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Second Generation Korean-American Parents: Social Context Influence on Parenting

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by

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A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of
the requirements for the degree
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Each person whose signature appears below certifies that this dissertation in his/her opinion is adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree Doctor of Philosophy.

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CONTENT

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACS   American Community Study

CCS   Contemporary Couples Study

SES   Socioeconomic Status

PET   Parent Effectiveness Training

TP-CRO   Typology of Parent-Child Relational Orientations

US   United States

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Dr. Carmen Knudson-Martin, Chairperson

Korean-American families are an underrepresented group within the family therapy literature. In particular, the realities and lived experiences of American born second generation Korean-American parenting couples is limited. Therefore, this qualitative grounded theory dissertation used a social constructionist lens to understand how American born second generation Korean-Americans, raised amidst contrasting Korean and western cultural ideologies, conceptualize parenting and position themselves in relation to their children within parent-child relationships. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 20 parenting couples of children between 0-10 years of age to illuminate ways in which multiple cultural discourses, bicultural socialization, and racialized experiences influence the parenting process. Two publishable papers resulted from this study.

The first paper focuses on understanding how American born second generation Korean-American couples come to locate themselves in the social context and draw from sociocultural discourses to construct a parenting ideology. Second generation couples: (a) draw from the emotion generated upon reflections on first generation marginalization, and their own experiences of racism coupled with awareness of increased societal

privilege, (b) consciously foster a sense of belonging in multiple worlds, and (c) nurture a strong sense of relational accountability within third generation children.

The second paper features a grounded theory that explains how American born second generation Korean-American parents deliberately parent in ways to move away from rule-directed parenting approaches and instead foster relational connection. Three main parenting processes that were identified are: (a) subscribing to dominant culture socialization goals, (b) inviting open communication, and (c) promoting mutuality. In this study, particular attention was given to exploring the applicability of Tuttle et al.'s (2012) typology of parent-child relational orientations (TP-CRO) to this group.

These findings suggest that it is important for therapists to not assume that American born second generation Korean-American couples carry forward the ethnic ideas that dominant discourses assume about them. It is important to locate their experiences within the larger social context and understand how multiple cultural ideologies impact their views on parenting. Furthermore, the TP-CRO (Tuttle et al., 2012) appears to be a useful resource to help therapists facilitate collaborative conversations with bicultural parenting couples around parenting concerns.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Purpose

For decades the field of family therapy has been committed to the study and practice of facilitating healthy family relationships. Today, as family therapy researchers continue to study and shed insight on ways to promote positive family function, efforts to recognize and support diverse family forms are increasing. Within the family therapy discipline, parenting and parent-child relationships have long been a popular topic of interest (i.e., Minuchin, 1974; Gottman, 1996). Though decades of family research has been conducted to establish a body of literature on parenting and parent-child relationships, continued work is needed to expand the knowledge base regarding underrepresented parent groups, including Asian Americans and more specifically, American born second generation Korean-Americans.

During the parenting life phase, individuals develop their sense of themselves as parents and formulate corresponding roles and rules that are organized into parenting approaches. However, from a broader perspective, the social context cannot be overlooked since it serves as a major source of influence on shaping parenting goals as well as impacting how people relationally orient themselves within the parent-child relationship (Tuttle, Knudson-Martin, & Kim, 2012). There are a number of sociocultural factors embedded within the social context that affect the parenting process including race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status (SES), religion, family of origin, and culture. With regards to American born second generation Korean-Americans, multiple social contexts intersect to shape these parents' ideas about raising children and what they perceive to be

important in this process (Hinds, Chaves, & Cypess, 1992). Larger societal discourses, beliefs, values, and norms inherently affect ideas regarding the dyadic co-parenting process as well as the triadic relationship (McHale, Fivaz-Depeursinge, Dickstein, Robertson, & Daley, 2008) between parenting partners and parents and child.

Furthermore, because parenting experiences differ depending on various combinations of sociocultural factors and are uniquely meaningful within context (Mishler, 1979), what is published in the literature regarding Anglo American parents may not necessarily be directly transferable to Korean-American parents. American born second generation Korean-American parents specifically represent a demographic of parents that have been socialized within two different cultures and form a hybrid cultural identity based on Korean and American cultural ideologies. Second generation Korean-American is used broadly in this study to refer to individuals of Korean ethnic descent who immigrated before school age, or were born in either the U.S. or Canada. In studying this group of parents, we are able to more deeply explore and understand the role that social context plays in the development of parenting approaches and the relational orientation parents adopt in parent-child relationships.

The notion of relational parenting orientations comes from the typology of parent-child relational orientations (TP-CRO) that this researcher developed in collaboration with Tuttle and Knudson-Martin (2012). This dissertation research builds upon our preliminary ideas about parenting as relationship, rather than simply a set of practices used for care giving or childrearing. Relational orientations are conceptualized as the ways in which parents position themselves in relation to their children according to dimensions of power and focus. Power refers to the degree that hierarchy and equality is

privileged in a relationship, and focus refers to what is given greater emphasis, autonomy and independence or relational responsibility and connectedness.

Background

Because the social context is a major force in shaping parenting approaches and the relational orientations that parents assume in the parent-child relationship, it is important to understand how factors such as Korean and American cultural value orientations, acculturation, and second generation bicultural orientation play a part in shaping the way second generation Korean-Americans learn to parent. This chapter will begin with a historical review of Korean immigration trends in the U.S. and Canada and help us start to think about how the process of acculturation differentially impacted the lived experiences of first generation Korean immigrants and second generation Korean-Americans. In addition, this chapter helps highlight how traditional Korean parenting styles of first generation immigrants have influenced the development of American born second generation Korean-Americans' sense of themselves that they carry forward into the parenting life phase.

Korean-American and Korean-Canadian Population Trends

Of the western countries, the United States may represent one of the most racially and ethnically diverse populations (Sneed, Schwartz, & Cross, 2006). With regards to Asians, the most recent U.S. Census (2010) suggests that this population represents approximately 4.8% of the U.S. population, and is steadily increasing. Furthermore, between 2000 and 2010 the Asian population increased more than any other major race

group (U.S. Census Bureau). At the current rate of growth, Asians will likely comprise at least 10% of the U.S. population by 2050 (www.Census.gov). This is in contrast to the cultural landscape of the United States fifty years ago, which included only a small population of this racial group.

In the U.S. Census (2010), the category "Asian" refers to people whose ethnic descent includes Southeast Asia, the Far East, or the Indian subcontinent (Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam). In fact, within the U.S., the Asian American population is considered the most ethnically diverse of all minority groups (Chang & Myers, 1997). Nonetheless, in the health and mental health literature, the term Asian is commonly over-generalized to refer to any ethnicity that shares phenotypic Asian features. Although more than a few dozen countries comprise the continent of Asia, use of the term 'Asian' to mean that all individuals with a similar phenotype are essentially the same, obscures the diversity that exists between the various cultural subgroups (Groce & Zola, 1993).

Specifically regarding Koreans, this group began to immigrate to the United States as early as 1903 (Kim, 2004), however it was not until after 1965 that immigration rates exponentially increased. Before 1965, exclusion laws passed in the early 1900s had reduced Asian immigration to a near standstill. However, in 1965 President Lyndon B. Johnson signed an amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act removing the quota system. This second wave of Korean immigrants were largely comprised of white collar individuals coming to the U.S. in hopes of improved political and social security (Shin & Shin, 1999), as well as to provide better educational opportunities for their children (Yoon, 1997).

According to the 2004 American Community Survey (ACS) report series of the

U.S. Census Bureau (2007), it was estimated that the Korean-American population was

about 1.25 million. In this report, three-quarters of Korean-Americans reported Korea as

their birthplace, which suggests that the majority of Koreans living in the U.S. are first

generation immigrants. Interestingly, the Korean-American population has been reported

to be the fastest growing ethnic group in the United States with a 135% population

increase between 1980 and 1990 and an additional 35% increase from 1990 to 2000 (U.S.

Bureau of the Census, 2000). Yet, it has also been observed that this group seems to

assimilate more slowly and maintains salience of cultural traditions for longer periods

compared to other Asian cultural subgroups (Kim, Yu, Liu, Lim, & Kohrs, 1993).

Similar to the United States, Canada's ethnic diversity has increased over recent

decades and today Canada is officially recognized as one of three multicultural countries

of the world, along with Australia and Sweden (Wayland, 1997). However, in the past,

Canada was not quite so culturally tolerant or inclusive. Due to a strong national desire to

maintain Canada's Anglo identity, visible minority groups such as Blacks and Asians

were not welcome. These people were viewed as highly unassimilable, and aside from

the large Chinese immigrant population, of which many had paid steep head taxes to

enter into Canada to work on the railroads, few Asians were granted entry. Therefore,

several political events occurred to facilitate the diversification of Canada's cultural

fabric.

The first national step taken to increase multiculturalism happened in 1962, when

racial demographic factors were eliminated as a central feature in Canada's immigration

policy. Next, in 1967, a points system was written into the immigration policy to select

immigrants based on their education, occupation, language, skills, and age. This further

reduced the likelihood of racial discrimination (Citizenship and Immigration Canada,

2008) and increased Canada's skilled labor workforce. Then, in 1976, Canada's

Immigration Act explicitly prohibited discrimination of immigrant applicants based on

race, ethnic origin, color, gender, or religion (Wayland, 1997).

 With specific regards to the Korean population, 2001 Census estimates suggest

there are approximately more than 100,000 Koreans living in Canada (Statistics Canada,

2007). Seventy-percent of these individuals are first generation and report being foreign-

born. In proportion to the rest of the Canadian population, during 1996-2001, the Korean

population grew exponentially faster by 49% (Statistics Canada, 2007). This is likely due

to high rates of recent immigration as 60% of Koreans immigrated within the past

decade. Evidently, since 1992, Korea has been among the top 10 source countries for

immigrants to Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2008), with most

immigrants within the past decade being admitted under the skilled worker or business

classes (BS Stats, 2010). It appears that Korean immigrants mostly settle in the province

of Ontario, with British Columbia a close second for destination cities (Statistics Canada,

2007).

Cultural Value Orientations

Traditional Korean Cultural Values

 According to Oak & Martin (2000), traditional Korean culture is influenced by

collectivism, specifically Confucian collectivism. Here, the definition for collectivism is

borrowed from Pyke (1999) who described it as having, "…emphasis on close family

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ties, strong commitment to family members, and high levels of contact and interdependence" (p. 662). This cultural value stems from Confucian ideology, which in combination with familism (Cha, 1983), serves as the social blueprint from which Koreans generate personal value systems (Pyke, 2000) and determine standards of acceptability for social and moral behavior.

Familism differs from collectivism by placing greatest emphasis on family, blood relations – ordering it above relations by race, ethnicity, or nationality (Choe, 1976). As such, family is viewed as an extension of the self and identity is constructed in-group (Triandis, Leung, Villareal, & Clack, 1985). For families from collectivist cultures, decision-making typically involves consultation with the extended family system, an integral part of the main family. This is in contrast to the western ideological perspective in which the nuclear family is privileged as the societal norm (Groce & Zola, 1993).

Fundamental Confucian philosophy promotes hierarchical relationships and expects strict obedience to persons in positions of authority. Korean familism (Cha, 1983) more specifically requires strict respect for parental authority. Consequently, Korean children are expected to be submissive towards their parents and civil authorities, as well as preserve relational harmony and restrict emotional expression (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1990). In particular, they are to give great respect to their elders or persons perceived as family leaders. The perspectives of these individuals are revered and highly influential in the decisions made by the rest of the family (Mitchell, 2003). As a rule, Korean culture tends to be paternalistic (i.e., respect for father's authority and wives' obedience to husbands). Consequently, parent-child relationships are hierarchically structured, and filial piety is prescribed (Lehrer, 1996).

Filial piety is an established cultural value also birthed out of Confucian thought and Korean familism (Lehrer, 1996). Chung & Yoo (2000) explain the meaning of filial piety as respect for parents, assuming responsibility to care for one's parents in old age and self-sacrifice in order to preserve family honor. Emphasis on social rules such as respect for elders, relational hierarchy, obedience to unobjectionable parental authority, and filial piety can lead to parenting from a relational orientation that may seem rigid and cold. From a western perspective, Korean parent-child relationships may appear fused or enmeshed. Without regard for the socio-cultural context that frames this relationship dynamic, family therapists who practice from a western orientation will perceive it as pathological.

Other values in Korean culture that are important from a Confucian perspective are harmony (Rothbaum, Pott, Azuma, Miyake, & Weisz, 2000), wisdom, honor, self-competence, respect, dignity, and prestige (Huhr, 1998). As such, educational achievement (Park, 1997) is viewed as one means to these ends. Academic success is perceived as a measure of one's competence, an indicator of family status, and the door to financial stability (Yang, 2001). This cultural discourse motivates parents to place significant pressure on their children for academic achievement and school success (Cheon, 1996).

In Korean culture, children rather than the couple, are considered to be central to the family and marriage (Lee & Keith, 1999). As a result, mothers are revered and viewed as the primary caregivers. Because academic achievement is highly prized in Korean culture, mothers are considered responsible for facilitating their children's success (Park, 2008). The literature discusses how Korean mothers tend to function

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around the clock as their children's academic coaches and supervisors in order to help them achieve academically and attain professional careers.

Anglo-American Cultural Values

Various cultural value differences between Korean and Anglo-American societies seem to cause tension and discord within the parent-child relationships of first generation Korean immigrants and their American born second generation children. Some of these value conflicts include: (a) individualism versus collectivism and familism, (b) tolerance and acceptance of diversity versus desire for similarity, (c) equality and freedom versus obedience and respect, (d) encouragement and praise versus academic achievement, and (e) happiness and fulfillment versus societal recognition.

In contrast to Korean culture, North American culture promotes individualism (Yum, 1988). Individualism is a self-orientation defined as an attitude that places priority on "…own interests, independently of their bearings on the interests of a given collectivity" (Parsons, Shils, & Olds, 1951, p. 81). In an individualistic culture, there is tolerance for individual perspectives and each person's unique personhood. On the other hand, in Korean culture, conformity to standard cultural norms is encouraged. For example, Korean children typically wear uniforms in schools and are only allowed to keep their hair a certain length. Most parents also subscribe to the popular Korean cultural belief that they have to enroll their children in either formal music or fine arts training, along with requisite English tutoring. Furthermore, these standards of normality are presupposed based on a binary gender order (Winker & Degele, 2011).

Along with a regard and acceptance (Yang & Rettig, 2003) of differing opinions, perspectives, attitudes, and lifestyles, western parents for the most part, try to embrace differences. In contrast, Korean parents try to preserve a sense of connection to the natal culture and family of origin identity, and seem to view noncomformity as a threat. For example, some immigrant parents in Yang and Rettig's research perceived kids who dressed in styles (i.e., influenced by pop culture multiple facial piercings, brightly dyed hair, etc.) to be deviant and believed that if their children associated with them they would be negatively affected.

Korean familism as a cultural value prioritizes obedience and respect, which also differs from Anglo American values that privilege freedom and equality (Yang & Rettig, 2003). Consequently, these values lead to different orientations in parent-child relationships, which are viewed as hierarchical. As one first generation Korean immigrant parent in Yang & Rettig's (2003) study commented, "Children should respect adults in Korea. Here it is equality between adults and children. When dad talks to his son, he bends his knees for eye contact with his son. It is the same level" (p. 362). Hierarchical parenting styles can create conflict between first generation Korean immigrant parents and their American born second generation children. For example, second generation Korean-American children who had first-hand experiences of the western cultural value system demanded their right to live their own lives free of interference from their parents. The thought of rejecting parental authority was a foreign concept for first generation parents who took this as a sign of disrespect.

In North American school settings teachers offer encouragement and praise to nurture and support student success. Second generation Korean-Americans born or raised

in the U.S. or Canada are usually educated within that cultural context. However, this practice is difficult to understand for first generation Korean-Americans who were socialized in Korean academic settings created to be highly competitive environments that promote development of jealousy, diligence, and endurance amongst the student body. As one parent put it, "Koreans are very stingy in praise. We just take it for granted that children do well in school. We think it is just their job" (Yang & Rettig, 2003, p. 361). There is fear amongst these parents that the North American approach will fail to motivate their children to fight for advancement and success, which directly relate to upholding family honor.

Rather than simply aspire for academic achievement or financial success, the pursuit of happiness and fulfillment in life are highly valued by parents in the North American context. This is not so for Korean immigrant first generation parents who generally seem to hold a shared consensus on children's success, which is to gain entry into a highly ranked university (Yang & Rettig, 2003). Due to a collectivist orientation, Korean parents are "conscious of other people's eyes" (p. 363) otherwise referred to as "noon-chi" in Korean language, and desire for their children to reach achievements that gain public recognition to bolster social status and consequently, family honor (Park, 2009). Children who mutually subscribe to this concept are perceived as well raised, loving, loyal, and "chahk-hye", or "good" in society's eyes.

At the same time, scholars such as Kim & Choi (1994) contend that varying characteristics of individualism and collectivism exist within all cultures, and discourage against exclusively categorizing cultures as one or the other. In fact, Kim (1993) elaborated on this notion by developing a system of nomenclature that identified three

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different subtypes of individualism and collectivism. It is reasonable to think that Korean-American culture is influenced by both individualism and collectivism.

Acculturation of Korean-Americans

Many of the first generation South Koreans that immigrated post-1965 came as skilled laborers or white-collar professionals, but were unable to find jobs in their respective fields and therefore relied on establishing small businesses to support their families in the United States. Amidst the challenge to survive, many immigrant families felt pressure to balance the tasks of acculturation with a commitment to retain traditions and values from the natal culture (Shi & Lu, 2007). Research suggests that first generation immigrants and second generation Korean-Americans acculturate at varying rates (Kim, Cain, & McCubbin, 2006).

Berry (2006) conceptualized immigrant acculturation as an adaptive process of negotiating cultural orientation, with the major task to determine an ideal balance between adopting mainstream cultural ideas and maintaining practices of one's natal culture. He developed a four-category typology of acculturation attitudes in his multicultural acculturation framework, which included: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. Within Berry's framework, conceptual relatedness is noted between integration and assimilation, as well as separation and marginalization.

Those falling into the integration and assimilation categories are open to mainstream culture in the host country; the integrated also maintain aspects of the natal culture, whereas the assimilated do not (Berry, 2006). On the other hand, separated and marginalized individuals maintain exclusive adherence to the natal culture and reject the

mainstream culture of the receiving country. Those that are marginalized isolate themselves from both the host and natal cultures. According to Kim (1988), integration and assimilation were associated with higher levels of life satisfaction and lower levels of psychological distress, whereas separation and marginalization demonstrated opposite outcomes.

In general, a variety of sociocultural and relational influences have shaped the experiences of these immigrant families and the literature documents distinct differences between these first generation transnationals and their second generation U.S. born children. It is evident that there is more than simply a language barrier or generational gap that exists between these individuals and their immigrant parents. According to Tuan (1998), there seems to be a cultural crevasse that makes it difficult to establish shared understandings and generates intergenerational conflict in these immigrant families.

Second Generation Korean-American Bicultural Orientation

Sociologist, Mia Tuan (1998), authored a book entitled *Forever Foreigners or Honorary Whites? The Asian Ethnic Experience Today.* In this text, she explored the concept of identity formation and raised awareness around racialized experiences of Asian Americans in North America. Tuan's writing epitomizes the experience of many second generation Asian Americans born in North America to first generation immigrant parents. She writes that the feeling of being between worlds is common for these individuals. Furthermore, the phrase 'forever foreigner' as used in her title, suggests that for Asian Americans – even those born in the country, the option to fully integrate into the United States does not exist because of their stark phenotypic contrast. According to

Stonequist (1937), people of Asian descent perpetually face marginalization because of the lack of opportunity to blend into Western society as immigrants of European descent can do.

The experience of being marginalized and rejected from mainstream societal membership may enhance a sense of 'otherness'. Furthermore, Lee (1996) argues that Asian Americans encounter double marginalization in the United States through glorification as the so-called model minority and simultaneous exclusion from full societal membership through heightened perception of physical differences. Chow (2002) posits that the category 'model minority' is used for "coercive mimeticism", which he defines as:

> A process… in which those who are marginal to mainstream Western culture are expected … to resemble and replicate the very banal preconceptions that have been appended to them, … to objectify themselves in accordance with the already seen and thus to authenticate the familiar imaginings of them as ethnics" (p. 107).

Stated another way, dominant discourses reify cultural stereotypes of ethnicities by compelling marginalized groups to further maintain the expectations society constructs for them (Asher, 2008). This coupled with the Korean cultural expectation for academic achievement and obedience to parental authority can create a cultural bind that pressures second generation Korean-American children into thinking they need to be a certain way.

At the same time, American born second generation Korean-Americans inevitably encounter the cultural duality of locating themselves within their parents' Korean heritage as well as the American one into which they were born. These individuals may intuitively sense themselves as "… on the margins of each but a member of neither"

(Stonequist, 1937, p.3). In this study, second generation Korean-Americans are defined as individuals of Korean ethnic descent that were born in North America to first generation Korean immigrants or those that immigrated before entering the first grade.

Objectives

This dissertation is designed to explore the following overarching research question: How does the larger social context, including dominant discourses, traditional cultural ideologies, and relational influences impact construction of parent-child relationships, as well as the parenting orientations or parent-child relational positioning in a sample of second generation Korean-American couples with young children between the ages of 0-10 years? This research is expected to produce two publishable papers to build upon a previous conceptual paper co-authored on relational parenting typologies (Tuttle et al., 2012). This four-quadrant typology of parent-child relational orientations (TP-CRO) describes varying degrees of power and focus dimensions, which organize how parents begin to position themselves in relationship to their children.

Using qualitative interviews and a grounded theory approach, the first of two papers will address the following question: How does the experience of growing-up in a traditional Korean immigrant family amidst bicultural socialization in the dominant culture and racialized experiences shape the lived experience of second generation Korean-Americans and influence the construction of their parenting ideology? The second paper will investigate: Which processes lead some parents towards developing a more relationally oriented approach? Particular attention will be given to exploring the

relevance of Tuttle et al.'s (2012) four-quadrant parenting framework to this parent group.

<div align="center">**Rationale**</div>

Despite dramatic changes in the U.S. cultural landscape, the 2001 U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Mental Health Report to the Surgeon General highlighted that ethnic minorities, such as Asian Americans, are still underrepresented in mental health research (Lu, 2009). As such, monolithic images of normative family forms and functioning are prescribed within lay and academic discourses as a standard against which other families that diverge from this are inadvertently denigrated and viewed as deviant or dysfunctional (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). Yet, because the larger social context has witnessed a wide variety of changes in life perspectives, family forms, and social attitudes, the traditional ideologies upon which many of the country's establishments and institutions were founded do not represent the interests of many families within and outside of the mainstream (Groce & Zola, 1993).

The parenting approach of first generation Korean immigrant parents is strongly influenced by the beliefs and traditions of their native culture, which in many ways contrasts from the dominant discourses within North American culture (Yang & Rettig, 2003). Family therapists may perceive Korean-American parents to be cold, distant, and authoritarian compared to North American parents of European descent. However, like the model minority stereotype, the assumptions about Korean-American parents may exclude opportunities for recognizing differences and variations that more accurately

reflect the breadth of parenting orientations that are commonly utilized within this population.

It is possible to assume that differing acculturation rates, cultural orientations, socialization experiences, cultural identities, and social contexts create a contrast between families of the first and second generations (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). However, in the current literature there seems to be little differentiation between Asian immigrant and Asian American families. Therefore, family therapists may absorb many of their ideas and assumptions about parenting in second generation Korean-American families from monolithic descriptions of first generation culture in the family therapy literature or assumptions perpetuated within the lay public. There may also be limited consideration for the experiences of marginalization within American society and cultural multiplicity, both of which affects their orientations towards parenting.

There seems to be a dearth in knowledge to inform therapeutic approaches for Korean families or models for working in culturally competent ways around specific therapy issues, including parenting (Lu, 2009). Due to the need to understand the unique experiences of second-generation parents, more research that involves Korean American families is needed to increase family therapists' cultural awareness and competency for working with this group. Lynch & Hason (1993) define cultural competence as, "…the ability to think, feel, and act in ways that acknowledge, respect, and build upon ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity" (p. 50). By better understanding the socio-cultural factors impacting this population, therapists will be more effective in engaging these families in therapeutic contexts around parenting issues.

