established Korean cultural programs and other social programs for Korea-born adoptees to help the adjustment of Korea-

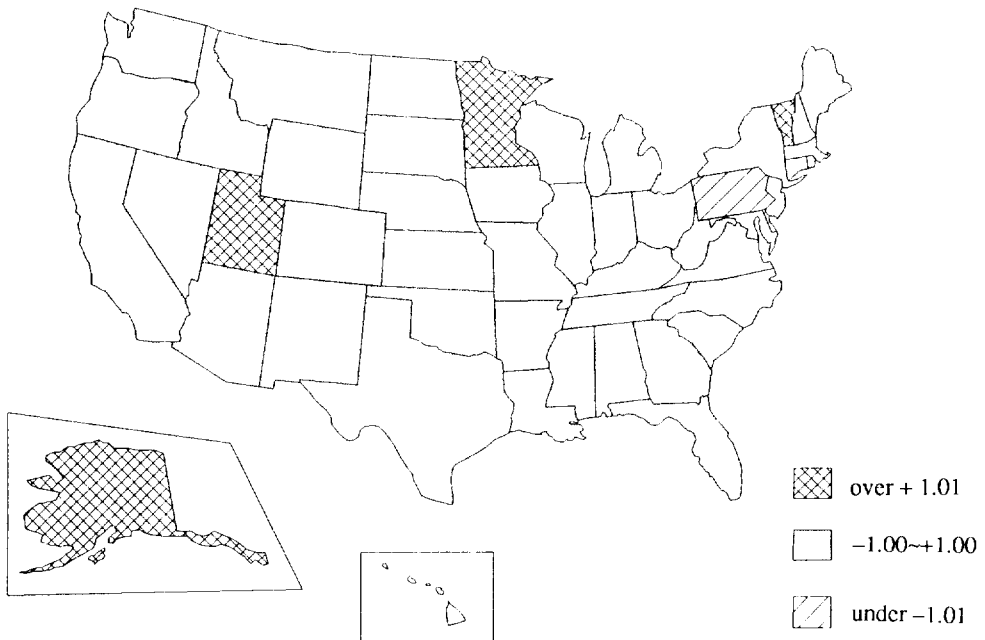


Figure 7. Standardized Residuals from Regression: LQ in 1972.

born adoptees and adoptive families. Lutheran Social Service of Minnesota helped orphanages after the Korean War, and support the founder of Korean Social Service to establish intercountry adoption programs. A social worker in Catholic Charities has been a director of the Korean Institute of Minnesota in which Korean language and culture were taught for Korea-born adoptees to help establish self-esteem.

Holt International Children's Service received a large number of Korea-born adoptees through Holt Children's Welfare Society that is the largest intercountry adoption agency in South Korea. The founder, Mr. Holt, of Holt International Children's Service, organized an adoption agency, Holt Children's Welfare Society, in South Korea. He built orphanages and the first child welfare institute for handicapped children in South Korea. He, himself, adopted eight Korea-born children in the late 1950s. The president of Holt International Children's Service is a Korean, Dr. Kim, who was invited to be trained as a social worker in an American university. Holt International Children's Service opened cultural programs such as a summer camp, motherland visiting, and publishing a monthly magazine. The main office of Holt International Children's Service was located in Oregon and its branch offices covered the United States until the late 1980s. In the early 1990, only two branch offices were still open: the Midwest office covering Iowa, Nebraska and South Dakota; and the New Jersey office covering New Jersey and neighboring states. The Midwest office in Iowa has actively placed a large number of Korea-born adoptees in Iowa and neighboring states since the 1960s. The number of Korea-born adoptees adopted in Iowa "exceeds by far the number in other states" (Holt, 1986, 195). This was a result of a very active Holt mother's club (Holt, 1986, 195).

The founder of Hawaii International Child Placement took care of Korea-born adoptees who stopped by in Hawaii in the 1950s and 1960s. The agency in Hawaii especially supported statewide summer camps of intercountry adoptees and social gatherings of adoptive parents.

