Culture, Family Process, & Developmental Outcome in Asian American Adolescents

What is Asian American parenting? Is it indeed controlling and harsh?
Asian American (AA) youth and their outcomes

- Stereotype: Problem-free model minority?
- External behaviors: As an aggregate, AA high school youth report better grades, lower rates of crimes, substance use and risky sexual behaviors (Choi & Lahey, 2006).
  - Higher aggressive offenses among AA than whites
  - Higher non-aggressive offenses and substance use than black youth
  - Higher non-aggressive offenses among AA girls than white girls
- Internalizing problems: AA youth presents serious but overlooked public health problems.
  - Higher depression and suicidal ideations
  - Suicides: AA accounts for the most suicides among all U.S. women aged 15 to 24, 2.5 to 3 times higher than that for white women.
Asian American young adults

- Notably elevated rate of depression and negative emotions (e.g. social anxiety) and alarming suicide rates
  - 13 out of 21 campus suicides at Cornell U in 2003 were Asian students.

- No lasting academic success
  - Lower GPA & graduation rates, higher academic probation and withdrawal

Asian American subgroups

- Almost bimodal on external behaviors – high achieving groups (e.g. Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese) and struggling groups (e.g. Filipino, Cambodian, and Hmong), (Choi,2008)

- Similar on internalizing problems (e.g. both Korean and Filipino reporting high rates of depression)
• Why are Asian American youth doing better in some areas but not others?
• Do positive external behaviors come at the price of mental health?
• Why are positive behaviors not sustained with time?
• Why emotional vulnerability becomes much worse during the transition to adulthood?
• Why Asian subgroups, even with a common overarching Asian culture, have disparate youth outcomes?

Existing research, while relatively sparse, suggests that etiology of AA youth outcomes is likely to be located in the unique social and cultural position of AA as a racial and ethnic minority and an immigrant.
Inconsistent and paradoxical findings

• Conventional theories do not adequately explain AA family process and youth outcomes.
  – Authoritative parenting (firm and warm) is regarded most ideal.
  – Authoritarian parenting (strict, restrictive and emotionally detached) produces negative parent-child relations and child outcomes.
  – Asian American parents usually endorse and practice strict control and are less expressive in affection (seemingly authoritarian) but strict control tends to predict improved behaviors (e.g. good grades).

• Standard SES measures do not predict child outcomes in AA youth in the same way they do for whites.
  – SES measured by parental education, family income & occupational prestige
  – Vietnamese youth with a relatively high poverty rate do significantly better than more advantaged Filipino youth.
Culture and Family Process

• Culture and social environments determine family process.
• Family process: Parenting beliefs about parenting goals and methods, actual parenting behaviors, and the quality of parent-child relations.
• Existing, dominant Western theories
  – Desired goals: Independence, individualism, social assertiveness, confidence and competence
  – Ideal parenting: Authoritative parenting that establishes firm and clear rules, employs inductive reasoning and expressive warmth and allows autonomy, active exploration and risk-taking
  – Authoritative parenting (in contrast to authoritarian parenting) predicts optimal parent-child relations and child outcomes.
• Asian family process
  – Desired goals are interdependence, collectivism, conformity, emotional self-control and humility which together produce deeply ingrained family values such as a strong sense of obligation and respect for and obedience to parents and elders.

• What is Asian American parenting?
  – Tiger mom – is it indeed harsh and extremely controlling?
  – Parental control: *Order keeping control* is more directive and restrictive than Western parenting but practiced with reasoning and praise as well as warmth. Parental restrictions are often motivated by the strong emphasis on education and are accompanied by persistent teaching of the value. Conversely, *dominating control* is coercive, punitive and emotionally distant.
  – Parental warmth: Less expressive in showing affection, rather, expressed non-verbally and indirectly, often via instrumental support
  – Problems: Lack of indigenous AA parenting measures and continued practice of fitting AA culture into the dominant Western paradigm
Acculturation & enculturation

• Dual process of acculturation (learning a new culture) and enculturation (teaching and learning of a culture of origin)
  – Many immigrant (as well as racial/ethnic minority) families have deliberately maintained their culture of origin and have successfully encultured their children.

• Inevitability of changes in family culture
  – Traditional cultural characteristics of family process are challenged by the parenting ideals and expectations of the dominant society and incompatibilities must be negotiated.
  – Core vs. peripheral cultural elements: Some cultural elements are discarded quickly, others may persist, and still others may even intensify over time and generations.