There are many second generation children of immigrant South Koreans that are currently in the parenting phase of life. However, the already limited literature on Korean-American parenting does not account for the lived experience of second generation individuals, whose identity is constructed largely within the hyphenation (Bhabha, 1994) of the category Korean-American. In order to develop awareness about the parenting concerns of second generation Korean-American families today, it is important to locate their experience within the socio-cultural context, seeking to understand the feeling of existing between opposing cultural worlds, and exploring the ways in which these intersect to influence their beliefs, values, and attitudes towards the parenting role.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Over the past decade, there has been a surge in cross-cultural research on parenting (i.e., Dwairy, Stevenson-Hinde). This may partially be attributed to the increasing racial and ethnic diversity in the United States. Cross-cultural parenting issues present a particularly unique challenge for many family therapists. One reason is because culture, gender, ethnicity, SES, and parenting interface and intersect in complex and varying ways. With the continuously changing cultural landscape of the U.S. and Canada, cross-cultural parenting issues will continue to be an important topic for research and family therapy practice, particularly as it relates to development of cultural sensitivity.

At the same time, the existing dominant discourses around parenting and parent-child relationships continue to privilege mainstream, western ideology (Besley, 2002). That is, conventional parenting ideologies do not inherently take into consideration the larger social contextual issues; and therefore, inadvertently minimize attention to the social forces shaping the lived experiences of individuals and families from minority populations. As a result, the major influence of socio-cultural factors, institutional processes, and social context are overlooked and parenting is seen as something that occurs or is constructed at the individual or dyadic level. For example, parenting is often framed from an attachment (i.e., Bowlby, 1969), social learning (i.e., Bandura, 1977), or cognitive behavioral perspective (i.e. Beck, 1976) rather than viewed as a socio-culturally embedded relationship (Tuttle et al., 2012).

By using a social constructionist framework, we are able to expand our conceptualization of the parenting construct to consider the role of the social context.

This paradigm helps us to think about how American born second generation Korean-American parents, socialized in bicultural contexts, parent. A social constructionist lens facilitates exploration of the powerful ways in which factors such as first generation immigration, acculturation, and Confucian values intersect with western socialization processes to shape parental identity and development of parent-child relationships within second generation Korean-American families. Attention will be given to generational parenting differences.

In addition, this research endeavors to build upon the TP-CRO (Tuttle et al., 2012). As such, the cultural relevancy of this typology to second generation Korean-American parents will be explored and it will serve as a model for analyzing the parenting orientations of this bicultural group. Particular attention will be paid to how cultural value orientations and culturally based meanings influence how parents from ethnic minority backgrounds position themselves in the parent-child relationship.

Though this researcher recognizes that a number of biologically related and non-related caregivers may serve the role of a parent, in this study, parenting will specifically be defined as a socio-culturally embedded relationship between mothers, fathers, and their biological offspring.

Parenting through a Social Constructionist Lens

Social Constructionist Theory

At the core of the social constructionist (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) paradigm is the belief that all reality is constructed in context through interaction (Gergen, 2009). That is, reality does not merely exist in some objective form, but is created through

subjective meaning-making processes and shared social interactions (Anderson &
Goolishian, 1988). Language, power dynamics (Foucault, 1980) and socio-cultural
discourses or cultural ideology (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2006) shape the process of co-
construction. Furthermore, forces of institutionalization are thought to influence and
maintain ideas of what is privileged (Gergen, 2009). In sum, a social constructionist
framework perceives social reality as complex, dynamic, embedded within context, and
process oriented.

Family therapists who draw on a social constructionist framework credit Foucault
(1980) with raising consciousness around the ethics of power. In particular, Foucault
highlighted the societal power practices of control exercised through classification, and
recognized the power of language to constitute what members in society start to define as
real, true, good, or bad. In considering the constitutive nature of language, he had concern
for how dominant discourses essentialize, objectify, stigmatize, sequester, and
dehumanize people (Monk & Gehart, 2003). These power processes are believed to
permeate human thought and experience; and thus create societal prescriptions of
shoulds, oughts, and musts for both individuals and families. These arbitrary frames are
used for evaluating behavior and relationships, which also bear upon what society
considers to be proper parenting. Variations viewed as outside the mainstream norm are
denigrated and marginalized (Freedman & Combs, 1996).

From a social constructionist lens, parenting is understood vis-à-vis the social
context, and cultural discourses are believed to shape and frame how individuals
approach the parent-child relationship (Harkness, Super, & Tijen, 2000). Therefore,
parenting approaches are formulated upon the basis of first-hand experiences in one's

family of origin, parental attitudes, goals, and social norms prescribed through dominant discourses and subsequently enacted through specific skills, actions, and relational positions. These factors also lead to different socio-cultural variations in the formation of parent-child relationships (Weisner, 2005).

However, dominant models around parenting have been historically based upon data from white, middle SES populations (Hill, 2006) and traditionally do not pay particular attention to the social context and how parenting ethnotheories frame different practices in various cultures. Parenting ethnotheories are culturally organized sets of ideas that people from similar ethnic groups share with regards to parenting, childrearing, and family (Harkness, Super, & Mavridis, 2011). These implicit ideas become taken-for-granted realities about the "right" way to parent and serve as powerful motivators for parents' thoughts and actions. Failure to acknowledge the social context can lead to static and stereotypic models of parenting and culture (i.e., Asian American parents as cold and distant), which do not account for the rich inter and intracultural variation and diversity of families across generations.

Parental Role Identities

Habib & Lancaster (2006) believe that parenting begins at conception, not after birth. This refers to the idea of a continuous transition process parents go through, involving identity formation around emerging parenting roles. How might parental identity influence the parenting attitudes, behaviors, and child rearing approaches? According to McCall & Simmons' (1978) theory of identity construction, individuals intrapsychically construct status hierarchies pertaining to the various roles and

responsibilities they perceive to have. Parents may see themselves as providers, nurturers, disciplinarians, friends, advocates, caregivers, etc. The amount of emphasis or importance an individual places on each role determines the order of priority given as well as content of behavior. The content of parenting role status will likely be influenced by the social context and ideas the dominant discourses prescribe as important for each parent to do and organize him or herself according to (Lamb, 2004).

For example, a parent who views his or her roles in the following order: provider, disciplinarian, and caregiver, will direct most of his or her attention to work activities, then behavioral control, and last to responsiveness-to-child tasks. Therefore, what a parent perceives his or her role responsibilities to be will shape the parenting style he or she will utilize. Thus, with focus in western society on raising autonomous individuals who are capable of acting as good citizens, the focus of parenting responsibilities may consequently be organized around parenting strategies that facilitate children's development of responsibility and independence. On the other hand, if the parent-child relational bond is privileged (Herbert, 2004), corresponding focus on emotional attunement and mutual interaction is likely to be observed.

Over time, parents will develop greater salience in their identity around the parenting role, which will inform the schemas they endorse for parenting and the type of parent-child relationships they try to establish. According to Keller, Voelker, & Yovsi (2005), parenting schemas are informed by individual or collectivistic ideology and preferences for either autonomy or interrelatedness. This concept highlights the importance of considering the implications of the social context in shaping our internal schemas about ways of being. Second generation Korean-Americans may parent through

schemas that demonstrate a fusion of the traditional Korean cultural parenting practices they experienced firsthand as children as well as the parenting ideologies they adopted through socialization experiences within the dominant discourse. By adopting a pluralistic approach, we are able to broaden our conceptualization of parent-child relationships to be more theoretically applicable for families that do not fit the prescriptive Anglo-American family form (Weisner, 2005).

Relational Parenting Orientations Framework

In this study, parenting is defined as a relationship, with less attention given to the specific actions or practices that comprise parenting. Tuttle et al.'s (2012) TP-CRO takes a similar emphasis and provides a general model for viewing parenting approaches of American born second generation Korean-Americans. Before providing an overview of the four quadrant's in this typology, it is important to acknowledge the work of Silverstein, Buxbaum, Tuttle, Knudson-Martin, & Huenergardt (2006) regarding relational orientations in couple relationships, which served as a foundational precursor to the formation of Tuttle et al.'s (2012) framework.

 Silverstein et al., (2006) developed a typology of relational orientations that utilizes the continuums of power and focus to conceptualize structural positioning within couple relationships. The focus dimension is represented by a horizontal continuum that gauges whether a person is more oriented towards independence and autonomy or relationship and connection. Perpendicular to this is the vertically oriented power dimension that represents the proportional balance of hierarchy to equality in a relationship. Within this typology, relational orientation is defined as, "internal ways of

experiencing oneself in relation to others" (p. 301). According to Silverstein et al., these "individual" relational orientations cannot be understood outside of culture and relational context. Furthermore, a person's relational orientation is demonstrated through interpersonal exchanges of language and behavior.

Tuttle et al. (2012) applied Silverstein et al.'s (2006) four-quadrant typology of couple relational orientations to conceptualize parent-child relationships. An interest in supporting parents and children to develop a more relationship oriented way of interacting led to our engagement in this particular work. Our ideas were contextualized within attachment-based models of parenting, which emphasize the significance of mutual emotional influence between parents and children. Similarly to other attachment informed parent-child relationship scholars (e.g., Hughes, 2009; Sameroff & Emde, 1989; Siegel & Hartzell, 2004), we also focused less on the parent-child hierarchy.

Tuttle et al.'s (2012) typology assumes that parents and children develop internal representations or schemas (Azar, Nix, & Makin-Byrd, 2005) regarding how one might position him or herself in relation to another, which subsequently serve as the blueprint for how that person will approach relationships. These orientations are not simply constructivistic as they are co-constructed through dyadic and systemic interactions and situated within society's prescriptive mores for people based on their relational roles (i.e., mother, father, daughter, son, etc.). That is, dominant discourses pertaining to gender, cultural orientation, ethnicity, religion, and family roles perpetuate different ideas of which relational orientations are options for a person and this is determined specifically by who the individual is recognized as being within the relationship.

With regards to parent-child relationships, relational orientations may also be partially dependent on a child's developmental stage and level of individual functioning (Tuttle et al., 2012). Also, from a family systems perspective, one's family-of-origin experiences motivate the development of a person's parenting schemas (Stern, 1995), which directly relate to their ideas about parent-child relational positioning. However, these are considered alongside the assumption that relational orientation is understood within context, and as with other systemic processes, is fluid and dynamic and can thus shift in the face of changing life circumstances or social locations. In essence, learning what it means to be relational (Silverstein, et al., 2006) is a shared interactional process structured and informed by the socio-cultural forces and socio-political ideology of the larger social context.

Tuttle et al.'s (2012) TP-CRO includes the following four orientations: (a) rule directed, (b) position directed, (c) independence directed, and (d) relationship directed. This framework provides a means to assess the structure and focus of relational orientations in parent-child relationships and the contextual or situational factors (i.e., immigration, marginalization, cultural values, etc.) that affect how relational positioning takes shape. In addition, it raises our consciousness with regards to what parents model and teach their children about being in relationships, and how this may differ according to gender, developmental stage, and cultural orientation.

Rule directed parent-child relationships are highly organized around hierarchy, and maintain a commitment to relational roles and rules (Tuttle et al., 2012). Cultural rules guide parents' use of authority to raise their children in a way that prepares them to function within the given social context. Furthermore, parents' and children's goals and

needs are considered secondary to the best interests of the relationship or larger system. Individual commitment and accountability to act and relate in ways that support a collective goal is akin to the Confucian value of collectivism and Korean cultural value of familism. Many Korean immigrant families may seem rule-directed for a couple of reasons.

First, with children rather than the marital dyad as the central focus in Korean families, Confucian ideology places major emphasis on parents' duty to raise "good" children and children's strict obedience to parents. Second, for many immigrant families, the main goal is survival and parents may use a rule-directed orientation with the belief that because they have more wisdom, giving more parental directives will facilitate successful outcomes for their children in a foreign societal context. However, despite these intentions, it is unclear whether there may still be a potential for the parent to protect their personal position and or rights.

Position-directed parent child relational orientations are also highly hierarchical in structure, but focus primarily on individual rather than relational responsibility (Tuttle et al., 2012). Position-directed relationships are differentiated from rule-directed ones because they place less emphasis on the group's standards or expectations and greater focus on facilitating the goals of the person holding greater hierarchical power. In some families, the person with greater power may be the child, but more commonly it is the parent. These parents expect obedience and respect from their children because of their higher structural position. In addition, parents do not consider it important to solicit the opinions and perspectives of the children with regards to relational behavior and decision-making.

This type of relational orientation illustrates a traditionally patriarchal ideology in that it supports the notion of a latent, hierarchical power structure, while disregarding the value of mutuality and shared relational responsibility. In some situations, this imbalance of relational power and control can increase the likelihood for abuse to occur, however in other contexts where close parental control is necessary for ensuring a child's survival (i.e., impoverished, urban neighborhoods), this parenting orientation can be instrumental in facilitating safety.

Independence-directed parent child relationships place little focus on hierarchy and relational responsibility (Tuttle et al., 2012). Stated another way, this parent-child orientation promotes egalitarianism and independence or autonomy. In these relationships, children's personhood is recognized and they are expected to develop and express their perspectives and needs, as well as to respect the interests of others. Parents invite their children to share their voices and are willing to negotiate and compromise on issues as appropriate. Conflict may occur in instances where parents and children cannot mutually come to a shared agreement and both hold tightly to their individual interests, instead of working towards a shared goal. While children in these relationships come to learn that they have a voice and it matters, they may have difficulty with relational responsibility and learning to attune to the needs of others. This type of parent-child relational orientation is typically what Korean-American parents associate with a western style of parenting.

Relationship-directed parent-child orientations, similar to independence-directed ones, privilege egalitarianism but also promote development of relational responsibility (Tuttle et al., 2012). Parents model what it means to be relational and to consider

another's needs by listening to their children's opinions and attuning to their spoken and unspoken interests. The endeavor is to teach children to notice how they impact others. Therefore, while parents seek to understand their children's experiences, they also share how the child's behavior has affected them. Discipline and shared decision making between parent and child are in the spirit of doing what is best to ensure wellbeing of the relationship.

Contrary to the position-directed relational orientation, the relationship-directed orientation is more illustrative of feminine ideology (i.e., Jordan, 2009). It is believed that this mutual attunement (Hughes, 2009) increases emotional connection (Siegel & Hartzell, 2004) and wellbeing. However, because of the emphasis in Korean culture on authority and obedience, this style of relationship may be misinterpreted by Koreans as permissive and irresponsible parenting. In addition, problems can arise when parents fail to set clear limits or simply teach their children to be nice, rather than authentically express themselves for fear of causing conflict. Learning to tolerate conflict while also promoting relationality is a challenging skill to develop (Fishbane, 2003).

Tuttle et al.'s (2012) TP-CRO is different from other conceptualizations of parenting, such as Baumrind's (1991) well known typology of parenting styles, which does not use the dimensions of power and focus to understand parent-child relationships. Instead, Baumind's framework is based upon notions of differing balances of warmth and responsiveness. In particular, what is missing that is accounted for in Tuttle et al.'s (2012) typology, is the idea of mutuality or bi-directionality in relationships between parents and children. To further illustrate the differences between the relational

orientations model and other conceptual frameworks, contrasting theories are briefly discussed.

Comparison Parenting Frameworks

Baumrind's Typology

Baumrind (1991) was the originator of one of the most well known models of parenting styles. Here, parenting styles do not simply refer to parenting practices, but to what Maccoby & Martin (1983) refer to as the extent to which a parent is both responsive and demanding. In Baumrind's (1991) model, responsiveness is synonymously related to parental warmth and is demonstrated through support and attunement to the child's needs and desires (Darling, 1999). This is similar to the relational responsibility end of the focus continuum in Tuttle et al.'s (2012) framework. However, the difference is that Baumrind (1991) focuses predominantly on parental actions in a linear sense without attention to bidirectional influences of the child on the relationship. On the other hand, demandingness is likened to degree of parental behavioral control and characterized through supervisory, disciplinary, and confrontational actions. From a relational orientations perspective, demandingness may be thought of as a characteristic of hierarchical parental power.

Baumrind's (1991) original typology consisting of authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive parenting styles was later expanded by Maccoby & Martin (1983) to four parenting categories: indulgent, authoritarian, authoritative, or uninvolved. Indulgent parents are described as permissive, lenient, and high on warmth, but focused minimally on limit setting and obedience. This parenting style seems laid-back and open, but it is

difficult to compare it with any of the relational orientations described about because it does not directly relate to power and focus dimensions. For instance, it is difficult to say whether lack of attention to limit setting or focus on obedience is motivated by a relationship directed orientation, a characteristic of utilizing natural consequences, a way to avoid parent-child conflict, or something different altogether.

Uninvolved or neglectful parents are low on responsiveness and simultaneously laissez faire in their approach towards child rearing. It is not clear how this parenting style might relate to any of the quadrants in Tuttle et al.'s (2012) TP-CRO. Authoritarian parents are described as being high on the demandingness continuum, highly directive, and intolerant of disobedience, but low on warmth and responsiveness. Authoritarian parents appear similar to a position directed parenting orientation, in that both place parents in the hierarchical position with little emphasis on connection and relational responsibility. In contrast, authoritative parents are characterized as demonstrating a balance between responsiveness and demandingness. It is not clear, whether authoritative parenting results from being relationship focused, or simply an attempt to balance use of nurturance and discipline.

The authoritative parenting style (i.e., parents who are warm yet firm in their expectations of children's behavior) has been frequently recognized by parenting experts as the preferred approach and seems to be correlated with high sociability, academic achievement, and low behavior problems in adolescence (Weiss & Schwarz, 1996). In general, parental responsiveness appears to be correlated with social competence and psychosocial wellbeing, while parental demandingness appears to be correlated with high achievement outcomes and behavioral compliance (Weiss & Schwarz, 1996). Children

with uninvolved or inattentive parents seemed to perform the least well on all measured domains of functioning. However, whether it was the provision of nurturance and emotional responsiveness or use of discipline that was of greater influence on child developmental outcomes is unclear.

Baumrind's (1991) work focuses on parent-adolescent relationships and describes the content (i.e., authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive) of one's parenting practices. Her theoretical hypothesis asserts that parenting practices are functionally related to adolescent identity formation and cognitive and moral developmental outcomes, with certain styles (i.e., authoritative), correlating to more positive development (Patterson & Fisher, 2008). This focus on parenting as a set of behaviors is common, especially within a social interaction framework.

Behaviorally Focused Parenting Framework

The social interactional perspective views human behavior as directly functional to the social events, which precede or follow it (Snyder & Patterson, 1986). As such, parenting is conceptualized as a set of practices organized within a context of social interactions and patterned over time. In order to identify the determinants of behavior, patterns of social interaction and social consequences are studied and observed around common behaviors of interest. For example, if an investigator had interest in understanding the predictors for child tantrums, he or she would pay particular attention to the patterns of social interaction and consequences siblings or parents give with regards to the tantrums. With behavior as the central organizing construct of the social

interactional perspective, it represents a major contrast to the relational conceptualization of parenting, as illustrated in Tuttle et al.'s (2012) TP-CRO.

The social interactional perspective has been widely used to study human development and social interaction as these relate to social phenomena such as attachment (i.e., Maccoby & Feldman, 1972), aggression (i.e., Patterson, 1982), and altruism (i.e., Radke-Yarrow & Waxler, 1976). This theoretical framework recognizes the notion of bidirectional influence of child on the parent-child interaction. That is, both children and parents are seen as contributing to the socialization process, and this is a common feature in Tuttle et al's (2012) typology. Since Bell (1968) and Bell & Harper (1977) first introduced the idea of bi-directionality in their studies on socialization processes, other developmental researchers (Belsky, 1984; Lytton, 1990; and Martin, 1981) and behavioral researchers (Patterson & Bank, 1986) have also studied this construct. However, in these research endeavors, the focus is on socialization, and the unit of analysis is still individual action and effect, rather than relational process.

In addition to Baumrind's (1991) parenting styles and the social interactional perspective, other theoretical frameworks such as attachment (Ainsworth & Bowlby, 1991), social information processing (i.e. Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1990), and social interaction (i.e. Fisher, Ellis, & Chamberlain, 1999) are used to explain parenting actions and investigate why certain parenting practices are correlated with positive and negative developmental outcomes. Again, the focus of these theoretical perspectives, in contrast to the relational orientations framework, is most concerned with functional analyses of parenting behavior and parenting contingencies (Patterson & Fisher, 2002).

Attachment Framework

Attachment theory (Ainsworth & Bowlby, 1991; Ainsworth, Waters, & Wall, 1978; and Bowlby, 1988) is regarded as a predominant parenting framework that conceptualizes parenting as relatedness (Rothbaum, Weisz, Pott, Miyake, & Morelli, 2000). Bowlby (1969) described the notion of attachment as a "…lasting and psychological connectedness between human beings" (p.194). He drew upon Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic theory, which asserted that early parent-child relationships significantly impact an individual's psychosocial and emotional development and sense of wellbeing across the lifespan. Bowlby's (1988) original conceptualization of attachment focused on the importance of mother responsiveness to child in facilitating a sense of dependability and security.

Attachment theory highlights the affective dimension of parenting and emphasizes the importance of emotional attunement in this process. It considers parental responsiveness to be a critical determiner of a child's emotional and psychosocial development. With focus on the parent's actions, it relates the degree of parental sensitivity, including how promptly and appropriately the parent's responses are to the infant's cues, with the quality or tone of parent-child relationship is established (Ainsworth & Bell, 1970). Bell and Ainsworth contend that, "… an infant whose mother's responsiveness helps him to achieve his ends develops confidence in his own ability to control what happens to him" (p. 1188).

Though attachment theory focuses on connectedness and parental responsivity, it differs from the typology of relational orientations in the lack of explicit attention it gives to the power dimension. There is no consideration given to the various ways in which the

social context organizes power processes to affect formation of connectedness in the parent-child relationships. Furthermore, attachment types are typically conceptualized from the perspective of children rather than the parents, which consequently minimizes the inherent aspect of mutual influence in parent-child relationships. In contrast, the typology of parent-child relational orientations is about the way in which relational focus and power are managed or shared between children and parents, and this perspective assumes a systemic dynamic exists.

The four attachment types well known today are comprised of Ainsworth & Bell's (1978) categories - secure, ambivalent, avoidant, and a fourth category, disorganized-insecure which was later added by Main & Solomon (1986). Securely attached infants seem to comfortably explore their environment in the presence of their caregivers, experience appropriate distress when separated from them, resume a decreased level of exploration without their presence, and then are receptive and comforted when reunited (Waters & Valenzuela, 1999). These infants typically have caregivers that are warm, attentive, and responsive to their needs. This provides the child with a sense of safety and security.

Parental responsiveness is congruent with a relationship-directed parent-child orientation, however the role of power in facilitating secure attachment is not clear. In addition, one cannot speculate whether parental responsiveness is motivated by the parental belief that this is a rule of good parenting, or whether it is done for the sake of the relationship. It is hypothesized that within the context of a secure relationship, the child learns that his or her needs can be satisfied, which sets the foundation for future

development of self-regulation, ability to trust and attune to the emotional experiences of others.

Resistant or ambivalent infants are seem to experience extreme distress upon separation from their caregiver, but do not readily approach them when they return (Waters & Valenzuela, 1999). These children are not easily comforted by their caregivers and appear angry upon attempts to provide comfort. Infants with an ambivalent attachment pattern seem to desire proximity to their caregiver and thus protest separation, but simultaneously exhibit weak contact maintenance. Avoidant infants also demonstrate extreme distress when separated from their caregivers and do not greet them warmly upon return. However, unlike ambivalent infants these ones do not initiate proximity seeking behaviors or engage in contact maintenance. In fact, many infants with avoidant attachment look away or ignore their caregiver's attempts for engagement. Attachment patterns are believed to remain fairly stable across development into adulthood, but can be also be revised depending on experience and relational factors (Waters, Merrick, Trebouc, Crowell, & Albersheim, 2000).

Broad interest in attachment theory has partly been due to theoretical assertions that this theory is universally applicable (Cassidy & Shaver, 1999). This claim is founded on the fact that Ainsworth (1967) developed her theory of attachment based on observations made of parent-child relatedness in two diverse cultures – the U.S. and Uganda. Secondly, they cite Bowlby's (1969) belief that attachment is inherent to human survival and therefore, it is inscripted within the biological encoding of all people. However, there have been opponents to claims that the constructs within attachment

theory are culturally universal; that instead, attachment theory is based on western ideology and meanings (Rothbaum, Weisz, Pott, Miyake, & Morelli, 2001).