In the states with an active adoption agency to

improve the welfare of Korea-born adoptees, the proportion of Korea-born adoptees is greater than the proportion corresponded with the number of adoption agency offices. In states with high residuals (above +1.0), the high proportion of Korea-born adoptees is the result of the activities of adoption agencies besides the number of adoption agencies.

In 1972, 1980 and 1990, the poor predicted states having residuals below -1.0 are New York and Pennsylvania in the New England region, and Oklahoma. In the New England region, the "in-state service" regulation is not strictly kept. Therefore, the adoption agency offices covering New England are located in New York and Pennsylvania rather than the neighboring states. The agencies in Pennsylvania and New York place Korea-born adoptees in the outlying regions; so, the proportion of Korea-born adoptees in New York and Pennsylvania is much less than the proportion of Korea-born adoptees predicted by the number of adoption agency offices.

The results of the residuals analysis confirm that the number of adoption agencies administering Korean adoption programs is the important explanatory factor in the spatial distribution of Korea-born adoptees, a type of forced migration, in the United States. The close relationships between Korean adoption agencies and the U.S. adoption agencies, and the regulation in activities of the adoption agency such as the "in-state service" program are also explanatory factors of spatial distribution of Korea-born adoptees that are not well-explained by the number of adoption agency offices.

5. Conclusion

Among the numerous international migration studies, few have studied the migration of intercountry adoptees. Intercountry adoption is a type of forced migration and comprises a noticeable portion of the international migration stream. Intercountry adoptees cannot contribute to the migration decision-making process because most adoptees are infants. Adoption agencies make the final decision about migration of adoptees and their destinations.

This conclusion focuses on three significant points that represent the major findings of this research. First, the intercountry adoption stream is often directly influenced by adoption policies of the sending and receiving countries. Intercountry adoption of Korea-born children by Americans began as a humanitarian response to aid war-devastated South Korea at the close of the Korean War. The number of Korea-born children adopted by Americans rapidly increased from 930 in 1958 to 6,188 in 1986. This was a result of the adoption programs in South Korea and in the United States. The South Korean government used it to improve the welfare of abandoned and orphaned children and to rid the country of a social problem in the 1970s and 1980s. South Koreans are reluctant to adopt children because of a strong cultural emphasis on ancestry and bloodlines, so abandoned and orphaned children would simply be consigned to institutions. In the United States, Korea-born adoptees immigrated into the United States as "immediate relatives"; thus, the child could enter the United States freely, rather than being forced to wait for an opening.

Second, from 1958 to 1991, Americans adopted 81,000 Korea-born children representing 50 percent of all intercountry adoptions in the United States. This strong adoption linkage was a result of a rather unique set of social and cultural factors that complemented each other so well that a large adoption program was able to emerge in South Korea and the United States.

In South Korea, the large number of abandoned children are pooled in child welfare institutions as a result of reluctance of local adoption, urban poverty, and a cultural clash between the force of Confucian values of Korea's traditional patriarchal society and Western values associated with Korea's newly industrialized society. Koreans are reluctant to adopt a child unrelated by blood to the husband.

In the United States, legal and societal changes affected adoption. The number of desired children (healthy infants) available for adoption was reduced largely because of the more efficient use of contraception and the legalization of abortion, a rise in the age of marriage, and society's increasing tolerance

toward unmarried mothers raising their own children. The National Association of Black Social Workers strongly opposed placing black children into white families.

The demand for healthy infants adoption is fostered by increasing infertility and the increasing number of single-parents adopting children. The expanding importance of women's careers have, in part, led to delayed marriage and childbearing. Furthermore, the increasing number of single-parent households in the United States has resulted in their recognition by adoption agencies; consequently, more children are being placed into single-parent households.

Last, distribution of Korea-born adoptees shows concentration in the Pacific Northwest, Upper Midwest and Northeast areas which have not generally attracted Korean immigrants. The trend of concentration shows some increased importance of the outlying states in the Northern United States. The distribution of Korea-born adoptees is different from that of voluntary Korean migrants in the United States. The distribution pattern of Korea-born adoptees is more closely related to the number of adoption agency offices administering Korean adoption programs. The regression models in 1972 and 1980 better explained the LQ values than the model in 1990 as a result of the shortage of supply and high demand for Korea-born adoptees in the United States. The residual analysis confirms that the number of adoption agency offices administering Korean adoption programs is the important explanatory factor in the spatial distribution of Korea-born adoptees. The close relationship between Korean adoption agencies and the U.S. adoptions, and the regulation in activities of adoption agencies, such as the "in-state service" programs are also explanatory factors of the spatial distribution of Korea-born adoptees.