• Incorporating acculturation in indigenous AA parenting measures
Recently developed indigenous AA parenting measures

• Chinese *guan* 官
  – Ruth Chao, 1994 & 2001
  – Directive control and close monitoring of child behaviors & emphasis on parental “training/education” while building close parent-child relationships
  – A unique combination of authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles

• Chinese *qin* 親
  – Chunxia Wu & Ruth Chao, 2011
  – *Qin* captures AA expression of love for their children through instrumental support, parental devotion & sacrifice, support for education and *guan* (close monitoring), rather than through physical, verbal, and emotional expressions such as hugging, kissing, and praising, which are more typical indicators of Western parental warmth.

• Korean *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* 가정교육
  – Yoonsun Choi et. al, in press
Korean parenting

• Influenced by Confucianism and Taoism from China, Mahayana Buddhism from India, which were, together with shamanism, absorbed into the traditional Korean culture.
  – Confucianism in Korea, a primary guiding ideology of family process, has freely adopted elements of Buddhism and shamanism and not equivalent to its original one in China

• Shared characteristics with other Asian cultures
  – Virtues of filial piety, a strong familism and a deeply ingrained sense of obligation, emphasis on collective needs, interdependency and conformity as well as emotional self-control and humility

• Differences from other Asian cultures
  – Less directive and instructive in teaching children family values than Chinese
  – More indirect and often rely on demonstrating and modeling those values
Korean *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* 가정교육

- Literal English translation is “home (or family) education (or training),” equivalent to the concept of family socialization
- Korean encyclopedia definition
  - A fundamental process through which parents help their children build the character and knowledge necessary to become a respected person and learn the basis rules of communal life
  - A process in which enculturation occurs, i.e. the transmission of core values from one generation to the next and refers to socialization of a specific set of norms, beliefs, and values
  - The core values of *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* include family hierarchy, demonstration of respect for and the use of appropriate etiquette with parents and elderly, family obligations and ties, and an emphasis on education
  - Governs childrearing practices (e.g. strict parenting styles)
Study 1

• Construction of new measures
  – Several focus groups with Korean immigrant parents and youth in 2005: 5 parent groups (3 with mothers and 2 with fathers, $n = 43$), and 4 youth groups (2 with boys and 2 with girls, $n = 26$)
  – Qualitative analyses are reported in Choi & Kim, 2006
  – Initial set of items were developed based on the results from the focus groups and extensive literature review. They were then revised, guided by systematic feedback from several academic experts as well as community leaders.
  – Parental items developed in Korean and youth items in English first (to use participant’s words) and the translation went through numerous iterations and back-translations. In addition, several pretests were done with youth and parents.
Study 2
• Testing psychometric properties of newly developed items
  – To assess the major components of the Korean traditional concept of family socialization among Korean American families
  – Choi, Y. Kim, Pekelnicky & H. Kim, in press

Study 3
• Testing the associations between a set of the refined Korean *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* measures and several commonly used Western parenting measures
  – Even if AA parents, more than white parents on average, expect their children to conform to parental rules and expectations, does such a parenting style necessarily translate to a lack of parental warmth and acceptance and poor parent-child communications, as well as high levels of parental rejection and harsh discipline (i.e. harsh and controlling tiger parenting)?
  – Choi, Y. Kim, S. Kim & Park, in press
The Korean American Families (KAF) Project