Social Construction of Second Generation Parenting

It is evident from the above discussion that parenting researchers utilize numerous theoretical orientations in their efforts to understand parenting, parent-child relationships, and child development. The development of various different theoretical frameworks has contributed to the broadening of perspectives around parenting and parent-child relationships beyond the traditionally western ideas featured in attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969) or parenting typology models (Baumrind, 1991). Because cultural factors, amongst other contextual variables, are recognized to significantly impact parenting practices and affect child outcomes (Patterson & Fisher, 2002), application of a social constructionist framework for parenting allows research that is more culturally sensitive and inclusive.

Because the existing research on Korean-American parenting approaches and parent-child relationships predominantly pertains to first generation Korean immigrant families, much of the theoretical focus has been on acculturation processes, ethnic identity construction, and language and cultural differences with little attention to the relational processes by which these evolve and change. However, from a social constructionist perspective, culture is co-constructive (Gergen, 2009) and constantly reshaped and reformed. A key feature of the social constructionist perspective is that parenting identities are co-created between co-parents as they interact with each other in relation to the larger social context. This view invites questions for family therapists

about how changes take place in parenting and family functioning across generations when the social context shifts and divergent cultural value systems converge as a result of migration and transgenerational family processes.

The TP-CRO (Tuttle et al., 2012) is unique in its theoretical conceptualization of parenting as bidirectional relational bonds and for paying particular attention to how power and focus dimensions in the parent-child relationship are shaped by cultural ideology and discourses within the social context. In this dissertation involving American born second generation Korean-American parents, the relational orientations framework raises questions regarding how persons socialized within bicultural contexts express relational parenting bonds. In addition, by working from a social constructionist lens, the way in which social interaction, language, and institutionalized power intersect to inform what parents come to believe as important and try to emulate in parent-child relationships can be more closely considered.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

It seems that parent-child relationships are influenced by a confluence of many factors informing self-identity, interactional experience, and location within social forces. Because they evolve through unique interpersonal experience embedded within larger societal contexts, relational orientations and their interpersonal dynamics are fluid and may shift as parents and children find themselves in different social locations or when dealing with different issues, as may occur during the immigration and acculturation experience (Shi & Lu, 2007).

This chapter will review the body of research on acculturation attitudes, cultural orientation, and migrational influences on parent-child relationship orientations as these relate to second generation Korean-American parenting. Though the literature on Korean-American families is growing, it is still early in its development and there is minimal research available with regard to specific aspects of the family life cycle. With this in mind, as well as to highlight what is known and yet unknown more broadly about how parents parent, the studies on parenting in families of minority backgrounds will be looked at from a cultural lens. These studies help shed light on the social context and construction of parenting orientations and practices.

Acculturation Attitudes

With regards to the acculturation trends of Korean-Americans, several authors have found support for Berry's (2006) typology of acculturation attitudes. In 2008, Kim & Wolpin conducted a study using Berry's framework to compare the acculturation

process for Korean immigrant parents versus their American born second generation adolescent children. These authors analyzed data from 307 Korean-American participants (97 fathers, 104 mothers, and 106 adolescents), and found integration to be the most commonly endorsed parental acculturation type, followed by marginalization, separation, and lastly, assimilation. Integrated Korean immigrants actively tried to balance both Korean and American culture. Those that assimilated were completely engaged in American culture, while cutting-off from Korean culture. Separated individuals adhered exclusively to Korean culture, and marginalization represented isolation from both cultures. No gender differences between mothers and fathers, with regards to acculturation attitudes were found.

In Kim & Wolpin's (2008) study, level of education and English language proficiency showed a relationship to acculturation attitude. Less education was positively correlated with separation. Higher levels of English proficiency were positively correlated with assimilation and integration, whereas lower levels of English proficiency were correlated with separation and marginalization. Integration was positively correlated with both English and Korean proficiency and usage. On the other hand, those who assimilated were not as fluent in Korean. It is evident from this that English language proficiency directly relates to level of acculturation.

Similar associations were found between acculturation and the linguistic and cultural characteristics of Korean-Canadians, (Kim & Berry, 1984). Those that integrated tended to be more fluent in English, read Canadian news publications, and engaged in Canadian society through taking on civic responsibilities as well as participating in organized cultural activities. With assimilation, English fluency was common, but unlike

those that integrated, assimilated individuals did not view Korean television or newsprint and showed little interest in promoting Korean language fluency with their children. Separation and marginalization were related to lower levels of education and socioeconomic status. Separated individuals also used less English, socialized predominantly with Koreans, and were less likely to have their Canadian citizenship.

Overall, Korean-Americans that integrate are linguistically proficient in both Korean and English. Furthermore, they participate in both Korean and Canadian culture-based activities (Kim, 1988) such as television viewing, newspaper reading, peer socializing, and dietary practices (Kim & Hurh, 1993). Assimilated individuals are more distanced from Korean cultural values, customs, and language, separated individuals try to preserve these aspects of Korean culture, and marginalized individuals are rather disconnected from both Korean and Canadian/American cultures. In particular, English proficiency, socioeconomic status, and level of education appear to be positively correlated with level of acculturation, with individuals having higher levels of these factors showing greater acculturation to western culture (Kim & Wolpin, 2008).

Acculturation attitudes seem to influence cultural socialization goals of first generation Korean immigrant parents. Kim & Wolpin (2008) found that integrated parents desired for their children to be fluent in Korean and English as well as to maintain social connections with Korean peers in addition to their western ones. On the other hand, those that assimilated did not consider it important to maintain Korean fluency or socialize with peers of similar ethnic descent. Separated or marginalized Korean immigrant parents seemed to remain in survival mode and focused predominantly on

functional goals such as providing financially for their families. This meant that attention was not placed on acculturation to western culture and learning the English language.

In Kim & Wolpin's (2008) study, over 90% of the Korean immigrant parents strongly believed that it was important for their children to learn the values and customs of western culture, while only 67-72% thought their children ought to maintain Korean cultural values and customs. Korean immigrant parents and Korean-American adolescents unanimously believed that the adolescents should speak English, while 83% of mothers and 80% of fathers desired that their children would maintain proficiency in Korean. Parents in this study thought English and western cultural proficiency was necessary for their children to be successful in academic as well as social pursuits.

In general, most of the literature on acculturation processes of Korean immigrant families seems to suggest that acculturation processes impact parenting goals and parents' expectations for their children. Some of the variation pertaining to parents' expectations for their children is based upon where the parents are in the acculturation process and their acculturation type at that given time.

Cultural Orientation

In addition to acculturation, it appears that a person's age at the time of immigration affects the development of their cultural orientation (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000). For example, Choi (2001) found that because younger children are more adept at learning languages and understanding new cultures, they gain quicker access into mainstream society than their parents. As a result, the parents can feel a sense of powerlessness, as they have to then rely on their children to serve as their translators and

cultural brokers. Similarly, Kim et al. (2006) found that because Asian American adolescents are either born into or embedded into a western culture from an early age in their development, it is easy for them to take on an American orientation. On the other hand, because many Asian American parents tend to immigrate in their adulthood, after having established a stable sense of Asian cultural identity, adoption of an American orientation is more tenuous (Espiritu, 2003).

In addition, a study by Kim, Gonzales, Stroh, & Wang (2006) on cultural marginalization of immigrant Asian American families (i.e., Chinese-Americans, Japanese-Americans, and Korean-Americans) residing in the United States found that, transplantation of Asian ethnics into a western context creates the option to take a hybrid cultural orientation – Asian American, rather than solely Asian or American. However, this may be perceived more by the second generation children born or raised in the U.S. to be an option, rather than their first generation immigrant parents. Regardless, racialized experiences continue to be an inevitable aspect of the Asian American experience.

Contrary to the experience of first generation immigrant parents, some Asian American adolescents report that they experience tremendous intrapsychic conflict in trying to make sense of their Asian identity (Espiritu, 2003). Asian American adolescents may be socialized within home environments dominated by their parents' Asian cultural values, customs, and beliefs. Yet, their evolving sense of Asian identity is different from their parents' because they typically only gain a second-hand experience of the family's natal culture by proxy, through stories told about the ethnic homeland, rather than emotionally encoding it through their own firsthand experiences. Also, second-generation

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Korean-American youth must reconcile their parents' cultural expectations with the evaluation they experience from their peers and the larger society based on preconceived assumptions in mainstream social discourse about Asian American culture (Asher, 2008).

Migrational Influences on Parent-Child Relationship Orientation

Research indicates that Confucian values and collectivist ideology have permanence for Korean immigrant families, despite long term residence in the United States (Hurh & Kim, 1990; Kim, 1997). Traditional beliefs founded in Confucianism regarding family roles and obligations that are hierarchical and paternalistic, are held as the norm (Kim, 1995). For example, fathers have the responsibility to take leadership and make wise and benevolent decisions for the good of the family, while wives and children are to respect and strictly obey the decisions he makes. However, disagreements about this organization of family relationships can create cultural clashes between first generation immigrants and their U.S. born children, socialized within competing individualist and collectivist cultures and therefore seek greater freedom and autonomy (Park, 2009).

However, it seems that traditional cultural expectations are renegotiated over time as Korean families immigrate to the west and find themselves in a different sociocultural context that privileges individualism and autonomy (Kim, 2004). In Yang & Rettig's (2003) qualitative study, a proportion of first generation parents stated that they expected their children to obey their strict instructions, asserting that they knew what was best and explaining that parental control was an extension of their love. These parents seemed

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aware of their children's conflicting values and sense of frustration, but believed it was their duty to maintain hierarchical control.

Other first generation parents that formerly used a position or rule-directed relationship orientation seem to realize that within an American context, hierarchical parenting is not the only option and other alternatives can be adopted (Yang & Rettig, 2003). Parents whose children challenged their authority and engaged them in dialogue about western concepts such as personal freedom, autonomy, and shared decision-making were receptive to these ideas over time. It appears that unfamiliarity with alternatives to hierarchical parenting orientations causes initial resistance. However, parents' eventual shift in thinking seems to be associated with a realization that because the cultural context is different, traditional Korean cultural views about power and hierarchy in parent-child relationships requires modification. This supports Tuttle et al.'s (2012) idea that the social context plays an important role in defining options for parent-child relational orientations.

Changes in social context also cause a shift regarding which cultural values are prioritized in the parent-child relationship (Yang & Rettig, 2003). For example, some parents show a movement from rule-directed parenting with regards to academic emphasis, to a more relationship-directed approach. Emotional attunement and attentiveness to the child's expressed desires serves as motivational factors for parents' renewed interest to support and facilitate their children's dreams and visions for life satisfaction. This is in contrast to the first generation parents that aspire for the "American Dream" vicariously through their second generation Korean-American children's accomplishments (Park, 2008). These parents dedicate their energy to work

and financial support in order to facilitate greater educational opportunities for their children (Park, 2008).

It seems that one of the factors that motivates parents to take a more relationship-directed parenting orientation is the desire to maintain relationship connection with their child throughout the lifespan. Parents in Yang & Rettig's (2003) study cited fears of emotional cut-off and losing communication with their children in adolescence and adulthood as the reason for their change in parenting focus. This is an example of the fluidity and dynamic possibilities within relational orientations, particularly in the face of contextual and situational changes.

These studies also suggest that in relation to understanding factors that foster relationship focused parenting in Korean immigrant families, the cultural constructions around parental love have to be considered. A study by Rohner & Pettengill (1985), found that first generation Korean parents and children in Korea regard strict parental control as a protective mechanism that means love and concern. However, in the U.S. this is perceived as parental rejection, aggression, hostility, and distrust. Park (2009) conducted a study that looked at the relationship between cultural child-rearing practices in Korean immigrant families and mental and emotional health. Questionnaires with measures for parental attachment, self-esteem, depression, and social support were sent to 260 Korean-American adolescents living in the southeast U.S.

A negative correlation was found between levels of parental care and parental control. Parental control was also negatively correlated with adolescent self-esteem. The Korean-American adolescents in this study perceived their parents as more controlling compared to Anglo-European parents (Park, 2009). The authors speculated that the

cultural gap in meanings of behaviors could have contributed to adolescents' perceptions of their parents as controlling. Furthermore, Kim (2005) suggests that the pervasiveness and popularity of western cultural ideology may be a greater influence on adolescents' perceptions of their parents than Korean culture.

Because Korean constructions of parental love are not featured in mainstream dominant discourses and their second generation children are socialized within an American society, first generation Korean immigrant parents have to decide whether to continue propagating traditional parenting practices or to adopt western parenting practices that are incongruent with their cultural belief systems. For immigrant parents, the willingness to adapt to a relationship-directed parenting orientation for the sake of the child as well as the relationship may evoke a sense of losing one's cultural orientation (Yang & Rettig, 2003). Research has yet to examine how this subsequently affects second generation parents' conceptualizations of parental love.

Regarding parental affect and emotion, a question that remains is how second generation parents express love in their own parent-child relationships. Traditionally, Korean culture discourages expression of strong emotions (Park, 2009). Suppression of emotion is partially related to the collectivist belief that overt displays of emotion disrupt group harmony because it creates undue discomfort for others. With regards to the minimal emotional expression parents directly show to their children, two additional issues impede parent-child emotional bonding and cause conflict in the relationship.

First, immigrant parents typically work long hours and focus significantly on rule-directed action (i.e., parents' financial provision and children's academic achievement as well as obedience). Consequently, children may feel neglected and believe that their

parents are unavailable (Kang, 1996). Also, language differences may limit the depth of communication during time parents and children spend together. How might the emotional bonding process be different for second generation parents and their children, when they are not limited to the extent that their immigrant parents were by finances, time, or language abilities?

Furthermore, because Korean children are considered members of an interrelated group that forms a collective identity, their behavior is considered to have significant implications on either reinforcing or diminishing family honor (Kim, 1994). Therefore, children are not encouraged to share either their perspectives or feelings. Most second generation parents born of first generation immigrant parents have been socialized with these cultural rules regarding emotional restraint in their home environments, however they are also exposed to contradicting ideas about emotion by the media and their peer networks. Hence, it is of interest to look at how they understand these issues as they parent and position themselves in relation to their children.

On the other hand, because relatedness and oneness are central features of Confucian collectivism (Kim & Choi, 1994), the invisible emotional boundaries in family relationships are perceived to be rather porous. This leads to a naturally fluid exchange of thoughts and feelings between family members, and this in turn facilitates the development of '*chong*', which is the emotional bond or affection. Chong is illustrated by how Korean mothers handle their child's misbehavior. When a child acts inappropriately, ideally, a Korean mother will try to take in the situation from the child's point of view while also relating her disappointment. It is believed that the emotion experienced powerfully impacts the child's behavior.

The psychological and physical bond between mother and child is particularly emphasized and revered in traditional and contemporary Korean culture (Kim & Choi, 1994). This seems to influence Korean mothers' relational parenting orientation. For example, several authors have studied Korean mother-child emotional intimacy (i.e., Lee & Lee, 1987; Yu, 1985), and found that mothers commonly showed leniency or indulgence and devotion. However, indulgence or leniency in Korean culture refers more to a mother's love, exercised through flexible interaction. This is not synonymous with the socially constructed meaning around permissiveness described in Baumrind's (1991) parenting styles.

From the perspective of Korean mothers, leniency may be considered as attunement. Leniency may be shown by the way these mothers manage children's bedtimes or toilet training process. For example, Lee & Lee (1987) conducted an ethnographic study on Korean mothering and found that childcare and parenting are highly child-centered. Mothers closely watch for their preschoolers' nonverbal indications of needs, such as toileting and sleep, and quickly attend to them rather than setting structured sleep schedules or pushing their children to toilet train before they indicate they are ready. Because children are figuratively placed at the center of the family unit, it is unclear how this structure relates to the parent-child hierarchy and whether this style of parenting is representative of a position, rule, or relationship directed parenting orientation (Tuttle et al., 2012) in the larger Korean cultural context. Furthermore, how this compares and contrasts with second generation Korean-American parents has yet to be studied.

Parenting from a Cultural Lens

Cross Cultural Variations

Cross-cultural research seems to consistently indicate that contextual variables such as ethnicity are correlated with different culturally informed notions of proper parenting goals and practices (Garcia Coll, Lamberty, Jenkins, McAdoo, Crnic, Wasik, & Garcia, 1996). Furthermore, the immediate social environment and popular societal discourses that surround different cultures play a part in shaping what is viewed to be legitimate parenting options. Therefore, many studies have been conducted with families from diverse ethnic backgrounds to explore the way ethnicity influences how parents parent. Differences have been observed across cultures regarding which parenting styles are used more commonly than others.

For example, Hill, Murry, & Anderson (2005) found that African American parents seem to generally value interdependence, collective interests, and perseverance; and therefore commonly utilize a style of parenting that is highly disciplinary and authoritarian (Brody & Flor, 1998). In contrast to this, European American parents privilege individualism, achievement, and competition; and therefore parent using a style that is more characteristically democratic and involves fair amounts of discussion and reasoning (LaReau, 2003).

Each parenting style seems to have different meanings within varying cultural contexts. For example, Hill, Bush, & Roosa (2003) conducted a comparative study that looked at the relationship between parenting style and adolescent mental health amongst European American, Mexican American, and Mexican immigrants living in a low SES community. A combination of written questionnaires and in-person interviews were used

to gather data from 344 Mexican-American and Euro-American children between ages 8-13 years and their mothers. The study instruments measured child conduct problems, depression, parenting, and acculturation level. The variance between these ethnic groups on the various study measures was analyzed using two MANCOVAs.

Less acculturated immigrant families of Mexican descent were found to use more harsh discipline, followed by more acculturated Mexican families, and then European American families. However, harsh discipline was experienced as caring and parental warmth in less acculturated Mexican families, whereas this was not to the same extent in more acculturated Mexican families and altogether viewed negatively by European American families. What is less focused upon, but ought to receive greater attention, is how experiences of discrimination, marginalization, and other societal processes influence what parents focus on as important in their parenting role and how they formulate their approach to parenting.

Many within-group differences also exist as demonstrated through research conducted with Latino parents on parenting styles, of which the results have been mixed (Hill, 2006). Within group variations may reflect confounding factors of ethnicity, which can include SES, community context, and acculturation. While ethnic minority families of low SES have commonly been the focus of diversity research, there are few studies that have looked at varying levels of SES and community characteristics when exploring ethnic minority differences in parenting. As Hill points out, the process for understanding the unique role of demographic variables such as ethnicity and SES on parenting, child development, and family variables is complex. Part of this issue is due to the way in which these factors are studied in research.

Oftentimes, researchers control for SES when studying diverse ethnic populations (Hill, 2006). While on one hand this eliminates the confounding effects of SES, on the other hand it leads to the reification of broad ethnic stereotypes based on limited samples and the emphasis on between-group differences. This also inadvertently obscures the complexity with which sociocultural, demographic, and contextual realities intersect within any ethnic group and the different meanings that exist for each. Furthermore, community characteristics are also related to ethnicity and SES, and consequently may account for the observed ethnic differences that are commonly attributed to ethnic background alone.

In order to better understand how parents from diverse ethnic populations parent, Hill (2006) states that additional future research directives need to focus on several areas. First, previous research has focused on ethnicity as a determining factor of parenting and child developmental outcomes. However, because the existing body of literature indicates that complex interconnections exist between ethnicity, culture, and factors associated with social stratification, more research is needed to illuminate the various intersections rather than viewing ethnicity in essentializing ways separate from social context. Second, there is continued need to illuminate the within-group diversity that exists within ethnic minority families. Both of these areas for continued research relate to second generation Korean-American parents because they represent a group that identifies as bicultural (Tuan, 1999).

Gender and Parental Role Identities

The literature shows that mothers' identity construction process has been explored (Smith, 1999), however, less research has been devoted to understanding fathers' perceptions of their role identities (Strauss & Goldberg, 1999). However, some of the leading experts on fathering believe a paradigm shift has started to occur in the past decade with the diversity of father's roles gaining greater attention in research (Lamb, 2004). Nevertheless, researchers such as Phares, Fields, Kamboukos, & Lopez (2005), highlight that a significantly disproportionate number of studies still pertain to mothers. Roggman, Fitzgerald, Bradley, & Raikes (2002) are concerned that this has contributed to misrepresentation of fathers and reification of monolithic, discriminatory gender role prescriptions.

As previously stated, the concept of the parent-child dyad has traditionally reflected a societal gender bias referring specifically to mother and child, with the father role viewed as peripheral (Ford, Wetchler, & Sutton, 2008). Sadly, this disparity is limiting to both mothers and fathers. Emphasis on motherhood, has led to an inordinate burden and expectation on mothers to assume the responsibility for child-rearing and developmental outcomes. This gender bias has also inadvertently invalidated the role of fathers, and relegated those within this category to values of secondary importance (Silverstein & Auerbach, 1999). Furthermore, it contributes to a deficiency perspective of unconventional parenting couples, particularly individuals who do not neatly fit into society's binary system of gender and heteronormativity.

Emphasis on the mothering role is also seen in Korean culture. Traditionally, as a patriarchal society, Korean mothers are expected to take primary responsibility for raising

children and managing the home (Kim, Conway-Turner, Sherif-Trask, & Woolfolk, 2006). Confucian ideology reifies the notion of father as symbolic head of household and mother as relational figure and nurturer (Lee, 1990). As such, children are expected to earn their fathers respect, while mothers are supposed to provide unconditional devotion to their children (Kim, 1995).

In fact, motherhood is regarded as the most important women's role, and unconditional and selfless devotion is considered the unspoken defining characteristic of motherhood for Korean women (Kim, 1981). A Korean child's successes and misfortunes are directly attributed to his or her mother (Choi, 1990). In return, mothers experience vicarious satisfaction through their children's successes and children are obligated to support and care for their parents later in life (Kim & Choi, 1994). This includes providing material as well as psychological comfort shown by keeping them informed of daily life activities and avoiding risky ventures.

Gendered parenting roles are also observed in cross-cultural studies on migration and parenting. Specifically, the research on first generation Korean immigrant parents indicates that migrational influences and settlement processes influence shifts in gendered parenting roles (Park, 2008). After transplantation into a new culture post-migration, first generation Korean mothers that were formerly responsible for full-time childcare, face new pressure to also bring in an income in order to ensure the family's financial survival in their new country (Kim & Kim, 1998). Oftentimes job opportunities for this population are limited, and these women acquire employment in the service sector or start small family businesses (Park, 2008).

It is evident that the change in employment for Korean immigrant women forces a renegotiation of family roles (Park, 2008). However, these changes are not necessarily in terms of conjugal roles or increased father involvement (Kim et al., 2006). In 2001, Min conducted an ethnographic study on changes in gender roles among Korean immigrant couples. This included telephone interviews with 297 Korean immigrant women, and face-to-face interviews with 31 married men and women in the U.S. With women having dual responsibilities to work full-time outside the home as well as manage the housework, and men's lack of participation in housework due to maintenance of rigid patriarchal ideology, marital conflict significantly increased.

Therefore, one way families such as these commonly adapt is by having the second generation children take on responsibilities both in the home as well as in the family business as employees and translators (Song, 1999). Children are treated functionally like adults and encouraged to develop self-sufficiency at an early age, which they learn through housework and helping to manage household affairs (Kim et al., 2006). Children's work involvement is needed to ensure family survival; therefore, the American ideal of a responsibility-free childhood is rare for many Korean immigrant families.

In a Gallup (1983) cross-national poll of parents from England, Germany, France, U.S., and Japan with regards to parental financial support, Korean parents ranked the highest in willingness to pay for children's college education, debt repayment, and wedding expenses. Furthermore, in a grounded theory study by Kim, et al., (2006) involving 22 working class Korean immigrant mothers in the U.S., these first generation parents viewed financial support as the key to creating opportunities for their children's

future success and possibilities of a better life. Out of perceived necessity, work rather than parenting takes center stage for Korean immigrant families.

With long work hours and time away from the home, these parents have limited time for interaction and relationship with their children. Hence, mothers stated that they try to capitalize on the time they do have with their children by filling it with gifts of service or conversation (Kim et al., 2006). For example, they will prepare meals, discuss life matters, give directions for school conduct and advice regarding peer relationships, and address challenges they anticipate their children to encounter in daily life outside the home (i.e., peer pressure or racial discrimination). It appears that this style of parenting illustrates a fairly rule-directed orientation, enacted from parental love and the desire to ensure their children's protection and wellbeing.