Notes

- 1) It has been noted that marks the first and last years that the data on distribution of Korea-born adoptees are available on magnetic tapes from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.
- 2) From 1953 to 1956, four adoption agencies were

established: the Seventh Day Adventist Church (1953), Child Placement Service (1954), Catholic Relief Service (1955), Holt Adoption Program (1956).

- 3) Fecundity is defined as the physiological capacity (the reproductive potential) of a female or a population to produce live born children.

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미국내 한국 입양아의 공간분포

박 순 호*

우리 나라의 해외 입양은 6·25 사변후 전쟁고아와 기아들의 구제책으로 시작되었으나, 1970년대의 고도 성장기 이후에도 계속적으로 증가하였다. 특히 미국내 한국 입양아는 1972년의 1,585명에서 1986년에 6,888명으로 증가하였다. 이들은 미국으로의 한국 이민자들의 약 13%를 차지한다. 이와 같이 우리 나라의 경제 성장에도 불구하고 해외 입양이 증가한 이유로는 한국의 사회·문화적 환경과 해외 입양 정책을 들 수 있다. 한국은 입양 대상자들의 복지 향상과 이들과 관련된 사회적 부담을 줄이기 위해 미국을 중심으로한 서구 선진국으로의 해외 입양을 추진하여 왔다. 해외 입양에 있어서 한국과 미국은 세계에서 가장 강한 연계를 맺고 있다. 한국으로부터의 입양은 미국내 전체 해외 입양의 약 50%를 차지하고 있다. 이러한 해외 입양에 있어서의 강한 연계는 미국과 한국 두 나라의 독특한 사회·문화적 상호 관계에 기인한다. 한국에서는 1960년대 이후 급격한 산업화에 따른 대가족의 기능의 약화와 성에 대한 가치관의 변화로 많은 미혼모가 발생하였으나, 전통적인 윤리관은 여전히 혈연관계가 없는 국내 입양의 제한 인자로 작용함으로써 입양 대상자가 증가하게 되었다. 반면 미국에서는 미혼모와 그 자식이 사회적으로 용인되므로 입양 대상아의 공급이 감소함에도 불구하고

여성의 사회적 진출 증가로 결혼 연령과 출산 연령이 높아짐에 따른 불임율 상승 결과 입양 수요는 늘어나게 되었다. 두 나라의 사회 문화적 환경 변화가 한미간의 해외 입양 연계를 강화시켰다.

미국내 한국 입양아들의 공간분포에 있어서는 일반적으로 재미 교포의 비중이 높지 않은 미국 중서부지역과 북서 태평양지역이 두드러진 점을 그 특색으로 들 수 있다. 이러한 입양아의 공간분포는 한국으로부터 해외 입양을 주선하고 있는 미국내 입양 기관의 입지와 높은 상관 관계가 있다. 이는 해외 입양이 입양 기관이 주요 역할을 하는 강제 이주의 한 형태이라는 점에 기인한다. 즉 입양아는 영아이기 때문에, 그들이 언제 어디로 이주할 것인가를 전적으로 입양 기관의 결정에 의존하지 않을 수 없다. 더욱이 한국 정부가 한국의 입양 기관과 파트너 관계를 맺고 있는 미국의 입양 기관을 통한 입양만을 허용할 뿐만 아니라 나아가서 그 입양 기관이 입지하는 주(state)내에서의 입양만을 인정함으로써 이러한 요인들이 한국 입양아의 공간분포에 결정적인 영향을 미치고 있다.

主要語: 해외 입양, 한국 입양아, 강제 이주, 입양 기관, 회귀분석

*경북대학교 사회과학대학 지리학과 강사