- **Overview of the Project**
  - A survey with Korean American youth (age between 11 and 14) and their parents living in Midwest
  - The first survey (T1) in 2007 with a total of 291 families (220 youth, 272 mothers and 164 fathers, \( N = 656 \))
  - A follow-up survey (T2) in 2008, a total of 247 families (220 youth, 239 mothers and 146 fathers, \( N = 605 \)) – 85% retention rate, no significant differences between remaining and dropout families in demographic and SES variables
  - Three sources (phonebooks, school rosters, and Korean church/temple rosters) were used to recruit survey participants with about equal proportions. Sampling source did not differ in age, gender and socio-demographic data.
  - T1 used individual, in-person interviews by trained bilingual interviewers.
  - T2 mostly used self-administered questionnaires (88.3% of parents and 83.6% of youth). The rest used in-person or phone interviews.
• Characteristics of the Time 1 Sample
  – Mean age: 12.97 ($SD = 1$) for youth, 43.4 for mothers ($SD = 4.57$) and 46.3 for fathers ($SD = 4.69$)
  – Near 64% of mothers and 70% of fathers reported having at least some college education, either in Korea or in the U.S.
  – 47% reported annual household income between $50,000$ and $99,999$.
  – A total of 21% of mothers reported having received public assistance, food stamps, or qualifying for the free/reduced-price school lunch programs, while 15% currently receiving these programs.
  – Over 40% of fathers were self-employed running small business such as dry-cleaners or beauty supply. About 40% of mothers also reported being employed.
  – The majority (94%) attending Korean ethnic religious institutions with 76.7% being Protestant
  – “Urban middle class immigrants with a high proportion of small business owners and Protestants” fairly comparable to the parent profile in national data
Analysis Plan (Study 2 – psychometric testing of measures)

• Reliability and content validity
  – Examined internal consistency, descriptive statistics of each item and by scale, item-total correlation of each scale: Items with low mean and <.3 item-correlation were dropped).
  – Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) at scale level: Several fit indices (e.g., CFI, RMSEA & $\chi^2$) were used and <.4 factor loading were considered for exclusion.
  – When items dropped, another series of analyses were done with a new set.

• Construct validity (convergent and divergent validity)
  – Examined correlations among new and existing measures (i.e. Asian Cultural Values (ACV, B. Kim, et al., 1999), guan ideology (Chao, 1994) and guan parenting behaviors (Chao & Wu, 2001)
  – Expected that new and existing measures are likely to share latent traits and positively correlated (convergent validity) but not too high (divergent validity if $r < .85$), following Campbell & Fiske (1959).
Analysis Plan (Study 3 – association with the Western measures)

• Descriptives including bivariate correlations, mean/proportions
• Hierarchical multivariate regression
  – Korean parenting (IV) and Western parenting (DV)
  – Step 1: *Ga-jung-kyo-yuk* measures together regressed on each of Western parenting measures
  – Step 2: Step 1 plus accounting for demographic controls
    • Step 2_1: Added interactions (the product term of IV by parental gender)
  – Step 3: Step 2 plus several parental acculturation variables
    • Step 3_1: Added interactions (the product term of IV by parental gender)
    • Simple slope analyses for significant interactions (Cohen, Cohen, West & Aiken, 2003)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constructs</th>
<th>Items (Italicized items are later dropped)</th>
<th>Mean (SD)</th>
<th>Alpha</th>
<th>Factor loading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Korean Traditional Parent Virtues</td>
<td>1. Parents should try to demonstrate proper attitude and behaviors in front of their children.</td>
<td>4.57 (0.60)</td>
<td>0.686</td>
<td>0.851</td>
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<td>2. Parents should try to learn and practice parenting that is appropriate to their children’s developmental stage.</td>
<td>4.50 (0.63)</td>
<td>0.657</td>
<td>0.822</td>
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<td>3. Parents should try to be the model of honesty and righteousness for their child.</td>
<td>4.67 (0.54)</td>
<td>0.632</td>
<td>0.849</td>
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<td>4. Parents should teach their children to respect elders by showing that they love and respect their parents (children’s grandparents).</td>
<td>4.60 (0.59)</td>
<td>0.662</td>
<td>0.793</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5. Parents should try to refrain from excessive praise of their children.</td>
<td>2.94 (1.33)</td>
<td>0.155</td>
<td>0.094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Parents should try to interact with their children sternly as well as lovingly.</td>
<td>4.17 (0.90)</td>
<td>0.436</td>
<td>0.382</td>
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<tr>
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<td>7. Parents should trust their children.</td>
<td>4.53 (0.65)</td>
<td>0.527</td>
<td>0.573</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. Parents should make an effort to help their children trust them.</td>
<td>4.72 (0.49)</td>
<td>0.608</td>
<td>0.728</td>
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Revised scale: CFI = .953, RMSEA = .136
## Constructs