Minimal research exists regarding distribution of parenting responsibilities in first generation Korean couples within the context of immigration (Kim et al., 2006). Furthermore, less effort has been given to investigate these issues from a relational lens with regards to how parents parent in terms of the affective dimension in parent-child relationships, after migration. Some cross-cultural studies on parenting suggest that traditional Korean family values and parenting ideology hold permanence for many first generation Korean immigrants. First generation Korean parents tend to be highly devoted to their children, show relational attunement, and parent in a fairly rule-directed fashion. However, variations in practice are observed depending on level of acculturation. Also, the larger social context seems to influence how families construct meaning around parenting.

Two studies have specifically looked at mothering experiences of Korean immigrants, but I could not find any studies to date that studied Korean immigrant fathering. In addition, few studies collect and analyze couple level data in either first or second-generation Korean families. Furthermore, little is known about how bicultural socialization, cultural orientation, and the sociocultural ideology in the larger social context intersect to shape parental role identities in North American born, second generation Korean-American populations. These kinds of studies are needed to contribute important information regarding how parenting identities, roles, orientations, and behaviors are co-created between partners within the larger social context.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHOD

A qualitative research approach will be used to facilitate an in-depth inquiry into the lived experience of American born second generation Korean-American couples as they co-create the meaning of parenting. Grounded theory methodology will be utilized to explore and understand the ways in which second generation Korean-American couples view parenting and how bicultural socialization and the larger social context influences the relational orientations they take in parent-child relationships. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2008), "Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive material practices that make the world visible" (p. 4). This approach provides access to studying the inner experience of participants and focuses on fluid discovery rather than rigid testing of hard facts (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The aim is to better understand how meaning around parenting is created and enacted in second generation Korean-American families.

Social constructionist ideology challenges practices of power that indoctrinate individuals, and establish dogmatic standards for society (Saltzburg, 2007). As it relates to research, this paradigm places importance on the process of co-construction whereby reality emerges out of dynamic interchanges between both participants' and researchers' subjective meanings. In turn, language and conversation are relied upon as the main vehicles for understanding co-construction of experience and creating shared meaning structures (Gergen, 2009).

Self of Researcher

When using grounded theory, researchers practice transparency by making their perspectives and biases explicit as a way of acknowledging that these could influence the way in which data is interpreted (Eschevarria-Doan & Tubbs, 2005). That is, their previous experiences are not bracketed as with descriptive phenomenology, but rather, are integrated into the framework for understanding the subject at hand. As the researcher, I acknowledge that my cultural background characteristics largely influence my worldview and may affect my perceptions as well as the questions I am likely to ask during the various stages of data collection and analysis.

I am a second generation Korean-Canadian that was born in Calgary, Alberta, Canada and raised in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. My parents are from South Korea and immigrated to western Canada in the early 1970s. The only direct experience I have of Korea is from a family trip taken when I was a year old. Because my father lost his parents as a young child during the Korean War, he was adopted by an Anglo-Canadian family and lived with them after immigrating to Canada. Coming from a collectivist cultural background, my mother's extended family is close knit and most of them have immigrated and reside on the west coast of Canada and the United States.

My own experiences of societal marginalization and the process of developing a sense of self between the space of two differing cultures has sensitized me to grasp the complexities and challenges of what Tuan (1998) described as that of a forever foreigner. As a result, I come from the perspective that bicultural socialization, racialized ethnic experiences, cultural discourses, and social context intersect to shape the lived experience of second generation Korean-Americans. The dynamic intersections of Korean and

American cultures including the customs, traditions, attitudes, and ideologies are strong influences that I believe shape the parenting approaches of this population.

In relation to this study, my second generation status may potentially aid me in developing rapport and buy-in or engagement from prospective study participants. Furthermore, it will provide me with insight into the bicultural lived experience of the second generation Korean-Americans participating in this study. At the same time, my insider status may heighten the feeling of self-consciousness for some of the participants and limit the extent of their disclosures. In order to show sensitivity for this, and to reduce the power differential between the study respondents and me, I will inform them that they do not need to answer any questions they do not feel comfortable answering. I will also offer appropriate self-disclosures to facilitate ease during the conversation. While my insider status may shape my a priori assumptions leading into the research, adherence to the systematic process of grounded theory will increase the trustworthiness of the results.

Methodology

Grounded theory is an inductive method developed by sociologists Glaser & Strauss (1967). The goal of this research approach is to develop an explanative theory about human processes that evolve from within the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Researchers do this by engaging in a process of constant comparison of the data with emerging categories to explain a process, action, or interaction (Daly, 2007). Grounded theory methodology is appreciated for its systematic guidelines related to the gathering

and analyzing of data, for which a theory about social processes, including parent-child relational orientations, may emerge (Charmaz, 2006).

Participant Selection

In grounded theory, theoretical sampling is a guiding process (Glaser, 1998). This helps the researcher build the theory by clarifying categories, identifying conceptual gaps, and filling them in by sampling additional data (Eschevarria-Doan & Tubbs, 2005). Typically, theoretical sampling begins by selecting participants based on their relevance to the topic of inquiry. Criteria for selection, is determined by the research questions as well as the researcher's a priori assumptions about the theory being generated. As the study evolves, data collection and analysis go hand in hand, and the codes that emerge inform the type of data to subsequently collect.

For this study, I will interview American born second generation Korean-American parents of children between 0-10 years of age. As a part of a larger Contemporary Couples Study, I will collect couple level data by simultaneously interviewing both partners that consider themselves a committed couple unit and that have been living together for a minimum of one year. My rationale for interviewing parents together is based on the theoretical assertion that parenting processes are co-created. Therefore, through conducting couple interviews I will be able to gain access into understanding how parents interact together around parenting issues to create meaning. I will also limit this study to couples that are raising their biological children. I will begin with a convenience sample of American born second generation Korean-

American parents currently residing in Los Angeles, California and Vancouver, British Columbia.

Subsequently, I will rely on snowball sampling techniques to recruit participants from other major cities on the west coast of the U.S. and Canada as this reflects geographical regions where second generation Korean-Americans commonly reside. According to the U.S. Census (2000), Korean-Americans appear to be most concentrated in large, urban cities, including: Los Angeles, New York, Washington D.C., San Francisco, Chicago, and Seattle. Participant locations may include places such as: British Columbia, Washington State, Oregon State, and Southern California which tend to have large populations of second generation Korean-Americans. I estimate that it will take approximately 20 interviews to reach saturation; that is where new interviews do not appear to add additional information necessary to the development of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006).

I will contact potential participants to explain the purpose and procedures of this dissertation study. During this pre-interview phase, potential participants will have an opportunity to ask questions and state concerns that might be associated with participation in the study. This initial contact will also help facilitate development of rapport with potential participants (Berg, 2004). I will provide participants that are interested in joining this study with consent forms in person or via email or standard delivery mail.

Interviews will be conducted face-to-face as well as via telephone to accommodate participants living in geographically diverse areas that cannot travel to a central location for an interview (Berg, 2004). Face-to-face interviews will be conducted

at a place of the participants' choosing which could include their home or a public meeting area, such as a coffee shop. An audio recording device or telephone call recorder will be used to collect interview data. In addition, field notes will be taken to capture nonverbal data and observations of participants as well as the interview environment. The criteria for participant inclusion in this study will require at least one of the parents to identify as second generation Korean-American. Participants will have been born in the United States or Canada or immigrated before the age of nine years because age of immigration (Tsai et al., 2000) and socialization context (Espiritu, 2003) impact one's sense of cultural orientation. The children of these parents will be between 0-10 years of age to hold constant the perceived complexity in the parenting process, which may be different when children reach the adolescent developmental stage.

Data Creation

In general, with grounded theory questions start out broad, open-ended, and flexible with increased focus and refinement as the analytic process progresses (Eschevarria-Doan & Tubbs, 2005). Furthermore, interview questions are process-oriented. As part of the Contemporary Couples Study (CCS), this dissertation will utilize an open-ended interview guide, with broad questions to gather information and explore couple relational processes vis-à-vis parenting. A social constructionist orientation and relational parenting typology lens will be used to shape question probes that specifically explore cultural, socio-contextual, and family of origin influences on parenting approaches and formation of parent-child relational orientations.

A full copy of the interview guide from the CCS is found in (Appendix A).

Examples of questions from this interview guide are: What to you constitutes a good

relationship? Probes to expand participants' responses will include: What do you expect

from your partner? How do you view your responsibility to the relationship? Have these

expectations changed since you became parents? Probes are also added to the main CCS

interview guide to elicit information specifically pertaining to the parent-child

relationship and the parenting process. For instance, I will ask: What do you envision as

an ideal parent-child relationship? In practice, what does this look like, can you provide

some examples? What do you want your child to learn about relationships? Probes to

assess process of decision-making and managing parent-child disagreements or conflicts

will also be asked for purposes of exploring the power dimension in the parent-child

relationship.

Additional probes to explore culture, family of origin, and parenting might

include: How do you view your role in the parent-child relationship? How is this similar

or different from the family you grew up in? Where did those ideas of parents, adults, and

children come from? What do you remember most about how your parents parented you

and how does this affect the way you parent? What factors do you think impacted your

parents' parenting style most? What contrasting notions about parenting do you

remember seeing or hearing from your friends' parents, on t.v., etc. while growing up?

How do you think this has influenced how you parent your own children? What social

influences currently have the greatest impact on how you are as a parent (i.e., friends,

school, extended family, church, t.v., etc.)? What are some cultural influences from your

family of origin or the larger society that you think has impacted the way you parent? What is important to you as a family? How do you reinforce these values?

Data Analysis

The goal of using grounded theory will be to inductively develop two theories about American born second generation Korean-American parenting. The first theory will explain how social contextual variables and bicultural socialization experience impact second generation Korean-American couples' parenting ideology. The second theory will focus specifically on processes that facilitate more relationship-directed orientations to parenting amongst second generation Korean-American couples. I will use the coding method developed by Corbin and Strauss (2008). In the true spirit of grounded theory, I will not begin with predetermined categories. However, my theoretical framework will inform the analytic process. Using systematic analytic coding methods, I will look for cultural influences and couple processes around parenting approaches and relational orientations.

After transcribing the interviews, the first level of analysis will begin with a microanalytic process of line-by-line open coding (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). I will do this by reviewing each line of the transcripts and ascribing words or phrases to describe the content in each minute segment of the participant interviews. For example, if a participant were to state, "What matters to me is that my child feels comfortable to share her opinions with me and permitted to raise difficult topics because that is what I had wished as a child in my relationship with my parents." I might code this statement as, "desires open communication with child". Another example might be if a parent stated, "I

don't believe in letting a child run wild without any rules, but I also don't believe it's right to control their every move…" I might code this statement with, "balancing authority and autonomy" or "negotiating parental authority". The purpose of this analytic step will be to identify discrete properties of the data.

Systematic analysis will help me compare newly emerging data with previously coded data to determine whether they reflect similar or new content. If the emergent data appears to reflect a previously identified code, it will be given the same code, but if it seems different or unique, a new code will be given. This recursive process of constant comparison will help ensure the categories emerge from the data rather than result from preconceived a priori assumptions projected onto the analytic process (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Throughout the analysis I will engage in a reflexive process of writing analytic memos based on my interaction with the data. I will write about my initial reactions to the data collected as well as thoughts and questions regarding emerging patterns. For example, a memo I might write is, "I'm surprised by how readily and clearly the parents articulate their goals for parenting. It's evident that my assumptions were that many if not most would be focused on day-to-day functioning rather than parenting from an established framework. I wonder when this process of constructing goals typically begins, or what factors seem to motivate this to occur? Also, how do they maintain these goals in the presence of extended family members' influence? I'll have to make it a point to look for indicators of this in the data as I progress through it."

Analytic memos will also help me think through conceptual relationships that appear unclear. Furthermore, they will inform the development of the discussion section

within the research report. Engaging in reflexive commentary is important for enhancing the credibility of the study, because it will provide a way to monitor my constructive process as the researcher, while I attempt to develop theory (Guba and Lincoln, 1989).

As common categories of codes start to emerge, I will organize these seemingly related codes into common categories and give labels to them to indicate greater levels of conceptual abstraction. Strauss & Corbin (1998) refer to this method as axial coding. For example, "takes in child's perspectives" and "cultivates open communication" might be categorized as "relationally oriented parenting". Also, "maintains expert role" and "highly directive" could be categorized as "hierarchical parenting position".

Next, I will apply selective coding to review the remaining pages of transcript and extract data that reflects concepts and dimensions relevant to the emerging theory. This process of linking concepts will provide theoretical coherence, form, and direction to the data. Overall, a continuous, iterative process of coding and data collection will help ensure saturation of categories and development of a theory that explains how the social context and bicultural socialization experiences influence second generation Korean-Americans' parenting approaches and parent-child relational orientations.

Trustworthiness in Qualitative Inquiry

As validity is to quantitative research, trustworthiness is to qualitative research. In this section I will first review issues related to trustworthiness in qualitative research and then explain how I will address these issues in my study.

Qualitative research acknowledges the "value-laden nature of inquiry" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 14) and highlights reality as a socially constructed process. In so doing,

the multiple layers of relationships, such as the ones between the study participant and researcher, and the participant and context are taken into consideration as important processes in the inquiry. Due to the notion that qualitative inquiry is fundamentally interpretive, Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers (2002) argue that perhaps the greatest threat to validity with regards to qualitative inquiry is lack of investigator responsiveness to the research process.

Each researcher is guided by a set of principles that integrates his or her ontology, epistemology, and methodology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Sociocultural factors such as race, ethnicity, gender, and social class influence the researcher's biases, values, and interests. Subsequently, this framework serves as the researcher's "basic set of beliefs that guides action" (Guba, 1990, p. 17). Reflexivity is the critical reflection on the self as researcher and "human as instrument" (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, p. 193). It demonstrates openness and honesty to research (Mertens, 2003). However, failure by the researcher to practice both personal and epistemological reflexivity during the research process may pose the risk of inadvertently accepting unchallenged assumptions and therefore, compromise the validity of the inquiry.

Carla Willig (2001) states that epistemological reflexivity is valuable because it "encourages us to reflect upon the assumptions that we have made in the course of research, and it helps us to think about the implications of such assumptions for the research and its findings" (p. 10). Qualitative researchers practice epistemological reflexivity by contemplating questions about the research during engagement in the process, such as how the research question defines and limits what can be discovered, how the study methodology may influence how data and findings are constructed, etc. By

engaging in this process, the researcher demonstrates an iterative thinking process whereby he or she moves recursively between data collection, analysis, problem reformulation, and writing up the facts to strengthen validity of the research (Daly, 2007).

Results

The trustworthiness (Ryan-Nicholls & Will, 2009) of the results from this study will pertain to whether the constructed theory is an accurate reflection of the American born second-generation Korean American participants' lived experience. Use of the systematic coding methods and constant comparative analysis will increase the likelihood that these findings emerge from the data, rather than from predetermined categories. This in conjunction with my engagement in the process of reflexivity (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) will enhance the credibility and transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 2003) of the resulting model to understand experiences of similar American born second-generation Korean American parents.

Rigor

Morse et al. (2002) contend that research which lacks rigor cannot contribute to a body of knowledge and is instead reduced to fictional journalism. Tobin and Begley (2004) describe rigor as "the means by which we demonstrate integrity and competence, a way of demonstrating the legitimacy of the research process" (p. 390). These authors acknowledge the value of rigor by recommending that qualitative researchers try to practice it within the epistemology of their work in ways that are congruent with their research aims.

In lieu of validity, reliability, and generalizability, Guba and Lincoln (1981) suggested four alternative concepts that may better characterize rigor in qualitative research: Truth value, applicability, consistency, and neutrality. The alternate criteria used for assessing this are: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Verification strategies I will employ during the process of inquiry to enhance the rigor of data analysis may include: Prolonged engagement, iterative questioning, audit trails, triangulation, member checks, and reflexivity.

Prolonged Engagement

Prolonged engagement is when the investigator and participants sustain their relationship over a period, rather than only having a single interaction (Shenton, 2004). Guba and Lincoln (1994) suggest two possible benefits of this. First, the researcher can develop a better understanding of the context and experience of the participant. Second, a stronger relationship of trust can be established between the researcher and participants to increase the likelihood of more open communication.

Yet, there are associated risks with prolonged engagement. On one hand, the gatekeepers permitting researchers access to the system under inquiry may develop distrust or grow suspicious of the motives for the frequent and/or sustained contact and halt the process (Shenton, 2004). Another drawback might be that the longer the prolonged engagement is had, the more immersed the researcher may become with the culture and thus influence his or her research judgments. Therefore I will limit prolonged engagement to follow-up phone calls for clarification after the initial interview.

Iterative Questioning

Iterative questioning is a recursive process of using probes from previously analyzed conversations to rephrase questions and elicit more data (Shenton, 2004). If discrepancies regarding certain concepts reported by the same individual are discovered, I may choose to exclude this data as inconclusive. However, an alternative use of this strategy, which may ultimately strengthen the final research report, will be to include the discrepancies and provide possible explanations for them. I will include negative cases in the final research report, including ones that do not confirm the research constructs, to strengthen the trustworthiness of the results.

Audit Trails

Credibility in qualitative research is akin to the concept of internal validity in that it addresses the compatibility between participants' views and the way in which the researcher has represented them (Schwandt, 2001). Credibility pertains to whether the explanation presented in the research actually represents the description that was offered. This is enhanced via use of audit trails (Lincoln, 1995). To enhance the dependability of the research I will maintain audit trails that are clear, logical, and traceable (Schwandt, 2001). These audit trails will provide a collection of documentation for examining my methodology, documentation, analytic decisions, and results. I will also keep detailed analytic memos to increase trustworthiness (Tobin & Begley, 2004).

Triangulation

Triangulation is another verification strategy that may use observations, focus

groups, and individual interviews to corroborate the interview data (Shenton, 2004).

Various types of triangulation have been developed such as, methodological (Denzin, 1989); unit of analysis (Kimchi, Polivka, & Stevenson, 1991); interdisciplinary triangulation (Janesick, 1994); and conceptual triangulation (Foster, 1997). In this study, I will use field notes taken during the interviews as well as my record of analytic memos to serve as sources of data triangulation.

Member Checks

Guba and Lincoln (1989) suggest that this strategy may be the most important strategy to enhance qualitative research. Checking for the accuracy of the data can take place at multiple points throughout the research process including during the actual interview as well as afterwards during the analysis phase. I may ask the participants to review portions of the transcript or research report to verify that what is written indeed reflects what the participants intended to communicate. Alternatively, I may ask participants to provide further verification and clarification for the emerging patterns and inferences I note during the process of constant comparison.

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Limitations

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Guba & Lincoln (1989) posit that in qualitative research, generalizability is not so concerned about the broad applicability of results, as it is interested in addressing the extent to which the findings from a particular study can be applied to other contexts or with other subjects. Therefore, they suggest that in lieu of the generalizability standard, qualitative inquiry should be evaluated for its transferability of fittingness. Fittingness has

been described as the measure to which the findings of a study fit with the context it is akin to, but outside of the research situation. Other characteristics indicating fittingness of study findings is how grounded the study findings are in the experiences of the study participant. The concept of transferability is explained by Daly (2007) as the extent to which the research processes and conditions are described, so that "decisions can be made by people in other similar situations as to whether the descriptions or explanations are an adequate fit to that new situation" (p. 240).

Because this dissertation study will only include participants from the west coast of Canada and the U.S., the results may not be transferable to second generation Korean-American parents currently residing in the Midwest, south, or eastern regions of the U.S. and Canada. Furthermore, this study will pertain to parents of pre-adolescent children, and consequently, the findings may not be relevant for parents with children in the adolescent developmental stage. Also, with regards to participants, because I am only including the experiences of parents in committed relationships that are both willing to be interviewed conjointly, the experience of single parents will be excluded.

In addition, I am aware that parents in high distress or relationship conflict, as well as those who are more private or feel marginalized will be less interested in participating. Furthermore, couples that volunteer to participate may represent those that are less conflictual. It is also possible that because the study participants are coming from a hierarchical culture that prescribes commitment from its members to act in ways that preserve family honor, participants may want to present well and may be cautious of speaking badly about their parents. In order to reduce the prevalence of this dynamic, I will acknowledge that culturally speaking, it can seem like there are unspoken rules

around discerning how to speak about one's family and share personal information. I will invite them to use their own sensitivity to share what feels most authentic to them and offer personal disclosures to develop greater symmetry in the interviewer-participant power dynamic. This may facilitate participant ease and rapport as well as authentic engagement.

Lastly, because of the sociocultural differences between first generation Korean immigrants and American born second generation Korean-Americans, the results may not be congruent with the lived experience of parents from the first generation. As culture in this study is perceived as socially constructed, fluid, and dynamic, this study will not account for all intersections of race, gender, class, SES, and culture on parenting for second generation parents. Instead, it can only offer insight and awareness into the lived experience of a sample of this parent population and how this influences their conceptualizations of parent-child relationships as well as the parenting approaches they take.

Contribution to the Field

Though cross-cultural studies on parenting have been increasing, these studies commonly focus on immigrant parents of minority ethnic descent. Individuals of ethnic minority descent born in North America, such as Korean-Americans, are one of many populations that are significantly underrepresented in the therapy literature. Therefore, this study will first expand the knowledge base pertaining to parenting approaches and parent-child relationship orientations within second generation Korean-American families.

Furthermore, this study will feature couple level parenting processes within a population of second generation Korean-American parents, which to this researcher's knowledge represents the first of its kind in the family therapy literature. The results from this study will help to develop greater understanding of the role that bicultural socialization experience within traditional Korean families and western society, cultural orientation, and experience within the larger social context has on shaping the parenting approaches of this population. Consequently, this information will help family therapists increase their cultural competency for engaging and working with these families with regards to parenting challenges.

Secondly, this dissertation will explore the applicability of Tuttle et al.'s (2012) TP-CRO with second generation Korean-American families. In particular, it will illuminate the processes that facilitate a more relationship-oriented approach to parenting. Because the literature suggests that first generation Korean parents use high levels of parental control, this study will illustrate intergenerational changes that may occur with regards to relational parenting orientations for second generation parents embedded within a western cultural context. In addition, this study will explore how meaning with regards to parenting attitudes and practices are socially constructed and illuminate how these meanings change with changes in cultural context. By highlighting the notion that parenting occurs within the larger social context as well as illuminating the fluidity of parent-child orientations, family therapists can move beyond traditionalist conceptualizations of parenting which tend to reify western parenting discourses.

CHAPTER FIVE

RELATIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY: CONTEXTUAL INFLUENCES ON

SECOND GENERATION PARENTING IDEOLOGY

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Abstract

Second generation Korean-American families are underrepresented within the family therapy literature. This grounded theory study used a social constructionist framework to understand how second generation couples locate themselves in the social context and draw from bicultural socialization and competing sociocultural discourses to construct a parenting ideology. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 20 couples of children between 0-10 years of age. Emotion generated from second generation couples' reflections on first generation marginalization, personal experiences of racism, and awareness of increased societal privilege leads parents to emphasize relational accountability within third generation children. This study suggests the importance for therapists to locate second generation parents' experiences within the larger social context and understand how multiple cultural ideologies impact their views on parenting.

Relational Accountability: Contextual Influences On Second

Generation Parenting Ideology

What therapists know about Asian American families is based primarily on ideas formed around the first generation. Differing socialization experiences and social contexts create a contrast between how first generation transnationals and American born second generation couples construct views of parenting (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). However, the current literature tends not to draw clear distinctions between first and second generations parents.

During the parenting life phase, couples use larger social discourses and their social location to develop a sense of themselves as parents. Multiple social contexts intersect to shape their ideas about raising children and what they perceive to be important in this process (Hinds, Chaves, & Cypess, 1992). Larger societal discourses, beliefs, values, and norms inherently affect ideas regarding the dyadic co-parenting process as well as the triadic relationship between parenting partners and parents and child (McHale, Fivaz-Depeursinge, Dickstein, Robertson, & Daley, 2008).

Many children of first generation Korean immigrants from the post-1965 era are currently immersed in the parenting phase of life. Though raised by traditional Korean parents, they have been simultaneously socialized within the dominant culture through education, peer relationships, and ideas propagated in popular culture. These parents construct a bicultural identity and are able to relate to both the insulated Korean culture of their immigrant parents and the dominant culture in which they hold citizenship, without mutual exclusivity to either (Nguyen, Messe, & Stollak, 1999). Research

suggests that identification with more than one culture is increasingly common (Devos, 2006).

The purpose of this grounded theory study is to understand how bicultural socialization, vis-à-vis contrasting cultural discourses within the larger social context, has shaped the lived experiences of American born second-generation Korean-American parents. Emphasis is directed to the ways these couples formulate an ideology around raising children. In this study, second generation Korean-Americans are defined as individuals of Korean ethnic descent that were born in North America to first generation Korean immigrants or those that immigrated before entering the first grade.

Immigration, Acculturation, and Parenting

Korean ethnics immigrated to the U.S. as early as 1903 (Kim, 2004), however it was not until after President Lyndon B. Johnson signed an amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965 that immigration rates exponentially increased. Prior to this, exclusion laws had reduced Asian immigration to a near standstill. The second wave of immigrants comprised largely of white-collar individuals, hoping for increased political and social security (Shin & Shin, 1999), as well as better educational opportunities for their children (Yoon, 1997). Unable to find jobs in their respective fields, many started small businesses to support families.

The literature on Korean-Americans focuses largely on acculturation processes. In a study by Kim and Wolpin (2008), most Korean parents tended to move towards integration. Over 90% of first generation parents believed it was important for their children to learn values and customs of western culture, while only 67-72% thought they

ought to maintain Korean cultural values and customs. All respondents unanimously believed their children should speak English, while 83% of mothers and 80% of fathers wanted their children to maintain proficiency in Korean. These parents considered western cultural proficiency to be necessary for their children to be successful in academic as well as social pursuits.

Forging Bicultural Identity

Kim, Cain, and McCubbin (2006) found that because Asian American adolescents are often American born, it is natural for them to take on a dominant culture orientation. Furthermore, because children are more adept at learning languages and understanding new cultures, they gain quicker access into mainstream society than their parents (Choi, 2001). In contrast, because many Asian American parents immigrate in adulthood after having established a stable sense of Asian cultural identity, adoption of an American orientation is difficult (Espiritu, 2003).

Confucian values and collectivist ideology have permanence for Korean immigrant families, despite long-term residence in the United States (Hurh & Kim, 1990; Kim, 1997). Yet, adolescents' sense of Asian identity is typically based on second-hand stories about the ethnic homeland. Some experience intrapsychic conflict trying to make sense of their Asian identity (Espiritu, 2003). Also, second generation youth have to reconcile their parents' expectations with the assumptions their peers and the larger society have of them based on dominant discourses of Asian Americans (Asher, 2008).

According to Pyke (2000), there is a cultural crevasse that makes it difficult to establish shared understandings and generates intergenerational conflict in immigrant

families. Second generation Korean-Americans experience the cultural duality of locating themselves within their parents' Korean heritage as well as the American one into which they were born (Shi & Lu, 2007). These individuals may intuitively sense themselves as "… on the margins of each but a member of neither" (Stonequist, 1937, p.3).

Marginalization, Survival, and Sacrifice

In *Forever Foreigners or Honorary Whites? The Asian Ethnic Experience Today,* Tuan (1998) explores the concept of racialized ethnic experiences of Asian Americans in North America. She uses the phrase, 'forever foreigner', first coined by Stonequist (1937), to allude to the idea that Asian Americans – even if American born, perpetually face marginalization because of their stark phenotypic difference and the inability to blend into Western society as immigrants of European descent can do.

In a grounded theory study (Kim, et al., 2006), first generation Korean immigrant parents viewed financial support as the key to creating opportunities for their children and possibilities of an improved life. With long work hours and time away from the home, these parents have limited time for interaction and family relationships. Commonly, second generation children also assume responsibilities in the home and in the family business as employees and translators (Song, 1999). Consequently, children may feel neglected and believe that their parents are unavailable (Kang, 1996). At the same time, they report feelings of indebtedness to their parents for their self-sacrifices.

In Kim et al.'s (2006) study, first generation mothers stated that they try to capitalize on the time they do have with their children by filling it with gifts of service or guidance. For example, they will prepare meals, discuss life matters, give directions for

classroom conduct, advice regarding peer relationships, and address challenges they anticipate their children to encounter in daily life outside the home (i.e., peer pressure or racial discrimination). This appears to be one way they try to protect and prepare their children for survival.

Though the literature on Korean-American families is growing, there are no studies to date on second generation parents. This current study appears to be the first of its kind to specifically look at American born second generation Korean Americans in the parenting life phase and explore how they co-construct a parenting identity amidst bicultural socialization and dominant discourses promulgated within the larger social context.

Theoretical Framework

Cross-cultural parenting issues present a particularly unique challenge for many family therapists, particularly because culture, gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status (SES), and parenting interface and intersect in complex and varying ways. Conventional parenting ideologies do not inherently attend to larger contextual issues and inadvertently minimize attention to the socio-cultural forces shaping the lived experiences of families from minority populations. Parenting is perceived to occur at the individual or dyadic level (Besley, 2002).

At the core of the social constructionist paradigm (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) is the belief that all reality is constructed through social interaction and meaningful within context (Gergen, 2009). Language, power dynamics (Foucault, 1980), and socio-cultural discourses or cultural ideology (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2006) shape the process of co-

construction. From a social constructionist framework, parenting is conceptualized as a socio-culturally embedded relationship that is co-constructed vis-a-vis discourses within the larger social context (Harkness, Super, & Tijen, 2000). This paradigm helps us to think contextually about how American born second generation Korean-American parents draw upon reflections of first generation immigrant survival, their own racialized ethnic experiences, and bicultural socialization to inform what they believe is important in raising children.

Method

This study was part of a larger Contemporary Couples Study (CCS) and used a grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) analysis of in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 20 American born second generation Korean-American parenting couples. This approach allowed respondents flexibility to share their perspectives about parenting and speak about issues that mattered to them most while allowing us to systematically capture couple level data regarding the processes that go into developing a parenting ideology.

Participant Sample

We began with a convenience sample of American born second generation Korean-American parents currently residing in southern California. We also used the snowball sampling technique to select additional participants. The number of referrals from any individual was limited to four in order to prevent over-sampling from any particular network. To participate in this study, partners needed to consider themselves a

committed couple unit with children between 0-10 years of age, and at least one partner needed to identify as second generation Korean-American. The partner identifying as second generation needed to have been American or Canadian born, or have immigrated prior to school age.

Table 1 is a list of the study participants. Thirteen couples identify as interracial, with the non-Korean American spouse coming from a variety of Caucasian and ethnic minority backgrounds. Consistent with the literature, the participant sample is highly educated, with all holding at the minimum a bachelor's degree and many having master's level degrees or higher. Most work in professional occupations, including, law, senior management, dentistry, pharmacy, clinical psychology, asset management, physical therapy, education, technology and business. Six of the wives work full-time outside the home, one is a full-time student, and thirteen are stay-at-home mothers. All the husbands work full-time. Seven couples have one child, eight couples have two children, and five couples have three children. The mean age of women is 36.6 years and 38.2 years for men.

Data Creation

The first author recruited and interviewed all 20 couples. As a Canadian born second generation Korean-Canadian, she was able to use her own bicultural socialization and racialized ethnic experiences to quickly develop rapport with participant couples and inform which probes to use to elicit candid reflections during the conversation. Because there was some initial reluctance to share negative perspectives, the first author utilized self-disclosure to manage the interviewer-participant power differential and facilitate ease

of conversation. In order to observe partner interaction, interviews were conducted conjointly. Interviews took place in participants' homes or coffee shops and lasted between 1 to 3 hours in length. All interviews were conducted in English, and informed consent was obtained to audiotape and transcribe the conversations.

A modified CCS interview guide was utilized to inquire broadly about couple relational processes vis-à-vis parenting. Examples of questions from the interview guide included: What to you constitutes a good relationship? What do you expect from your partner? How do you view your responsibility to the relationship? Have these expectations changed since you became parents? For instance: What do you envision as an ideal parent-child relationship? In practice, what does this look like, can you provide some examples? What do you want your child to learn about relationships? Additional probes were asked to explore how being raised in first generation immigrant homes influenced their ideas about parenting; how models from the dominant culture had informed their perspectives on the parenting process; how they reconciled the values of collectivism and individualism, and how bicultural socialization influenced their experience of social location.

Sample questions were: How do you view your role in the parent-child relationship? How is this similar or different from the family you grew up in? What do you remember most about how your parents parented you and how does this affect the way you parent? What factors do you think impacted your parents' parenting style most? What contrasting notions about parenting do you remember seeing or hearing from your friends' parents, on TV, etc. while growing up? How do you think this has influenced how you parent your own children? What social influences currently have the greatest

impact on how you are as a parent (i.e., friends, school, extended family, church, TV, etc.)? What are some cultural influences from your family of origin or the larger society that you think has impacted the way you parent? What is important to you as a family? How do you reinforce these values?

Data Analysis

The process of coding and inquiry developed by Corbin and Strauss (2008) was used to guide the analysis. We began with no predetermined codes. The first author conducted line-by-line open coding to identify and label discrete properties of each minute segment of the participant interviews. Newly emerging data was compared with previously coded data to determine whether they reflected similar or new content. Based on the initial codes, substantive categories were created to indicate greater levels of conceptual abstraction. For example, "consciously retains ethnic traditions" and "locates self in dominant culture" was categorized as "promotes belonging in multiple worlds". "Awareness of parents' struggle" and "recognizes parental sacrifices" was categorized as "acknowledges parents' legacy of survival."

During selective coding, the substantive categories were used to review the remaining pages of transcripts and extract data that reflected the concepts and dimensions relevant to the emerging theory. A continuous, iterative process of coding and data collection helped to ensure saturation of categories. Discussions with the second and third authors about the interviews, codes, and categories helped illuminate categorical dimensions and determine categorical relationships. In addition, analytic memos were recorded to think through conceptual relationships that seemed unclear. The authors took

initial hypotheses and referred back to the interviews for more in-depth analysis to construct a grounded theory about how American born second generation Korean-American parenting couples in this study come to locate themselves in the social context and develop an ideology around what they believe is important to emphasize in the parenting process.

Results: Nurturing a Sense of Relational Accountability

All parents in this study shared a common ideology around the idea of relational accountability. Relational accountability is defined as an attitude of acceptance for human diversity and a desire to counter social discrimination. These couples draw upon the emotions felt with regards to being aware of the first generation's experiences of marginalization, recalling their own racialized ethnic experiences and struggle for belonging, and grieving the missed opportunities for parent-child relationship building that resulted from a primary focus on immigrant survival. These processes in combination with awareness of their increased societal privilege motivates a desire to foster a sense of belonging in multiple cultures and emphasize the need to teach children to embrace differences.

Awareness of Societal Power Differentials

Aware of Parents' Marginalization

Growing-up in Canada or the U.S., the second generation recall being keenly aware of their immigrant parents' marginalization in the larger social context. Some cite visible minority status, strong Korean accents, and lack of cultural understanding as a few

of the invisible barriers that kept their parents on the periphery. Ann empathizes with her

mother's marginalized position as an immigrant,

> My mom experienced things that I didn't have to. The language barrier, moving
> to a new country as an adult, and raising kids here. I didn't have to go through
> that, so we're different in that way. That really tints your point of view that we
> each have. And I have a lot of compassion for her for that.

Respects First Generation Legacy of Survival

The limited body of research pertaining to Korean immigrant families portrays

first generation Korean parents as strict, protective, and fairly authoritarian. The literature

suggests that these parents tend to be hierarchical, directive, and achievement oriented

(Yang & Rettig, 2003). Second generation couples in this study believe that their parents'

experience of scarcity and physical threat in the context of post-War Korea, led them to

parent in a rule-directed way with a focus on survival, instead of dedicating energy to

fostering affective experiences or relationship development. Andrew explains,

> They grew up in a very extraordinary time, in one of the poorest countries in the
> world. They lived through the war. My dad lost his mom during the war, and a
> bunch of his siblings too. Every time I think about why our parenting styles are so
> different, to me it's because the times were so different. They were so focused on
> surviving and just making sure we had food to eat, education, the basics.

These couples also reflect on their parents' anxiety to protect and prepare their

children to survive amidst societal prejudice. Sylvia highlights the anxiety that

accompanied the minority experience and the feeling of being perceived as different,

> We lived in a place where there weren't many Koreans, and my dad worked in a
> blue-collar job where he experienced a lot of racism. My parents made a very
> conscious decision to make us aware that you have to be very, very different with

Canadians than you are with Koreans.

They believe that this in combination with the multifaceted immigrant experience, which included the process of navigating a foreign context, may have shaped first generation parenting styles. This awareness helps Sylvia have a sense of respect and admiration for her parents,

> I appreciate my parents more than anything now because I know exactly what they went through. I understand it as an adult. I understand it as a parent. They didn't know anything about child rearing and just went by what they knew. And they just dealt with what was in front of them without thinking of consequences, and not thinking about parenting.

Part of surviving also meant that second generation children oftentimes had to function as translators and cultural brokers for their parents in home and business matters. This also served as another reminder of the first generation's peripheral location. Tina reflects on how she had to step-in and assist in her parents' affairs,

> My brother had some problem with delinquency and had to go to a special school for it. In that school, my parents had to go through a bunch of trainings and because of my dad's English, he would make me go because he needed someone to translate for him. I helped them [parents] a lot growing up.

Regrets, Missed Opportunities, and Fragmented Bonds

A sense of loss or grief is associated with the lack of family time shared during childhood and adolescence. Some reflect on this phenomenon matter-of-factly and attribute it to the circumstances around survival, while others channel emotion into enacting corrective experiences in their own parent-child relationships. Allison alludes to

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this theme of survival and how a focus on this diverted conscious attention away from relationship bonding.

> The first generation didn't come in with very much and tried very hard to make a life for themselves. My dad focused on trying to make a living. I think he was always in survival mode. And I think he tended to be really stressed out. So, we were probably not as close to him as we would have liked.

Participants empathize with the feelings of regret they assume their parents felt for missed opportunities to invest in family relationships. Gloria explains,

> I think that when we were kids they [first generation] probably didn't get to enjoy being a parent because they were working full time and life was tough . . . Like, they were just trying to survive - daily living. So, I don't think they were really concentrating on how they could make family time so much more memorable.

Second generation couples draw on memories of time that was missed in the parent-child relationship to prioritize being present, accessible, and engaged in their children's lives. Allison appreciates her husband's efforts to invest in the father-son relationship, "I love the fact that it is important to him to be present in the relationship with [our son]." Sylvia also acknowledges her husband, Sam's, conscious effort to be an involved parent.

> He only sees the kids in the morning and at night, bath time. So he has kind of taken over the morning preparations, breakfasts with the kids, and bath time at night. He's really squeezed his work schedule around those two things and claimed that as his special time with the kids.

Some respondents believe that in addition to limited family time, the language and cultural barriers between first and second generations contributed to not feeling understood, which fractured the parent-child relationship bonds. Michelle and Mark

explain how cultural differences accounted for miscommunication and relationship conflict. Michelle, "I just think they probably didn't have as much time. You know, I stayed home, she worked full time." Mark, "But I think there's also that cultural element." Michelle, "Definitely, the culture, the language. I mean, she speaks English but it's not the kind of English that I speak with my kids." Mark, "To me, it just seems like when you become a teenager a lot of people feel like oh my parents don't get me. I think it would be almost that much more when their parents are first generation immigrants."

Cultural dissonance creates distance and Michelle recognizes what an advantage it is to share similar cultural membership with her own children.

> Our parents were immigrant Koreans and you can't communicate the same way. I think it was largely cultural . . . So there were lots of issues growing up and in high school where we couldn't do things, they didn't understand, lots of fights and what not. I think because they couldn't relate to me that way, I feel like it's so important for me to have that with my children. I mean I feel like it's different, you know where I am and how I can relate to them.

Performing Bicultural Membership

American born second generation Korean-American couples identify strongly with a bicultural identity and perform their multicultural membership. However, the process of forging a bicultural identity can involve a sense of isolation and struggle for belonging. Second generation parent, Allison, describes the struggle for inclusion she experienced growing up, "I think I felt lost a lot of times, because I'm Korean American and never fit in with the Korean kids that came from Korea, and I never fit in with the Caucasian or American kids. And because of that I think I felt lost and never felt like I

belonged." Others recount racialized ethnic experiences and the feeling of being treated as 'other', despite being born and raised within the dominant culture.

Jenny and Jeremy admit that as bicultural parents, it sometimes feels like you have to choose either one culture over another. Jenny, "It's like a conflict between here's a traditional way, here's our way, and here's the American way. And how do we kind of fit in this whole spectrum and how do we choose what we're going to do." This frames the way they perform culture and informs their beliefs about deliberately creating connections to both the dominant culture and their ethnic descent.

Demonstrates Membership in Dominant Culture

American born second generation couples in this study identify largely with the dominant culture and demonstrate their membership through the prescribed customs and ideology related to parenting and parenting roles. Many participants report that their parenting ideals are influenced somewhat by their observations of American families, growing up. Esther tries to emulate her idealized perception of an American homemaker,

> I noticed with the American families that some of the mothers got to stay at home, so I envied that a little bit. But, you know, our family struggled financially and really had to work, so we didn't have that parent figure when we came home from school and seeing moms that made cookies, we kind of wished that we had had that too. So now, I do that, I'll bake and things like that.

Couples are also influenced by interactions with those in their social network. Within the culture of parenting today, second generation parents, namely mothers, participate in online meet-up groups, baby groups, school groups or other social avenues where different parenting styles are readily observed. These forums reify parenting

strategies idealized in the dominant culture such as time-outs and explanations for discipline, versus corporal punishment which first generation parents more aptly relied on. Esther and Earl say,

> We have heard people say that time-outs really work, but we have yet to try it because she is really young right now. But as she gets older, we'll definitely try it because people find it very successful, so we want to see if it works.

Gloria and George compare the discipline strategies they use to the ones their parents used. George, "In our house, we use time-outs fairly frequently. We also use this simple system of incentives where they get marbles for doing something good. Then they can use those marbles to purchase something. That incentive system works well." Gloria adds, "When our children misbehave, we try to talk to them, explain to them why they shouldn't do what they're doing." She contrasts this with the approach her parents' used, "My dad, he's not a man of many words, so corporal punishment was what we were familiar with. He didn't go into a lot of explanation."

While most of the couples have entertained the concept of time-outs and other discipline strategies they associate with dominant discourse parenting, not all are convinced of its benefits. For example, Tina and Tom do not find the time-out strategy to have much validity. Tina says,

> Time-outs never worked. I tried once and she thought it was this fantastic game where I kept dragging her to the corner. So I was like, I'm not going to be playing with her. So I spanked her once so she'd get back into line and that's what worked." Tim says, "It worked for us, so it'll work for her.

Idealizes Models of Parenting in Books, Television, and the Internet

Parenting discourses are not only cultural, but also generational. The ideas about

what is effective, beneficial for child development, and in vogue so to speak are widely

propagated through various forms of popular media. When asked about factors in the

larger social context that impacted second generation couples' parenting ideology, some

compare and contrast their experience in traditional Korean homes to the idealized

models of dominant culture families portrayed through popular television sitcoms from

the 1980s and 1990s. Television families modeled dominant cultural values such as open

communication, overt affection, and spending time together. Because these models

differed from their own lived experience, second generation parents perceived these ways

of relating as 'right'.

Amy and Andrew recall how American television families influenced their

perceptions of family life and practices they subscribe to today (i.e., open

communication).

> I think part of it is that we're a little more Americanized. We grew up watching
> shows like Growing Pains and The Cosby Show. And our parents were not like
> that. I don't think they were like that culturally, but also because maybe they
> didn't know how to be that way, because their parents were not like that. I think
> more exposure to seeing how other families look like – American families, like on
> Family Ties where parents and children always engage in conversation around the
> dinner table and things like that, have been influences for us.

Many second generation couples also commented on the current availability of

parenting resources that recommend preferred ways to parent. Drawing upon resources

such as parenting books was not a common practice for first generation couples.

However, second generation couples use any combination of the following resources to

assist in constructing their parenting approaches: Parenting books, radio programs, parent

training programs - everything from articles to internet videos. Gloria emphasizes the

value of parenting resources currently available,

> I think our generation has so many more resources, like books, and you can look
> up things on the internet. So for me, my big desire is to know as much, find out as
> much as I can about how to parent . . . I don't want to mess up. So we are trying
> to find as many resources as we can . . . borrow and buy all kinds of parenting
> books.

Though a majority of the couples said they referred to some parenting literature

for advice, a few did not find parenting books to be culturally relevant or helpful. Sharon

and Simon say they cannot relate to the ideas promoted in parenting books, which are

mostly based on western ideology. Sharon explains,

> A lot of my friends have read (parenting) books, but I don't think they fit for us
> because we come from a totally different background. I feel like they tell you to
> be your kids' friend and stuff that I don't agree with.

Prioritizes Knowledge from Formal Education

Couples report that some of the ideas they prioritize in parenting has been

acquired through parenting classes or their University education. Amos says, "Ann's

taking a parent effectiveness training (PET) class which the two of us took a similar class

a couple years ago." Jenny explains, "I've learned from my education background and

experience with children that they really need structure. So, they need structured bedtime,

eating, rituals, and routines and when they have that, they're much happier."

Sam and Sylvia also recognize how Sylvia's background in education informs the

way she leads in the parenting dyad. Sam, "Our kids are as well behaved as they are and

as blossoming as they are because she's an educator so she brings all that to the table."

Sylvia describes academic knowledge as the basis of her authority,

> I don't allow video games in the house. There's no Wii, there's no PS3. I don't let them watch regular TV. I DVR all the shows I pre-approve and those are the shows they're allowed to watch. And my children don't understand why because all their friends have Wii and video games. But I'm a teacher and it's not developmentally appropriate.

Enacts Dominant Culture Customs and Traditions

Second generation families in this study enact American holiday customs and traditions that they learned while growing up in an American context and consider this to be one way they demonstrate their societal membership. Lily describes this process,

> Growing up, every holiday was – mom, we're supposed to buy eggs and color them. Mom, my tooth fell out, you're supposed to put money under my pillow. You know? So, every holiday was what we made it. After we got married, I put stockings up and filled them and Lance was like, honey you're not supposed to fill them up. And I was like, well who fills them? He said, Santa, the night before! And I was like, oh!

Consciously Creates Connection to Ethnic Heritage

Commonly, American born second generation couples report feeling somewhat disconnected from their Korean ethnic heritage and therefore consciously try to create connections. Allison explains her views on the dilution of ethnic heritage that occurs post immigration and believes that one has to be intentional in order to retain some of it within successive generations. She states,

> My parents were so busy trying to make a living they didn't observe a lot of things. I think they became very Americanized. And I think by the time it gets to

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the second and third generations, a lot of it gets let go. You're just going to hold onto the ones that are really important to you or the ones that you celebrated.

Sylvia attributes the cultural dilution to the fact that some first generation parents perceive acculturation as most essential for survival success in the host country:

> My parents made decisions to make us as Canadian as possible. When I was two, they made the decision to only speak English to me. And that carried through to a lot of cultural aspects. We were raised really Canadian and I never took the time to go to Korea to find those roots even though I felt very strongly about it. I feel like that was really missing. So I'm trying to gain back a little sense of what my culture is and where do I fit into all of that. And I want my kids to be proud of the cultures that they have. So they watch Korean shows with me and listen to Korean pop music. And they're really proud of being Korean.

Couples, like Jenny and Jeremy, are purposeful in teaching their children about their ethnic heritage to maintain that aspect of bicultural identity. Jenny says,

> There are things we've experienced or wished we had then that we want to pass onto them like culture and language are big things. Making sure they know where they're from, rather than any ambiguity. Because that's one thing I've gone through and he's gone through that too.

Jeremy, "Yeah, making sure that they know who they are. And being here in the US, to know where they're from culturally."

In general, the parenting ideology of second generation parents seems largely shaped by the dominant culture. However, certain taken for granted Korean cultural values are inherently part of the parenting ideology of the second generation. Specifically, some second generation parents think at the very least, it is important to teach their children how to show respect for elders and relate in culturally appropriate ways to people from the natal culture. Regardless of their own level of language ability, most desire for their children to learn the Korean language as part of their bicultural

identity. Sylvia explains, "At the very least, even though they're not fluent, they should know how to properly greet someone, how to say thank you, the basics." Sam, "They're always going to be other in the states because they don't look white." Sylvia, "But they're always going to be other in Korea as well. I'm an 'other'. We don't have any ideas of how it is in Korea." Sam, "So, it's also important that they understand where they come from culturally."

Keeps Ethnic Traditions and Customs

To validate their ethnic heritage and nurture children's cultural awareness, many second generation couples purposefully try to keep Korean traditions that first generation parents modeled and ones they see other second generation families perform today. Allison's husband, Andy, says the formal Korean traditions they keep are Baek il or celebration of an infant's first 100 days of life and Dohl janchee or a child's first birthday. Based on respondents, these Korean traditions are amongst the most widely observed by second generation families, along with Korean New Year's. Ann says, "We celebrate New Year's with mandu (dumplings). We usually do it at my mom's house because I think traditionally you go to your ancestor's home."

For some second generation families, food serves as a constant bridge to the Korean culture. This means in some second generation homes Korean food is prepared on a regular basis and also provided by first generation grandparents. Lily says, "I do a lot of the cooking and I cook mainly Korean food. Lance loves Korean food. If we go without eating it for a long time, our children are like…" Lance, "Can we just have some Korean food? Part of the connection to traditional Korean heritage is through food."

Counters Societal Discrimination

Recognizes Increased Societal Privilege

Many participants in this study are aware that their upward economic mobility, cultural proficiency, and English fluency has afforded them increased societal privilege which allows them to engage as societal members in ways their parents could not. This includes everything from pursuing higher education and selecting meaningful careers to exercising personal power in society to counter the societal discrimination they vividly remember experiencing while they were growing up. Sylvia believes it is her responsibility as a parent to teach her children to stand against discrimination by modeling this for them.

> My parents always raised me to not make waves when it came to racism. They always told me to be quiet, and to not say anything, and to move on and just make sure I work harder. But, I'm not an immigrant. I was born and raised here and I see no need for me to keep my mouth shut. And so I'm very vocal about it . . . because I need to be for my kids . . . So, I don't let that slide at all.

In Sylvia's statement there was a tone of anger and defiance that other participants echoed. Awareness of shift in context, from surviving to thriving, also serves to remind second generation couples that societal privilege can inadvertently breed a sense of entitlement. Andrew says, "For us, it's not so much about surviving as much as it's like, beyond the necessities . . . like the niceties, you know?" His wife, Amy adds, "We understand that our parents did the best they could with what they had. But our problem is almost the opposite – making sure our kids don't grow up feeling entitled and being spoiled. "

Gloria and George want to honor the first generation legacy of survival by teaching their children the value of a hard work ethic. Gloria says,

> We're definitely reaping the benefits of our parents' hard work and now we have to be careful not to over spoil our kids . . . So, we don't just give them anything or everything, and we make them earn a lot of stuff . . . We don't want them to be that generation of kids that are used to living so comfortably that they don't know what it means to struggle and to understand what hard work is.

A sense of anger around the racialized ethnic experiences and directly witnessed accounts of first generation immigrant parents' struggles with marginalization in combination with an awareness of their own privileged social location, frame participants' desires to raise children to embrace differences and build social inclusion. The parents in this study model an appreciation for diversity, nurture empathy, teach children to recognize how they impact others, and seek membership in diverse communities.

Models Tolerance

Personal experiences with societal discrimination sensitizes second generation parents to believe that modeling tolerance is one way to teach children about relational accountability. Sylvia and Sam discuss how they think about this matter. Sylvia: "If you ask my kids what mommy thinks is important, it's to be a good person. It's to be a person that's kind to people, and to accept other people." Sam: "Tolerance." Sylvia: "Tolerance. To be a kind person, a person that is open to where other people are at and not judge them for that." Sam: "It's important to me for these kids to grow up understanding and being sensitive to the fact that they live in a global community and not just a local community."

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Michelle and Mark say respect for differences is one of the most important values to teach children. Michelle says,

> If there's anything that I intentionally think about, it's things you want them to learn like treating everybody the same…not being mean to somebody just because they are different than you. That, I definitely think about. I want them to be open-minded. I don't want them to discriminate based on just, you know, outward appearances, race, whatever. To respect [others'] ideas, their views. That, I'm conscious of.

Other second generation couples frame their views on tolerance and acceptance from a spiritual perspective. Amy and Andrew stress the importance of raising children to hold equal regard for others, regardless of difference. Amy, "We want our children to have the same respect for others and recognize that whoever they're looking at was also created by God. And that person deserves the same respect." Lily and Lance say, "We want them to be comfortable in multiple environments with people from very different backgrounds and ideas."

Encourages Perspective Taking

The intentional focus second generation couples place on relational accountability may also be partly attributed to the taken for granted ethnic training they received in collectivist homes. The internalization of values, such as group harmony, stem from Korean culture. To nurture relational accountability, several couples emphasize the importance of teaching their children perspective taking. George and Gloria view this as an essential parenting task. George says,

> "Providing an education involves more than just explaining the reasons why we have them do certain things. It also involves having them see things from others'

points of view. We want them to be able to empathize with other people because I think it makes them better."

Gloria continues, "We want them to socially integrate, you know what I mean? We all want our kids to be able to get along with others, because that's how you live in the world, this society." Andrew and Amy say, "We want them to think about other people and put themselves in others' shoes." Amy, "Yeah, even as children, we want them to learn to see things from other people's point of view."

Teaches Children to Recognize How They Impact Others

Because second generation couples think partly from a collectivist value framework, they think relational accountability includes awareness of connection to the larger group. Amy and Andrew think their responsibility as parents is to teach their children to notice their impact on others and to relate in ways that benefit the larger group. Amy and Andrew say, "Each of our kids are verbal and very outspoken and that's good. But, we want them to learn when to sort of exercise their personality strengths or when to hold it in for the rest of the class or the rest of the team."

When asked about expectations for their children, Lily and Lance explain that they try to instill a sense of civic duty and awareness in their children of how they affect the larger world. Lance says,

> Our children would attest that we have expectations for them and part of it would be that they deepen their awareness of themselves and the world. We expect good character and for them to treat people with kindness, respect, and love. We expect them to be active in their communities. During political or voting periods, we are involved in different things and have conversations with our kids.

Seeks Membership in Diverse Communities

Consciously seeking membership in diverse communities seems to be an important lifestyle choice for many of the study participants. Some couples think about diversity in terms of race and ethnicity, while others define diversity in broader terms to encompass different lifestyles, contemporary family forms, and political ideology. Couples like Sylvia and Sam normalize the concept of contemporary family forms for their children by nurturing friendships with same-sex families.

Sam gave an example of how diversity is promoted in the home,

> This morning, our son Micah got his birthday presents and said, this one is from Greg and Gary, my uncles. And it was just like he was talking about his aunt and uncle. Just came out so naturally. Just wasn't even a big deal for him.

Sylvia explains,

> We had to explain that though. Judy has two dads and they [children] thought it was a dad and step-dad . . . So, I had to tell them there's no woman involved. They love each other and they're married, and needed help having babies . . . because two men can't have a baby. There's many different people in many different situations, and many different ways of life and to discount them or to not think that their relationship or views are important is not alright with us.

Discussion

This study explored the social construction of parenting and how American born second-generation couples come to locate themselves in the social context and use larger discourses to assemble a parenting ideology. Feelings of anger and loss generated by awareness of first generation marginalization and struggles associated with immigrant survival in a western context, along with firsthand racialized ethnic experiences and

awareness of their own increased societal privilege, inform second generation couples'

perspectives of what matters most in a parenting ideology.

Their emphasis on children's relational accountability is a more collectivist notion

that seems related to the couples' bicultural socialization. Relational accountability is an

attitude that privileges diversity and includes empathy, noticing how one's actions affect

others, and a desire to foster social inclusion. Due to taken for granted realities of being

Asian in a western social context, second generation Korean-American couples appear

less aware of which cultural values they're retaining from their ethnic heritage, and more

aware of what they're not. Though they primarily identify with idealized models of

dominant culture parenting ideals, they also consciously try to locate themselves in

multiple social worlds through their performance of dominant and ethnic cultural

membership. However, it is unclear to what extent these processes are influenced by

generational factors rather than cultural ones because there are influences from both.

Implications

Cross-cultural parenting issues present a particularly unique challenge for many

family therapists. One reason is because Korean and American cultures including the

customs, traditions, attitudes, and ideologies are strong influences that intersect in

varying ways to shape the parenting approaches of this population. With the continuously

changing cultural landscape of the U.S. and Canada, cross-cultural parenting issues will

continue to be an important topic for research and family therapy practice.

A clinical implication of this study relates to culturally appropriate practice. One

can't assume American born second generation Korean-American parents carry forward

the ethnic and cultural ideas that dominant discourses assume about them. As Zhou and Bankston (2008) report, there are distinct differences in ideology and attitudes between them and their first generation immigrant parents, which can be attributed to their bicultural socialization and different social contexts. Therapists need to be careful to think of these parents in less culturally essentializing ways and recognize the broad, within group differences.

When working with American born second generation Korean-American parents, it is important to locate their experiences within the larger social context. Therapists ought to ask questions to understand how they might relate to a bicultural identity and how an integration of multiple cultural ideologies may influence their parenting ideology. Suggested questions for connecting with bicultural clients' worldview might include: Korean-Americans often describe feeling neither fully Korean or American but instead a connection to both. How would you identify yourselves culturally? What life experiences or social factors have informed your beliefs and approaches to parenting? How does the way in which you parent compare and contrast from the families you grew up in? Are there times when you feel you are caught between competing sets of values or ideas? What helps you to know which practices to adopt in the parenting process? How do your families relate to you around cultural parenting beliefs? What parenting goals are most important to you? In what circumstances do you think it is necessary to have some flexibility with your parenting ideas and practices?

Limitations and Research Directives

Because snowball sampling was used as the recruitment strategy and intragroup similarities exist within a couple's social network, American born second-generation Korean-American participants in this study, predominantly came from middle to upper SES backgrounds and high educational achievement. It is difficult to determine how relevant the results from this study might be for those from lower SES and educational backgrounds. Also, couples experiencing more conflict or distress may not have volunteered for the study. Future research involving these groups is needed to better understand how dominant discourses in the larger social context influence the lived experiences and parenting ideology of these couples.

CHAPTER SIX

HOW SECOND GENERATION KOREAN-AMERICAN COUPLES

RECONCEPTUALIZE HIERARCHY AND BUILD CONNECTION IN THE

PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

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Abstract

There is a dearth of research in family therapy literature pertaining to American born second generation Korean-American parenting couples. This qualitative grounded theory study used a social constructionist lens to understand how these parents conceptualize parenting and position themselves within parent-child relationships. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 20 couples of children between 0-10 years of age to illuminate the processes that facilitate relational connection, rather than rule-directed parenting. Three main processes were identified: (a) subscribes to dominant culture values, (b) invites open communication, and (c) promotes mutuality. The applicability of Tuttle, Knudson-Martin, & Kim's (2012) typology of parent-child relational orientations (TP-CRO) was explored. This study highlights the fluidity of TP-CRO and its usefulness for understanding parent-child relationships.

How Second Generation Korean-American Couples Reconceptualize Hierarchy and Build Connection in the Parent-Child Relationship

Parent-child relationships have been typically viewed in terms of hierarchical positions. Stone Fish (2000) uses Sluzki & Beavin's (1977) term to describe parent-child interactional units as complementary rather than symmetrical. Parents are automatically assumed to be in the dominant position and hold latent power. This is certainly the prescribed norm in traditional Korean families. Hierarchy in the parent-child relationship is conceived of in terms of power and position (Tuttle, Knudson-Martin, & Kim, 2012). In relationships where power differentials are inherent, shifts in power dynamics can only happen when the person with greater power is willing to surrender or share some of it relationally (Fishbane, 2003).

Parents that take the time to listen to his or her child's perspectives, tune-in to the issues that matter to a child, and take influence from the child when appropriate might be perceived as taking a one-down position. When parents take relational responsibility to manipulate or modify the power dynamic in the hierarchy, they can create opportunities for increased vulnerability, open communication, and close bonding in the parent-child relationship (Tuttle et al., 2012).

This paper is the second of two from a study that explores the influence of social context on parenting amongst second generation Korean-American couples. The first paper looked specifically at how couples construct a parenting ideology amidst competing cultural discourses in the larger social context. In that paper (Kim, 2012), it was evident that because of bicultural socialization, many second generation couples

locate themselves in multiple social worlds and integrate taken for granted aspects of collectivist value systems, while also identifying with idealized models of parenting in the dominant culture. This grounded theory study describes how American born second generation Korean-American couples intentionally try to parent in a way that nurtures a closer relational bond with the child and privileges the child's individuality and personal freedom, which reflects a shift in the hierarchical nature of traditional Korean parent-child relationships.

Theoretical Framework

Parenting is often framed from an attachment (i.e., Bowlby, 1969), social learning (i.e., Bandura, 1977), or cognitive behavioral perspective (i.e. Beck, 1976) rather than as a socio-culturally embedded relationship (Tuttle et al., 2012). In this study, we use a social constructionist framework (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) to expand our conceptualization of parenting and parent-child relationships to consider how parenting is constructed vis-a-vis the social context. This paradigm helps us think about how American born second generation Korean-American parents, socialized in bicultural contexts, approach hierarchy and power in the parent child relationship and co-construct (Gergen, 2009) processes to shift from rule-directed parenting of the first generation.

Furthermore, this research uses Tuttle et al.'s (2012) typology of parent-child relational orientations (TP-CRO) as a sensitizing framework for understanding the parenting orientations of second generation Korean-American parents. This four-quadrant typology conceptualizes parenting orientations as position-directed, rule-directed, independence-directed, or relationship-directed. The parenting orientations framework is

unique in its theoretical conceptualization of parent-child relationships as organized according to power and focus dimensions, which are shaped by cultural ideology and discourses within the larger social context. Power refers to the degree in which hierarchy is emphasized, while focus refers to whether the individual or relationship is privileged. Thus, the analysis in this study is guided by an interest in how parents manage these aspects of relationship.

Literature Review

Four databases were searched using EBSCOhost: Academic Search Premier, SocINDEX, psycARTICLES, and psycINFO to locate articles pertaining to second generation Korean American parenting approaches. Inclusion criteria included: (1) peer-reviewed journals (2) English text, and (3) publications within the last 30 years. Keyword search terms including, 'American born *second generation Korean American parenting'* and *'second generation Korean American parenting approaches',* yielded 3227 articles. None of these articles related specifically to parenting styles or approaches amongst American born second generation parenting couples.

Traditional Korean Family Values

The ordering of family relationships in traditional Korean families is strongly influenced by the cultural values, familism (Cha, 1983) and Confucian collectivism (Oak & Martin, 2000). Fundamental Confucian philosophy and familism prescribes filial piety (Hurh, 1998), which includes unobjectionable respect for parental authority, duty to provide elder care, and self-sacrifice to preserve family honor (Park, 2009).

Consequently, Korean children are expected to be submissive towards their parents and use language as well as behavioral markers to show respect and denote relationship position (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1990).

A study by Rohner & Pettengill (1985), found that first-generation Korean immigrant parents and children in Korea regard strict parental control as a protective mechanism that means love and concern. However, from a western perspective, this may be perceived as rigid, enmeshed, and hostile. Without regard for the socio-cultural context that frames this relationship dynamic, family therapists who practice from a western orientation are likely to perceive this parenting style as pathological.

Dominant Culture Ideology

In contrast to traditional Korean culture, western culture promotes individualism (Yum, 1988). Individualism is a self-orientation defined as an attitude that places priority on "…own interests, independently of their bearings on the interests of a given collectivity" (Parsons, Shils, & Olds, 1951, p. 81). Along with tolerance for individual perspectives and personhood, western parents privilege independence, freedom, and the pursuit of happiness and fulfillment in life (Yang & Rettig, 2003). Yet, while cultural contrasts can be drawn, Kim & Choi (1994) contend that varying characteristics of individualism and collectivism exist within all cultures, and discourage against exclusively categorizing cultures in essentializing ways. It is reasonable to think that Korean-American culture is influenced by both individualism and collectivism.

Shifts in Traditional Parenting Approaches

Traditional cultural expectations are renegotiated over time as Korean families immigrate to the west and find themselves in a different sociocultural context that privileges individualism and autonomy (Kim, 2004). Some first generation parents that formerly used a position or rule-directed relationship orientation, were receptive to western concepts such as personal freedom, autonomy, and shared decision-making, when their children pressed these issues (Yang & Rettig, 2003). This shift in thinking seems to be related to living in a different social context with western norms.

American born second-generation children, socialized within competing individualist and collectivist cultures value freedom and autonomy (Park, 2009). It seems that one of the factors that motivates first generation parents to take a more relationship-directed parenting orientation with their second generation children is the desire to maintain long-term relationship connection with their child. Yang & Rettig (2003) conducted a phenomenological study involving in-depth interviews with 17 first generation Korean immigrant mothers about the value tensions in Korean-American mother-child relationships. Parents in Yang & Rettig's study cited fears of emotional cut-off and losing communication with their adolescents as the reason adopting a more open communication style and relational orientation.

Cultural Constructions of Emotional Bonding

The psychological and physical bond between mother and child, referred to as 'chong', is emphasized in traditional and contemporary Korean cultures (Kim & Choi, 1994). This influences Korean mothers' tendency to adopt a highly attuned, child-

centered approach (Lee & Lee, 1987) to caregiving. Yu (1985) studied Korean mother-child emotional intimacy and found that mothers commonly showed leniency or indulgence with young children, along with devotion. However, this is not synonymous with the socially constructed meaning ascribed to Baumrind's (1991) permissive parenting style.

Traditional Korean mothers show attunement and are lenient in the way they manage children's bedtimes or toilet training process. For example, mothers closely watch for their preschoolers' nonverbal indicators and quickly attend to them rather than setting structured sleep schedules or pushing their children to toilet train before they indicate they are ready. Because children are figuratively placed at the center of the Korean family unit, the quality of parent-child relationships may be prioritized above marital relationships (Lee & Keith, 1999). It is unclear how this style of parenting in a Korean cultural context is related to the quadrants in Tuttle et al.'s (2012) model. Furthermore, how this compares and contrasts with second generation Korean-American parents is unknown.

Method

As part of a larger Contemporary Couples Study (CCS), this research involved in-depth grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) analyses of semi-structured interviews with 20 American born second generation Korean-American parenting couples. This approach allowed respondents the flexibility to express their perspectives about parenting and address the issues that mattered to them most, while allowing us to systematically

capture couple level data regarding how these parents go about the process of creating the parent-child relationship, with special attention to how the hierarchy begins to shift.

Participant Sample

We started with a convenience sample of American born second generation Korean-American parents residing in southern California. We then used snowball sampling as the method to select additional participants. The number of referrals from any one individual was limited to four. This helped maximize the heterogeneity of the sample and safeguard against over-sampling from any particular network. Participant inclusion criteria required that married parenting couples have children between 0-10 years and at least one of the partners identify as second generation Korean-American. This was defined as any person of Korean ethnic descent that was American or Canadian born, or that immigrated prior to school age.

Table 1 presents a list of the study participants. Thirteen couples reside in Southern California and seven in British Columbia, Canada. The participant sample is highly educated, with all holding minimally, a bachelor's degree and many having master's level degrees or higher. Most of the participants have specialized credentials or work in professional occupations, such as: law, management, dentistry, pharmacy, clinical psychology, finance, physical therapy, education, technology and business. Six of the wives work full-time outside the home, one is a full-time student, and thirteen are stay-at-home mothers. All the husbands are employed full-time. Seven couples have one child, eight couples have two children, and five couples have three. The mean age for women is 35.6 years and 38.2 years for men.

Data Creation

The first author recruited and interviewed all 20 couples. As a Canadian born second generation Korean-Canadian, she was able to use her localized knowledge of Korean immigrant family culture and bicultural socialization to relate and develop rapport with participant couples and frame questions to elicit candid reflections during the conversation. Interviews were conducted conjointly to observe partner interaction. Interviews were conducted in places of participants' choosing, which included homes or coffee shops. All interviews were conducted in English and took between 1 and 3 hours to complete. Informed consent was obtained to audiotape and transcribe the interviews.

Using the CCS interview guide, the conversation began by broadly exploring couple relational processes vis-à-vis parenting. Examples of questions from the interview guide included: What do you envision as an ideal parent-child relationship? In practice, what might this look like and can you provide some examples? How do you view your role in the parent-child relationship? How do you manage conflict that arises in the parent-child relationship? What do you want your child to learn about relationships? What are your hopes and goals for your children? Additional probes based on participant responses or related to decision-making and communication was asked to explore how parents constructed a relational orientation in the parent-child relationship.

Some of these additional probes included: What do you remember most about how your parents parented you and how does this inform the way you parent? What stressors or environmental factors do you think impacted your parents' parenting style most? What contrasting notions about parenting do you remember seeing or hearing from your friends' parents, on TV, etc. while growing up? How do you think your perceptions

of these families have influenced how you parent your own children? What are some cultural influences from your family of origin or the larger society that you think has impacted the way you parent?

Data Analysis

Corbin and Strauss's (2008) process of coding and inquiry was used to guide the analysis. The first author began with line-by-line open coding to identify discrete properties of the transcripts. Early in this process, initial codes around parenting processes that emerged included, "nurtures decision-making skills" and "nurtures child's interests". Subsequent data was compared with previously coded data to determine whether they indicated new or similar content. Axial coding was used to organize seemingly related codes into common categories to reflect greater levels of conceptual abstraction. For example, "invites child's perspectives" and "engages in open communication" was categorized as "desires close relationship". Also, "models apologies" and "takes mutual influence from child" was categorized as "taking a one-down position in relation to the child".

Substantive categories such as "supports personal freedom and individuality" were then used as selective codes to review the remaining pages of transcripts and extract data to construct a theory of how American born second generation Korean-American couples reconceptualize hierarchy and build connection in the parent-child relationship. A continuous, iterative process of coding and theoretical sampling (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) helped to ensure saturation was reached. Discussions with the second author about the interviews, codes, and categories during the axial coding phase, helped illuminate

categorical dimensions and determine relationships between relationship-directed parenting processes. The third author was asked to corroborate concerning the way in which parenting orientation codes had been ascribed to categorize the data. Multiple data sources, including field notes and analytic memos were also referred back on to think through conceptual relationships that seemed unclear or ambiguous.

Results: Managing Hierarchy and Building Relationship

This grounded theory explains how American born second generation Korean-American parents deliberately parent in ways to foster relational connection and nurture a child's sense of individuality and personal freedom. In general, these parents move away from rule-directed parenting orientations of the first generation and think of power less as a static construct. Instead, they organize around the western concept of personal agency because they believe it is part of developing a close parent-child relationship, as well as a necessary factor for preparing a child to function in society.

This analysis focused on parenting processes that helped study participants decrease hierarchy and construct a parenting approach that allowed for fluidity between independence and relationship-directed focuses. Three main parenting processes that were identified included: (a) Subscribing to socialization goals of the dominant culture, (b) Inviting open communication, and (c) Promoting Mutuality. There were also circumstances where parents were more likely to privilege the hierarchy and other times when they tried to create a more symmetrical relational process. These variations are also described.

Collectivistic and individualistic value systems are both sources of influence for second generation parents. Being raised by first generation parents, they retain certain collectivist values such as showing respect to elders, while also strongly endorsing dominant culture ideals such as individuality and autonomy. Variations exist with regards to how parents integrate these contrasting ideologies, depending on where they place focus. A focus on parental role or position is used when parents emphasize setting boundaries, rules, and expectations for children's behavior. When parents consciously attend to their children's experience, relationship directed relational processes are privileged. In so doing, these parents emphasize dominant culture values that contrast with collectivism. They (a) privilege autonomy and individuality, (b) support personal agency and self-determination, and (c) encourage decision-making.

Privileges Autonomy and Individuality

In collectivist cultures, wisdom is perceived to be correlated with age, and therefore parents own the responsibility to make decisions based on love and care for the child's well being. Earl, explains the role-directed nature of collectivist parenting, "A lot of Asian culture parents are, I know what's best for you so you do whatever I say and whatever I give you." Second generation parents that demonstrate a shift towards a relationship-directed parenting approach privilege dominant culture ideals such as autonomy and individuality.

These are couples like Sylvia and Sam that view a sense of identity as important for participating in relationships. Sam sees an ideal relationship as, "A partnership," and

Sylvia adds, "Of individuals who have their own identity." They think a major parenting responsibility is to help children develop an identity or sense of self. The ability to discern, make decisions, and solve problems are all skills they deem necessary for successful societal functioning. They express commitment to raising their children to have a clear personal vision for what they want in life.

These parents affirm their child's personhood. Mark explains, "You have a certain picture of what you hope for them (in life), but they are who they are." Parents that share similar views as Mark seek to know their children as individuals and desire mutual regard from them. Allison embraces her child's individuality as an effort to build connection:

> I just want us to have a relationship where he can feel like he can come and talk to me and I'm not judging him and hope the same, that he wouldn't judge me… I think some kids and parents don't really have a connection. When they see their parent, they don't really see them as an actual person . . . just an authority figure.

Allison's husband, Andy, considers sense of self to be a key ingredient for genuine relationship, "We want to teach him how to be his own person." This individualistic perspective contrasts from collectivist ideology that privileges order and roles in the larger group rather than the autonomous self. Earl relates in egalitarian ways to his daughter. This differs significantly from how he saw himself treated in a subordinate role in his family. Simple as it seems on the surface, this example actually illustrates the complexity of how bicultural influences affect implementation of relationship directed parenting. Earl's intentionality to honor his daughter's individualistic personhood is framed from the important collectivist ideal of respect,

> In my family, because I'm the youngest if they want something, they don't have to ask me. You know Asian culture right? They have the right, but I notice I don't

have the right. I know that she's a little child, but I also think, this is another person. I should respect her right.

Second generation couples draw upon feelings from the past of struggling to establish a sense of personal identity within cultural contexts that were highly directive and authoritarian. Drawing from their own lived experiences, Ann and Amos, encourage decision-making and choices to nurture children's sense of self, "We want them to be comfortable in their own skin when they grow up. Not wondering what should we do or who should I be?"

Esther relates to the common cultural bind of pleasing others and maintaining authenticity to self, "I think if you're too obedient, then you're really not allowing yourself to grow and I caught myself in that position a lot." She highlights the tendency to propagate the taken for granted Korean cultural values she was socialized according to, such as piety and obedience. For example, her extended family emphasizes the collectivist value of obedience by verbally praising her daughter when she is 'chak hye', the Korean term for 'obedient'.

Supports Personal Agency and Self-Determination

The majority of second generation parents in this study encourage self-determination, an idea that stems from dominant culture discourses. This is in contrast to fulfilling family or parental expectations, which has been expressed as a common denominator for many of the participants. From a framework of relationality, Ann and Amos actively encourage their children to choose their life ambitions. Amos says, "We

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are not trying to live vicariously through our kids or force them through what we expect or think." Ann says they nurture their children's interests,

> I want our kids to grow up seeking what they want to do and what they want to be and fulfilling their curiosity. As a young adult I really struggled with what I wanted to do and I think that has to do with how I was raised. I was always told that I would be a doctor and so I never had a chance to really look outside of that and if I did, it wasn't nurtured at all.

In order to nurture a child's growing sense of individuality and awareness of life options, most parents encourage their children to explore the world around them. Couples like Ann and Amos provide opportunities to do this by exposing their children to a variety of experiences and tuning-in to notice which activities and interests their child seems to prefer or have a natural affinity towards. Ann says, "We try to expose them to everything under the sun and then hone in on the things that excite them and what they like." They view a child's preferences as an extension of his or her individuality and try to nurture and support these things as an act of relationality.

Congruent with individualism, these parents privilege personal satisfaction and happiness as life goals, but balance this by limiting children's personal freedom when it comes to goal achievement. Sam, married to second generation wife, Sylvia, stated emphatically that he is an idealist rather than a pragmatist when it comes to his children's lives, "I just want them to be happy. I could care less what they do. I could care less what they turn out to be. I just want them to be happy." Sylvia agrees, but adds that she holds expectations for her children's goals, which she attributes to her collectivist heritage and carrying out the family legacy,

> I'm similar in that respect, but the kids know that I have expectations for them as far as education is concerned. We're goal oriented because we were raised goal

oriented. I think I have that kind of driven personality because we were taught that we have to do everything double if we were going to make it because we were immigrant's kids.

Couples commonly face the task of negotiating between dominant culture values and ethnic ideology in the parenting process. Lily and Lance feel a tension around choosing between contrasting cultural orientations – one that focuses on achievement and the other, which privileges personal satisfaction. Lily expands on the traditional definition of educating a child,

> As a Korean, I am always like, you've got to study hard, want them to be professionals and all that. But I am definitely not hard and fast on that. I want them to be passionate, joyful, and successful with whatever they put their minds to. For the both of us, education is highly valued, but not just in the sense of getting A's. Education in the sense of deepening one's awareness of themselves and the world.

Jenny explains that she does not want to force her children to pursue what she wants, but does encourage them to be goal oriented, "For me, it's to give them as much experience as they can and just let them get a feel of it. Hopefully, they'll find something in that midst and that will become their goal." Other parents wonder if there are some times when they ought to push their children towards goals. Mark sees value in certain circumstances to take a more rule-directed approach, "It's hard because sometimes you wonder if you prod them a little more will they actually get into something? Is it enough? It's hard to know." His wife, Michelle adds, "Like, should you be kind of pushing them"?

Relationship-directed parents try not to impose their goals onto their children. For example, Gloria nurtures rather than directs,

I wasn't given a wide spectrum of experiences or opportunities to choose. I kind of just did what was kind of laid out for me. We're definitely not like, Korean style where it's like confined to picking a certain style and nurturing that. We nurture whatever they want to do.

However, others continue to subscribe to the cultural idea that responsible parents determine their children's futures and therefore prioritize hierarchy above relationship process or individualism, as their first generation parents did. For example, George maintains hierarchy with a rule-directed focus on his responsibility to guide,

I think once they get to that age when you know, they start thinking about career, we'll probably sit down and think more seriously about what their career options are going to be. I'm not going to just be like, ok honey, you can grow up to be a painter. We'll guide them.

Gloria relates to the bind parents often find themselves in to choose between supporting their children's autonomy and taking a directive approach: "When it comes down to it and we're seriously having to think about their livelihood and supporting their families, I think we're going to be able to relate a little more to our parents, I think."

Encourages Decision-Making

Parents in this study talked at length about the desire to raise children with sound decision-making skills and related this competency to independence and self-sufficiency – skills necessary for functioning in an individualistic society. Sylvia and Sam engage their children in decision-making tasks from an early age. Sylvia says, "Kids need to be taught values and given some space to make decisions, and to gain some independence. I never had a decision in anything and I want them (children) to be aware of what they're making decisions on when they get older."

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Jeremy idealizes independent thinking and sound judgment, "I want them to grow up not just taking what people say to them, but to know what they think themselves." Jenny offers choices to her children as a way to facilitate decision-making skills. She associates this with American parenting: "With this whole American parenting, we learned to give them choices and options earlier in life. You control the options, but you still give this to them. We didn't have the choice growing up." Sam, Sylvia's husband, also offers choices to facilitate decision-making with his children,

> If I'm stuck with them in the afternoon, I'm like, alright. What are we doing? And they're like, uh, well mom usually… No, no, what are we doing? I'm not telling you where we're going, what are we going to do? And sometimes it's we want to play legos. And sometimes it's we want to go to the park.

Lily and Lance trust in their children's competency to make responsible decisions instead of thinking they need to relate as guides. Lily explains, "We've given them a lot of trust in how to handle things. We'd like them to know how to make their own decisions instead of protecting them or sheltering them in some sort of way. We'd rather them navigate through these sorts of things and know why they decide what they did." This represents a significant contrast from rule or position directed parenting.

Invites Open Communication

Couples that lean towards relationship-directed parenting, subscribe to the concept of open communication, a concept rooted in individualistic ideology. Creating a relational context for open communication involves learning to be more expressive in relationships beyond just the parent-child dyad. Lily and Lance, one couple that consciously tries to engage their children in regular dialogue and maintain open

communication describe how they have learned to be more expressive through the context of their marital relationship. Lily says, "He's so complimentary and nurturing and I'm stereotypical Korean where I'm not very expressive. So in our shared time together, I've become much more expressive. I've become a lot more that way, not only just to do it, but to enjoy it and be that person for him, and I think he is that for me."

Based on participants' reports, open communication is idealized by many relationship-directed parents. Participants state that open communication means everything from allowing children to raise issues for discussion, allowing them to express displeasure with parents' decisions, inviting them to express their opinions, providing rationales for rules, and helping children consider multiple viewpoints around difficult topics. When parents encourage open communication, it creates a context where children feel permitted to broach difficult topics, allowing opportunities to deepen the parent-child relationship. Sylvia and Sam say the following about dealing with conflicted issues: Sylvia, "If they have a grievance they always go and tell Sam." Sam, "Oh absolutely." Sylvia, "Or vice versa. If something happens with Sam, then they will come and talk to me." Sam says, "I usually say, well you're going to have to work that out with your mom. You and her are going to have to sort that out."

Not only do parents view open communication as a tool for developing closeness, some also consider it an inherent characteristic of authentic relationship. Michelle says communication matters most in the parent-child relationship. "I would say, definitely communication. You know, kind of keeping us in the loop. I would love to have them feel comfortable to talk to us, to let us know if something's going on." Allison also views open communication directly related to establishing a relationship safety, "I want him to

know I always cared and if he was having trouble or needed someone to talk to that he would feel he could come to me."

Ann and Amos believe open communication with their children makes it more likely that they will have the opportunity to share a friendship in adulthood. Ann says, "I want them to remember me as someone they could talk to and that helped them . . . almost like a friend, although I wouldn't say that I'm my kids' friend." Amos explains that he's trying to create, "…positive memories that are the basis for us being friends when we're older."

Promotes Mutuality

Attention to power differentials between children and parents was particularly evident as participants described their efforts to create a sense of mutuality with their children, particularly around issues of emotional safety and vulnerability. Couples facilitate mutuality by (a) Taking a one-down position in relation to the child, (b) Considering the child's needs, (c) Balancing connection and discipline, and (d) Monitoring their expressions of anger.

Takes a One-down Position in Relation to the Child

According to Tuttle et al.'s (2012) TP-CRO, a relationship-directed parenting approach involves learning to give and take mutual influence. When asked what makes parenting meaningful, a few couples highlighted the personal development they experience by allowing their children to teach and impact them. Gloria states that attuning to her child prompts self-reflection, "Nothing better magnifies issues than to see

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your own child behave a certain way and you realize… Oh! That's like me. It forces us to look at how we are not only ourselves, but how we are with each other."

Amy acknowledges the power of witnessing and thinks children learn how to be relational by watching the way parents relate mutually to one another.

> For us, saying sorry is especially important to do in front of the kids. Because really, everything for them is modeling. I mean I can tell them to say sorry and explain that it's because that's good for them to do. But, when they see us saying sorry to each other or to them, I think it reiterates that more.

Apologizing to a child and taking his or her influence seems to be one of the processes used for reducing the hierarchical distance between parent and child. Lily recounted a recent time when she was short with her daughter and took the opportunity to apologize.

> I called my husband and asked to speak to our daughter. I said to her, honey, I really want to apologize. I'm really sorry. I shouldn't have been that short with you. And she's like, is that what you called about? No, it's ok. I understand. And because of that example of us saying, you know I'm really sorry, they're also really apologetic to us. You know, mom I'm really sorry about this, or I'm sorry about whatever. We just kind of move through life together, taking turns you know, and picking each other up.

Considers Child's Needs

Parenting as relationship includes considering children's needs and perspectives. When asked about how they manage conflict with children, Ann explains, "I try to figure out what their need is and try to meet their need in a way that suits us both." Other parents like Ann, talk about personalizing the parenting style to fit the child's unique personality. Mark and Michelle take their children's unique temperaments into

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consideration when it comes to deciding how to relate to them. Mark says, "I see their different personalities." Michelle, "Oh yeah. Because of their personalities, how you approach them whether it be discipline…" Mark, "Encouragement…" Michelle, "Yeah encouragement, or rewards, it's different based on their personalities." Because of the bidirectional nature of parent-child relationships (Harach & Kuczynski, 2004), children contribute to the relationship and inform the relational orientations and responses a parent might take.

However, couples resort to hierarchy regardless of children's needs to enforce boundaries around certain issues, such as: the child's behavior, safety, and health. Ann states there are times when she believes it is appropriate to maintain firm boundaries, "There are some things that I'm not egalitarian with at all. Like how much TV they watch or how much candy they eat, or not picking up their toys, you know?" Allison explains that there are few hard and fast rules that she has for her toddler aged son, but says, "Regarding safety he's not allowed to do certain things. He's also not allowed to throw things or hit." Esther and Earl say,

> We don't want to be the protective or forceful parents, but there's definitely disciplinary actions that we'd take just to make sure you know she doesn't hurt herself and things like that. But again, she's at a young age, so it's kind of different from when she does get older.

Sylvia and Sam differentiate between allowing children choices and holding a no tolerance policy for poor behavior, along with the duty to protect. Sylvia states,

> We don't give any leniency when it comes to behavior, not decision-making, but behavior. Also, if it's something that is obviously going to severely impact them and they don't have the logic to really think it through then of course as parents we have to step in.

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Parents like Tom and Tina also draw lines with their children in terms of behavior. Tina states, "If it's something where she knows better and she knows how to behave and she's doing something she shouldn't, then we won't negotiate with her. There are some things that are non-negotiable."

Michelle explains that the child's developmental age factors into this,

> I admit that I do use that a lot – because I said so. Or, well that's the way it is . . . that's life, it's not fair. I don't always spend a ton of time explaining because of the ages that they're at . . . maybe when they're older…

Balances Connection and Discipline

Relationship-directed parents admit that discipline and maintaining connection can seem paradoxical and most parents struggle to find the right balance. The balance of connection and discipline seems to be on a sort of continuum with some parents leaning more towards emotional connection, some focusing on limit setting, and others more adamant about enforcing discipline. Mark falls somewhere in the middle of the continuum and emphasizes appropriate limit setting.

> I do think sort of that balance of you know, don't want to just be their friend but at the same time I don't want to be overly restrictive and have them feel like it's oppressive. Hopefully having a good connection, a relationship with your kids, but still clearly setting boundaries and I think kids need structure, they definitely do.

Esther attends most to the connection end of the continuum.

> I have heard that some people say you don't want to be friends with your children because then they might overstep boundaries of the parent-child relationship and think they're your equivalent. But, I definitely want them to be able to feel that they can come to us for anything and not have that feeling of fear.

Andrew and Amy take a more hierarchical approach and prioritize discipline and

rules. Andrew says,

> There seems to be this trend lately that parents try to just be their friend. So, it's not about discipline or setting structure and boundaries. It's just, does my child like me? And we don't care about that at all. We want our kids to grow up to be good adults, right? It's our job that we set the boundaries and expectations and also discipline if necessary to get them to understand what we expect of them as they grow older and become adults. If they happen to like us, and we have good relationships with them on the peer level when they become adults, that's great. But right now, we're not thinking about that at all.

Amy draws from her cultural heritage and frames discipline from the collectivist

value of respect.

> I think a lot of problems with kids these days and their attitudes is that a lot of them didn't grow up with a fear of authority. We both grew up in environments where that was really big and I think that worked to our favor. So, I want to make sure that that is very important for our kids, having respect.

Monitors Expression of Anger Towards Child

A desire for relational connection motivates parents to exercise restraint from

using physical force or verbal threats, measures commonly used by their first generation

parents, to prohibit undesired behaviors or elicit obedience. Sylvia intentionally monitors

her reactions to her children,

> I find that I have to bite my tongue. I have to give myself a time-out because my first instinct is to hit. That's how I was raised. My first instinct is to bite, as far as words are concerned. I'll try to remove myself as quickly as possible if I feel like I'm going to lose my temper. It's really, really difficult to be raised that way and then to grow up in a society that's completely opposite to how you were raised.

Her husband Sam is also aware of this tension she experiences and supports her efforts to resist using force.

Jenny views corporal punishment as a polarizing issue related to social context and cultural prescriptions. She describes this dilemma,

> You'll see me like throughout the day, I'm conflicted with the way my mom raised me, to the way that I know, the American way we are supposed to be with our kids. Like spanking, that's how my parents were. I just can't not spank them, time-out just doesn't work. So, I guess I kind of go back and forth between the old way and the American way.

Esther intentionally reflects on what she is modeling as a way to avoid using anger driven reactions to raise her child. She says, "I don't want to use anger to discipline. I want her to know that she's being disciplined for principle, not because mommy's angry and having to resort to [spanking]… because that is how we grew up." Similar to his wife, Earl, resists the tendency to use force in the same way that he experienced growing up and seeks instead to promote emotional safety in the parent-child relationship:

> When she does something and I get frustrated, my reaction is just to spank her. I don't know what to do and that's how I grew up. If you did something, they don't have to explain to you, they just spank you. And you're wondering what did I do? So, I'm trying to build a relationship that's someone she can trust.

Discussion

Lived experiences, parental attitudes, and social norms lead to different socio-cultural variations in the formation of parent-child relationships (Weisner, 2005). Furthermore, perceptions of appropriate child-rearing practices vary between groups and

are related to the socialization goals prescribed in any given social context (Keller, Voelker, & Yovsi, 2005). Parenting cannot be understood outside of cultural context. There are distinct differences between the parenting practices of individualistic and collectivist cultures. These differences relate to the skills parents think will best prepare their children to function successfully within the larger social context (Lamb & Lewis, 2010).

Yet, from a social constructionist perspective, culture is co-constructive (Gergen, 2009) and constantly reshaped and reformed. A key feature of the social constructionist perspective is that parenting approaches are co-created between co-parents as they interact with each other in relation to the larger social context. Therefore, this study highlighted the fluidity of relational orientations and interpersonal dynamics in parent-child relationships.

Second generation couples in this study deliberately repositioned themselves in the parent-child relationship to construct an approach to parenting that bears strong resemblance to a combination of the independence and relationship directed parenting approaches described in the four quadrant parenting typology (Tuttle et al., 2012). The focus for these parents is on developing close relationships with their children, rather than setting out to change the hierarchy. They emphasize personal agency and self-determination in their children, framed from the taken for granted collectivist value of respect. To facilitate what they perceive as closeness, parents intentionally relate to their children in ways that decentralize the inherent power differential in the parent-child relationship.

However, at times they move between quadrants in Tuttle et al.'s (2012) model and adopt the rule-directed approach to enforce appropriate boundaries and rules, highlighting the fluidity of the model. Sociocultural influences shape and reshape how parents positions themselves to their children. Relational orientations may also be partially dependent on a child's developmental stage and level of individual functioning. Furthermore, because of the bidirectional nature of parent-child relationships (Harach & Kuczynski, 2004), children participate in constructing the relational orientations and thus, children exert influence on parenting decisions just as parents influence children.

This approach to parenting seems to highlight the complexity of biculturalism as it relates to parenting. Second generation Korean-Americans must negotiate between the traditional Korean cultural parenting practices they experienced firsthand during their formative years, as well as the dominant culture parenting ideologies they have been socialized with, to create a parenting approach. By adopting a pluralistic approach, we are able to broaden our conceptualization of parent-child relationships to be more theoretically applicable for families that do not fit the prescriptive Anglo-American family form (Weisner, 2005).

Limitations

The participant sample in this study consisted of American born second generation Korean-American parenting couples that are highly educated and from middle to upper socioeconomic backgrounds. Due to this, the trustworthiness of results may be limited with second generation Korean-American couples having less education or financial security, as well as members from the first or 1.5 generation. Furthermore,

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given that these bicultural parents are in part coming from collectivist cultural backgrounds, they may have desired to present well, in order to preserve family honor (Triandis, Kashima, Shimada, & Villareal, 1986; Park, 2009). This may have also accounted for the lack of conflict displayed between parenting partners. Alternatively, more conflicted couples may have been less likely to volunteer. Consequently, this study does not address how parents respond to each other when they disagree or use different styles. This study focused primarily on parenting practices that facilitate a more relationship-directed parenting approach. It did not focus specifically on the dyadic interaction between the parents in this process.

Clinical Implications & Future Research Directions

Clinical Implications

The results from this research suggest recommendations for clinical practice in two areas. The first pertains to therapists' cultural awareness and the second focuses on relational training.

In the current literature there seems to be little differentiation between first generation Korean immigrant and American born second generation Korean-American families. Therefore, family therapists may make assumptions about parenting in second generation families based on monolithic descriptions of first generation culture in the family therapy literature or perpetuated in the lay public. There may also be limited consideration for experiences of marginalization within American society and cultural multiplicity. This study helps highlight variations amongst Korean-American parents, and increases our awareness about the process of cultural change as reflected in parent-child

orientations. Tuttle et al.'s (2012) TP-CRO can be used as a resource to engage in discussion around parenting ideology, particularly with couples that hold contrasting beliefs or who appear to be struggling with the multiple pulls of bicultural identities.

This study also helps us think about the utility of engaging parents in discussions around parenting goals and alerts us to think about the ways in which the social context exerts influence. For parents that desire stronger relational bonds with their children, therapists should help them take intentional steps to reduce the hierarchy by inviting open communication, monitoring expressions of anger to the child, encouraging decision-making and personal freedom, promoting the child's individuality, and taking the one-down position. Therapists should encourage parents that are concerned with teaching their children relational skills, to model perspective taking (i.e., when spouses make amends in front of children), rather than simply discussing these concepts with children, from a cognitive perspective.

Future Research Directions

There seems to be a dearth in the literature informing therapeutic approaches for working in culturally sensitive ways (Lu, 2009) with Asian American families. In order to understand the unique experiences of second-generation parents, continued research involving Korean American and other Asian American families is needed to increase family therapists' cultural awareness and competency for working with this group. By better understanding the socio-cultural factors impacting this population, therapists will be more effective in engaging these families in therapeutic contexts around parenting issues.

The current study raises awareness around how multiple cultural discourses concurrently impact the experience of the inherent hierarchy that is encountered in the parent-child relationship. Cultural influences play out in the construction of the triadic relationship between parents and child, therefore this process needs to be considered vis-à-vis culture and the interaction processes between the parents. Furthermore, gender and culture are interconnected and gender dynamics are inextricably related to the way couples parent. Further research should address how relational parenting orientations are influenced by gender dynamics between parents and parents and child. Research should also investigate how the cultural gendered models second generation couples observed as children informs the way in which they position themselves in the parent-child relationship.

Second generation couples' focus on open communication with their children. This raises curiosity around the potential role it plays in a child's relational training. Future research should explore whether a child's experiences of open communication and perspective-taking in the parent-child relationship may serve as a blueprint to inform future relational behavior. Related to this is the question of how children would report their experience of a parent's self-described relationship-directed parenting. Future research should investigate the level of congruence between what parents report trying to do and what children experience. Because a couple's parenting approach may relate to the child's developmental stage, research should also be conducted with families across the lifespan to understand how relational orientations are constructed and how fluidly they shift as children mature.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CLINICAL IMPLICATIONS

Parenting, cross-cultural issues, and cultural competency are all popular topic areas for research and practice in the field of family therapy. As such, the purpose of this dissertation study was to gain insight into the parenting process and parent-child relationships within a population that is under-researched in the field of family therapy - American born second generation Korean-American parenting couples. Specifically, this study sought to understand how second generation parents develop a parenting ideology based on multiple cultural discourses, racialized experiences, and bicultural socialization. Furthermore, the idea of parenting as relationship and a process that is constructed vis-à-vis the social context was central to this research. This current work builds upon a previous publication pertaining to the Typology of Parent-Child Relational Orientations (TP-CRO) (Tuttle, Knudson-Martin, & Kim, 2012) and explored the applicability of this typology to second generation families.

Together, the two papers from this study advance the field of family therapy in several regards. First, it enhances our knowledge around thinking in culturally informed ways. Second, it sheds insight into American born second generation Korean-American families and challenges the monolithic assumption in the literature that all Asian-American families, regardless of generational variation and place of origin, are alike. Third, it highlights the utility of the TP-CRO with a cultural minority Asian-American group and highlights the fluidity of the model. Each of these issues along with the clinical implications will be described.

Cultural Sensitivity

Family therapists have an ethical responsibility to provide culturally appropriate practices (McDowell, Fang, Gomez Young, Khanna, Sherman, & Brownlee, 2007). This is not limited to simply being sensitive to clients' lived experiences and value systems, but also includes recognizing the role that race plays in the larger social context and experience or lack thereof of societal privilege. Cultural sensitivity requires contextual consciousness and development of awareness to the broad social inequities and power disparities between social groups, and acknowledgement that we do not all "…start from a relatively level playing field . . . [or] have access to similar resources" (Dei, 1996, p. 22).

In the spirit of cultural sensitivity (Berg & Jaya, 1993), therapists must learn to not make essentializing assumptions about clients based on their ethnic, cultural, and social characteristics. Furthermore, we must take initiative to challenge our own taken for granted biases and beliefs about clients from different cultures. When working with ethnic minority clients, attuning to power and hierarchy dimensions in the therapist-client relationship goes beyond simply countering therapist power (Gibney, 1996) and taking the one-down position. It involves a stance of curiosity and consideration for how social forces have helped shape clients' ideologies and orientations towards family life and relationships. This helps therapists avoid imposing or prescribing Anglo-Euro norms (McDowell et al., 2007), which are often perceived as the taken-for-granted comparison models for family functioning.

With specific regards to Korean-Americans, it is important to recognize that significant differences exist between first, 1.5, and second generation families. Therapists

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must not assume that monolithic images of traditional Korean families are accurate representations of all Korean-American families. This study suggests that when it comes to American born second generation Korean-American families, bicultural socialization, racialized experiences, and multiple cultural discourses concurrently influence the development and fluidity of their approach to parent-child relational orientations (Tuttle et al., 2012).

Members of this generation locate themselves partly in the dominant culture as well as with traditional Korean culture and at times feel caught between choosing competing cultural values, aptly described by one participant as the "old" and "new" ways. An awareness of this constructivist duality should frame therapists' questions and interventions when working with bicultural minority families. Failure to acknowledge this dynamic may lead to inadvertently imposing dominant culture prescriptions on these families or unfairly viewing them in pathological ways.

Challenging Monolithic Views of Korean-American Families

This study suggests American born second generation Korean-American parents are distinguishable from their first generation Korean immigrant parents, because they place a greater value on individuality and personal freedom for their children. At the same time, they appear to maintain a strong regard for relationship and the collectivist value of respect (Triandis, Kashima, Shimada, & Villareal, 1986). It seems the importance they place on raising children with respect for diversity and acceptance of differences is informed by the marginalization and discrimination they experienced firsthand or witnessed their parents to encounter.

Compared to their first generation immigrant parents, second generation couples are regarded as having greater privilege in society based on their language fluency and upward mobility. Due to the personal sacrifices and various forms of parental support from the first generation, they have been afforded opportunities for higher education and an improved standard of living. These couples acknowledge that the context within which they are living is a complete contrast to the one that their immigrant parents raised families in. In efforts to develop therapeutic rapport, it is recommended that therapists engage Korean-American clients in conversations that address the complexities of a bicultural experience.

Suggested questions for connecting with bicultural clients' worldview might include: Many Korean-Americans describe having a bicultural sense of identity, how would you identify yourselves culturally? What life experiences or social factors have informed your beliefs and approaches to parenting? How does the way in which you parent compare and contrast from the families you grew up in? Are there times when you feel pressure to choose between competing sets of values or ideas? What helps you to know which practices to adopt in the parenting process? What parenting goals are most important to you? Under what circumstances do you think it is necessary to have some flexibility with regards to parenting approach?

Application of the TP-CRO to Korean-American Families

To advance the field with regards to culturally appropriate practice, this study investigated the applicability of the TP-CRO (Tuttle et al., 2012) to a cultural minority Asian group, querying how the categories in the typology would relate to bicultural

families. The TP-CRO, based on Silverstein, Buxbaum, Tuttle, Knudson-Martin, & Huenergardt's (2006) work on couple relationships, proposes a four quadrant framework of ways in which parents orient themselves to their children in the parent-child relationship according to continuums of power and focus.

Consideration for the role of the social context to influence parenting ideas and practices, along with the emphasis on parenting as a bidirectional relationship is what distinguishes Tuttle et al.'s (2012) model from other popular ones such as attachment parenting (Bowlby, 1988). Power refers to the degree that a parent emphasizes and maintains hierarchy versus symmetry, and the focus dimension refers to whether the individual or relationship is privileged. The four types of parenting orientations in the typology are: position directed, rule directed, independence directed, and relationship directed.

Position and rule-directed orientations tend to emphasize hierarchy. However, rule-directed parenting differs from the position-directed approach by emphasizing the best interests of the relational system rather than the individual. Yet the focus is still placed on the rules and responsibilities associated with relational roles. In relation to the TP-CRO, first generation Korean immigrant parents are viewed to parent in a rule-directed manner, which is attributable largely to their strong collectivist cultural influences. Through applying this typology to American born second generation Korean-American parents, it is evident that couples from bicultural minority populations do not fit within discrete quadrants of the typology. The fact that their parenting approaches demonstrate characteristics from multiple quadrants at once, suggests the fluidity of Tuttle et al.'s (2012) framework.

Shifts in Second Generation Korean-American Parenting

One of the main shifts observed in second generation parenting couples with regards to the TP-CRO, is the distancing from rule-directed parenting approaches of their immigrant parents. These parents still tend to think in terms of relational roles and rules, particularly as it relates to parental responsibilities, but they do not parent in rigid ways to reinforce the power dimension of hierarchy. This generation of parents relate more symmetrically to their children than parents of the first generation, and strongly endorse self-sufficiency, personal agency, personal freedom, and individuality. Many of these parents want their children to develop careers and goals in life based on self-determination and the interests that intrigue and excite them, rather than focusing solely on achievement as the marker of success. However, goal orientation remains a consistent part of these couples' parenting ideologies. Furthermore, some parents do not leave significant life decisions for their children completely open-ended, and instead nurture more practical career pursuits.

Second generation Korean-American parents esteem and encourage the development of traits associated with independence orientations within their children because they believe this socialization process will appropriately prepare their children to function successfully within the dominant culture. However, the value placed on personal agency and individuality is framed from a relational position. Couples in this study express a desire for close connection with their children and endeavor to know them as individuals. Therefore, they believe that a distinct sense of self is necessary for genuine experience of relationship. At the same time, the relational orientation is almost an unquestioned assumption and parents in this study not only try to attune to their

children's desires and needs, but they also expect their children to notice the experiences and feelings of those around them. Parents consciously model apologies and perspective taking, in order to promote the development of these values in their children.

Because many second generation couples subscribe to dominant discourse parenting ideology, they are willing to experiment with strategies for discipline and child-raising based on parenting books, idealized models in media, or concepts they are exposed to in their formal education. However, when it comes to showing respect for elders, rules around interpersonal conduct, responsible behavior, or issues of health and safety, parents enforce the hierarchy and use their parental power to set firm boundaries and rules.

Utility of the TP-CRO with Asian-American Minority Families

Tuttle et al's (2012) model can be useful in a few ways for working with American born second generation Korean-American and possibly other Asian-American couples with regards to parenting issues. First, it can provide a tangible resource for therapists to assess how each partner seems to approach the dimensions of the parent-child relationship. Second, it can help parents construct a way to relate to their children that is aligned with their goals for the parenting process, and highlight the fluid way in which parents can relate to their children around needs for discipline and connection. These conversations can help illuminate the constructionist aspect of the parenting process and raise awareness around the contextual influences that have informed parenting ideologies. It can also invite curiosity around variations that can be developed

across quadrants with relation to the larger social context. This challenges the common assumption that there is one "right" way to parent.

In this study, parenting couples indicated minimal to no conflict within the dyad with regards to the process of co-constructing a parenting orientation. This may be due to participants' desires to present well, related to the Korean cultural value of preserving family honor (Park, 2009), or because one parent was expected to take the lead in parenting responsibilities. However, in practice, conflict can commonly arise between partners that draw from contrasting cultural ideologies around parenting. For example, one partner may unconsciously subscribe to a rule-directed parenting approach, while the other partner privileges a relationship-directed orientation. Arguments may then ensue around one parent being too demanding or "soft" and debates can erupt around what constitutes proper parenting.

When working with couples that have incongruent parenting styles, the following questions around parenting orientations might be useful in the assessment process or treatment phase: What are your goals for the parenting process? What are the outcomes you imagine as a result of this? How do you view your role in the parent-child relationship? Where have you learned these ideas? How does this fit with the cultural models for parenting you witnessed during your own formative years? Are there certain instances where you feel as though you must choose between competing cultural values related to parenting? Looking ahead twenty years, how would you want your children to remember you as parents? What would you want them to remember most? What issues interfere with creating your preferred visions of a parent-child relationship?

Questions such as these invite Asian-American clients to consider the influence of the social context and how lived experiences as cultural minority individuals in the dominant culture relate to one's parenting ideas. It also invites therapists to adopt a stance of curiosity for the ways in which bicultural parents integrate collectivist and dominant cultural values into a parenting style. These conversations can help legitimize the merits of multiple cultural backgrounds and facilitate exploration around ways in which culturally based ideas and practices can be helpful or detrimental to the relationships they wish to develop with their children.

Future Research Directions

This dissertation study helps us conceptualize the relationship between the dimensions of hierarchy and connection in the parent-child relationship within a culturally under-researched group. It also supports the notion of bidirectionality in parent-child relationships, highlighting the fact that children and parents both influence how the relational orientation is constructed and the fluidity of this dynamic across developmental stages. Furthermore, this raises additional questions around the ways in which multiple social discourses inform parenting styles of other diverse families and how gender impacts the power and focus dimensions.

Additional research is needed to further explore the applicability of Tuttle et al.'s (2012) model with American born second generation Korean-American parents of adolescents. It is unclear to what extent the processes identified in this study will continue to facilitate close relational bonds during stages of the child's development that are generally associated with higher levels of conflict. The way in which these parents

balance connection and discipline during the phase of adolescence is unknown. Investigations should also focus on analyzing the role of gender discourses and how the gender of parents and children influence the way connection and hierarchy are constructed. Research that involves triadic level data to observe the relational process between parents and children is also suggested to better understand how the children experience the balance between hierarchy and connection.

This study also raises curiosity around how taken-for-granted ideas in the larger social context, such as open communication between parents and children, will continue to create shifts in parenting approaches across successive generations of post immigrant families. For example, subsequent research should seek to understand the experiences of third generation adult children raised by second generation parents that shifted away from parenting in simply rule-directed ways. In so doing, we can better determine the salience of collectivist ideals such as respect for third generation couples, and understand how they fit this with the dominant culture value of personal freedom, as they enter the parenting phase.

Furthermore, research around the utility of this model involving other cultural groups and Korean-American individuals in interracial marriages, in transgenerational (i.e., 1st generation and 2nd generation Korean-Americans) relationships, as well as couples from other Asian-American backgrounds is needed. This study as a whole suggests that the parenting process and parenting orientations is informed by multiple sociocultural discourses, bicultural socialization, racialized experiences, and cannot be understood apart from the larger social context. It highlights the value that American born cultural minority parents place on close relational bonds and the flexibility that is needed

to balance needs for connection and hierarchy. This study promotes therapeutic practices from an attitude of contextual consciousness. Subsequently, it helps therapists avoid making essentializing assumptions of cultural minority families and instead foster authentic therapeutic interactions.

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CONTEMPORARY COUPLES STUDY INTERVIEW GUIDE

Each interview should address all of the following general questions, followed by probes to expand and clarify meaning and to pursue topics raised by the respondents. Elicit specific examples. Ask "why?" The order and wording of the questions may be altered to fit the flow of the conversation.

<u>**Getting Started**</u>
1. Begin with a few moments of "small talk" to engage the respondents and help them feel comfortable. Use clues from their surroundings (if interview is in their home) to connect with them in a personal way or ask about their drive (if they come in for an interview).

2. Review the purpose of the study and the informed consent document, stressing <u>confidentiality</u> and eliciting their questions. Obtain the informed consent of <u>each</u> participant.

3. Tell couples that they are participating in a <u>directed conversation</u>; that you are interested in how they think about their relationships; that you are NOT evaluating them, but learning from them. Remind them that they may decline to answer any question or shut off the tape or conclude the interview at any time. Ask if there are any other questions.

4. Complete personal background data sheet.

<u>**Brief History of the Relationship**</u>
5. Begin by sharing your "story". How did you meet?
   - Probes: What attracted you to each other? Why this person?
   - Reiterate how long they have been married and ask about major changes over time; i.e., birth of children, moves, job/career changes

<u>**Relationship Ideology**</u>
6. What to you constitutes a "good" relationship?
   - Probes: What do you expect from your partner? How do you view your responsibility to the relationship?
   - How have your expectations changed since becoming parents?

7. What do you envision as an ideal parent-child relationship?
   - How do you view your role in the parent-child relationship?
   - How is this similar or different from the family you grew up in?
   - Where did those ideas about children, adults, parents etc. come from?
   - What ideas about family life and parenting did you observe in friends' families, on tv., etc., that contrasted from your own family?

8. What do you want your children to learn about relationships? What do you want them to be able to say about how they remember you were as a parent?
   - What is most important to you, instilling within your children a sense of independence or interdependence?
   - How do you try to model or teach this to your children?

9. Issues of fairness and equality in relationships seem to be issues that matter to most couples. When it comes to the way you relate to your children, how do you determine what is fair during moments of conflict or expressed emotion?
   - For example, when you and your child disagree on an issue, how are final decisions made (listen for whose needs are the focus of attention, whose voice is heard)?
   - Where was this decision making process learned?
   - What other things impact how decisions are made?
   - How has your experience regarding fairness changed over time?
   - What do you do to preserve fairness in the relationship?
   - Which issues are particularly difficult?
   - Be sure to get perspectives of both partners

Relationship Structures and Behaviors
10. How do you divide time and responsibilities with your child(ren)?
    - How did you decide? Who? When? Doing What? Why?
    - How well is this division working? What interferes? What causes problems?
    - How have these changed over time?

11. How is the emotional work around the parenting relationship divided?
    - Who notices the children's needs or other parent's emotional stress around caregiving or parenting responsibilities? How? When? Why?

12. How much time do you spend apart and together as a couple?
    - How do you decide? Who? When? Doing What? Why?
    - How well is this balance working for each?
    - How has this changed over time?

13. How do you divide household responsibilities?
    - How did you decide? Who? When? Doing What? Why?
    - How well is this division working? What interferes? What causes problems?

14. How do you stay emotionally connected to each other amidst your busy lives as parents?
    - Be sure to probe each partner
    - How has your sense of connection changed over time? What factors influence this for you?

Socio-Cultural Factors

14. What current social influences have a strong influence on how you are as a parent (i.e., friends, school, extended family, church, t.v., etc.)?
    - What cultural influences impact the way you parent?
    - If relevant, how have your religious and/or spiritual beliefs influenced this?

15. In what ways have in-laws and/or extended family influenced how you are as a parent and how you parent?
    - If they were here, what do you imagine they would say about your approach to parenting? Are there areas in particular that they would agree or disagree with you? What things might they be most vocal about? What subsequent influence does this have on your parenting approach?
    - How much contact do you maintain with your parents/in-laws/extended family? What is the nature of the contact?
    - What sticks out most in your memory about how your parents parented?
    - What factors do you think impacted your parents' parenting style most?
    - How do you think your own experiences growing up have influenced how you parent your own children?

Generational Shifts

16. Second generation individuals sometimes say that they feel a sense of duty or responsibility so to speak, to honor their immigrant parents' years of hard work and sacrifices by doing a "good" job as parents and continuing certain family traditions or values. Are there any ways in which this has been a part of your own experience?
    - Further probe: Share themes of survival and success from own experience and how this influenced how my parents raised me…

17. Are there specific generational or cultural differences you notice between you and your parents regarding parenting approaches or beliefs about the parent-child relationship that we haven't yet discussed? Can you talk about these?
    - What do you feel has caused these differences?

Decision-Making and Conflict Resolution

16. Traditional relationship models place men in positions of power and authority within their families. How would you say that power plays out in your parenting relationship?
    - Probe for hidden power, ie, changes schedules to fit the other? Doesn't do something because partner doesn't like it? Limits choices?
    - What, if anything, have you given up to be in this relationship? What made you willing to do this?

17. What kinds of decisions specifically around the parenting process have you had to make during your relationship?
    - How did you deal with them?
    - Examples?

- Which decisions are the hardest? Easiest? Why?
- How have economics influenced your decisions?

18. Think of a time when there was a conflict between the two of you with regards to parenting? Did you solve it? How?

<u>Ask Permission to Recontact</u>
After the interview is complete, thank respondents and tell them we may want to recontact them for a follow up interview or for possible future studies. Tell them this would mean that though we will have deleted their names from the transcript of their interview, we would keep their name and contact information in a separate file. Have <u>all</u> respondents indicate on the Consent for Recontact Form whether or not they wish to be recontacted.

PARTICIPANT BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Couple #_____ (for research project to complete)

Date Interviewed _____

Sex: ____Male ____Female   **Date of Birth** 19_____(Year)

Race: (Choose One) ___Black ___Hispanic ___ White ___ Asian

___ Native American

With what ethnic group do you identify? (i.e, Korean, Mexican, Greek, etc.)

_____

Were you born in the U.S. or Canada? _____ Yes _____ No

If no, at what age did you immigrate to the U.S. or Canada? 19_____(Year)

Marital Status:___ Married___Never-Married___Divorced___Widowed ___

Remarried_____

If remarried number of marriages___

Current or Previous Occupation _____

How many children are currently living at home? _____

List their ages_____

Do you have grown children or other children that do not live at home?

_____Yes _____No

     List their ages_____

Do you have other persons/family members who live in the home?

_____Yes _____No _____(specify)

A1. What is your highest level of education <u>completed</u>?

___Elementary school   ___High School   ___ College/Trade School

___Some high school   ___Some College/Trade School   ___ Graduate School

A2. What is your personal yearly income?

___Below $20,000   ___$ 21,000-40,000   ___$ 41,000-75,000   ___above $75,000

A3. How many hours a week currently, do you work outside the home?

___ 1-10 ___ 11-30 ___ 31-40 ___Over 40 ___ Do not work outside the home

A6. Are you a member of a church? ___Yes   ___No

A7. With what religious faith do you identify?_____

A8. Have you participated in personal psychotherapy or couple therapy <u>while in this</u> <u>couple relationship</u>? (check those that apply)

_____ currently in personal psychotherapy   _____ previously in personal psychotherapy   _____ currently in couples therapy   _____ previously in couple therapy

APPENDIX C

INFORMED CONSENT

LOMA LINDA UNIVERSITY

School of Science and Technology

INFORMED CONSENT
Contemporary Couples Study

Purpose and Procedures

Contemporary couples face many challenges in our rapidly changing society. You are invited to participate in a research study about the real-life experiences of couples. Our aim is to build a collection of stories that will help us better understand what couples think about their relationships and how they are managing their lives together. This collection will provide a repository of information that can be accessed for scholarly study regarding families.

Your participation will involve an interview lasting approximately 1½ hours. The interview will take the form of a guided conversation about your marriage--what is important to you and how you deal with day-to-day issues. The purpose of the interview is for us to learn through your eyes. No assessment regarding the quality of your relationship will be made and no advice or suggestions will be offered. The interviews will be voice-recorded. As you have been advised, we will also be interviewing your partner.

Risks

The risks to you are the possibility that some issues may be raised that make you or your partner uncomfortable or that you do not want to discuss.

Benefits

While participation in this study may be of no direct personal benefit to you, the potential benefit to society is great. What we learn from you will help other couples enhance their relationships and better solve problems. However, most participants in previous studies have reported that discussion of their relationship with a third person was interesting and helpful to them.

Participants Rights

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to choose what information you reveal. You may decline to answer a question, stop the tape-recorder, or terminate the interview at any time. Stopping the interview will in no way affect any counseling you may currently be receiving through the Department of Counseling and Family Sciences or may elect to receive in the future.

Initial_____

Date_____

Loma Linda University
Adventist Health Sciences Center
Institutional Review Board
Approved _7/27/11_ Void after, _7/26/2012_
#_57269_ Chair _R. L. Rughylmd_

A Seventh-day Adventist Institution

DEPARTMENT OF COUNSELING AND FAMILY SCIENCES, DOCTORAL PROGRAMS | Loma Linda, California 92350
(909) 558-4547 ext 47003 · fax (909) 558-0417 · www.llu.edu

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Confidentiality

All personal information revealed in the interview will be held in strict confidence. Your names will be deleted from the transcriptions of the tapes. After transcription, the tapes will be destroyed. In our analysis of the interviews, you will be known only by a number or pseudonym. All identifying material will be purged when quotes or case examples are used in the presentation or publication of study results.

Costs

There is no cost to you for participating in the study.

Reimbursement

You will not be paid for participating in the study.

Impartial Third Party Contact

If you wish to contact an impartial third party not associated with this study regarding any question or complaint you may have about the study, you may contact the Office of Patient Relations, Loma Linda Medical Center, Loma Linda, CA 92354, phone (909)558-4647 for information and assistance.

....

Informed Consent Statement

I have read the contents of the consent form and have listened to the verbal explanation given by investigator. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I hereby give voluntary consent to participate in this study. Signing this consent document does not waive my rights nor does it release the investigators, institution or sponsors from their responsibilities. I may call Carmen Knudson-Martin, PhD, at 909-558-4547 if I have additional questions or concerns.

I have been given a copy of this consent form

_____   _____
        Signature of Subject   Date

I have reviewed the contents of the consent form with the person signing above. I have explained potential risks and benefits of the study.

_____   _____   _____
        Signature of Investigator   Phone Number   Date

Loma Linda University
Adventist Health Sciences Center
Institutional Review Board
Approved _7/27/11_ Void after, _7/26/2012_
_57269_ Chair _R. L. Rigsby_

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Table 1

List of participant background demographics

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Houshold Income	# of Children	Occupation
Allison	F	40	> 75,000	1	Paralegal/Homemaker
Andy	M	44	> 75,000	1	Consultant
Michelle	F	39	> 75,000	3	Homemaker/Attorney
Mark	M	38	> 75,000	3	Attorney
Jenny	F	28	41 - 75,000	2	Homemaker
Jeremy	M	30	41 - 75,000	2	Research Analyst
Sylvia	F	40	> 75,000	3	Homemaker
Sam	M	43	> 75,000	3	VP Technology
Tina	F	34	> 75,000	1	Business Analyst
Tom	M	43	> 75,000	1	Operations Manager
Amy	F	39	> 75,000	3	MBA/Homemaker
Andrew	M	40	> 75,000	3	Manager
Gloria	F	43	> 75,000	2	RN/Homemaker
George	M	43	> 75,000	2	Physician
Lily	F	40	> 75,000	2	Realtor
Lance	M	39	> 75,000	2	Clinical Psychologist
Esther	F	36	> 75,000	1	Analyst
Earl	M	41	> 75,000	1	Physical Therapist
Ann	F	41	> 75,000	3	Graphic designer/Homemaker
Amos	M	40	> 75,000	3	Asset Management
Erin	F	45	> 75,000	3	Physician/Homemaker
Eli	M		> 75,000	3	Physician
Sharon	F	37	> 75,000	2	Dental Hygienist
Simon	M	41	> 75,000	2	Physical Therapist/Mortgage Consultant
Bonnie	F	36	> 75,000	2	Dentist
Brad	M	32	> 75,000	2	Teacher
Darren	M	33	41 – 75,000	1	Pharmacist
Dana	F	32	41 – 75,000	1	Homemaker
Mary	F	33	> 75,000	1	Teacher/Photographer
Matt	M	33	> 75,000	1	Computer Programmer
Clarissa	F	35	> 75,000	2	Music Therapist
Cory	M	36	> 75,000	2	Technology Consultant
Sarah	F	37	> 75,000	2	Public Relations
Stewart	M	38	> 75,000	2	Computer Programmer
Harold	M	36	> 75,000	1	Accounting
Helen	F	33	> 75,000	1	Dental Hygienist
Kelly	F	34	41 – 75,000	2	Teacher
Kevin	M	36	41 – 75,000	2	Self-Employed

| Jordan | M | 33 | 41 – 75,000 | 1 | Banker |
| Janice | F | 29 | 41 – 75,000 | 1 | ECE Instructor |