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<tr>
<th>Items (Italicized items are later dropped)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Enculturation of Familial and Cultural Values</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Support/help siblings when they need help</td>
<td>4.43 (.53)</td>
<td>0.497</td>
<td>0.719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Support/help relatives when they need help</td>
<td>4.20 (.60)</td>
<td>0.494</td>
<td>0.676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Thinks of family as a source of trust and dependence</td>
<td>4.46 (.53)</td>
<td>0.521</td>
<td>0.713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Do things to please parents</td>
<td>4.00 (.68)</td>
<td>0.595</td>
<td>0.592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. <em>Live with parents until married</em></td>
<td>3.32 (.93)</td>
<td>0.378</td>
<td>0.349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. <em>Obey parents (e.g. on career or marriage matters)</em></td>
<td>3.55 (.78)</td>
<td>0.341</td>
<td>0.292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Seriously consider parents wishes/advises (e.g. on career or marriage matters)</td>
<td>4.15 (.53)</td>
<td>0.514</td>
<td>0.507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Take care of parents when they get older</td>
<td>3.78 (.75)</td>
<td>0.521</td>
<td>0.496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. <em>Financially independent from parents</em></td>
<td>3.84 (.89)</td>
<td>0.229</td>
<td>0.243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Maintain close contacts with family no matter where s/he lives</td>
<td>4.54 (.52)</td>
<td>0.410</td>
<td>0.552</td>
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</table>

Revised scale: CFI = .850, RMSEA = .150
### Constructs

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Important Korean Traditional Etiquettes</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. My child properly greets adults (e.g. bowing to adults with proper greeting words).</td>
<td>4.52 (0.68)</td>
<td>0.727</td>
<td>0.841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. My child uses formal speech to adults.</td>
<td>4.45 (0.73)</td>
<td>0.775</td>
<td>0.902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. My child keeps Korean social norms and public etiquette in the presence of other adults (e.g. passing things with two hands to adults).</td>
<td>4.46 (0.71)</td>
<td>0.781</td>
<td>0.869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. My child uses correct addressing terms (e.g., calling family members with Korean addressing terms instead of using their first names (unni, oppa, eemo, komo, etc.)</td>
<td>4.34 (0.77)</td>
<td>0.757</td>
<td>0.832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. My child waits until other adults start eating at mealtimes.</td>
<td>3.95 (1.01)</td>
<td>0.620</td>
<td>0.631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. My child avoids eye contact when adults reprimand him/her.</td>
<td>3.53 (1.26)</td>
<td>0.435</td>
<td>0.432</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CFI = .977, RMSEA = .096
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Constructs</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
<th>Alpha</th>
<th>Factor</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indirect Expression of Affection</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. By cooking my child’s favorite food for him/her</td>
<td>90.1%</td>
<td>0.112</td>
<td>0.386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. By trying to spend more time with my child</td>
<td>90.7%</td>
<td>0.334</td>
<td>0.733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. By working hard to provide financial support to the family</td>
<td>85.1%</td>
<td>0.062</td>
<td>0.177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. By staying up waiting for him/her when s/he comes late</td>
<td>90.0%</td>
<td>0.322</td>
<td>0.691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. By checking on my child while s/he sleeps</td>
<td>89.8%</td>
<td>0.241</td>
<td>0.576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. By being there for them when s/he has hard times</td>
<td>93.8%</td>
<td>0.242</td>
<td>0.648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. By trusting him/her.</td>
<td>96.6%</td>
<td>0.161</td>
<td>0.616</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CFI = .928, RMSEA = .047
Reliability .328 for mothers and .547 for fathers
Two items dropped among mothers (working #3 and being there #6); CFI = .979, RMSEA = .024
One item dropped among fathers (cooking #1), CFI = 1.000, RMSEA = .00
### Constructs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Disciplinary Practices with Young Children</strong></td>
<td>1.78 (0.67)</td>
<td>0.601</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. I used to discipline him/her by hitting palms with sticks.</td>
<td>1.81 (0.96)</td>
<td>0.428</td>
<td>0.626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. I used to discipline him/her by hitting calves with sticks.</td>
<td>1.39 (0.74)</td>
<td>0.366</td>
<td>0.535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I used to discipline him/her by having him/her kneeling down with hands up.</td>
<td>2.04 (1.09)</td>
<td>0.436</td>
<td>0.563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I used to discipline him/her by other corporal punishment</td>
<td>1.90 (1.01)</td>
<td>0.317</td>
<td>0.398</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Sleeping Arrangement

- 82% of parents reported to have co-slept with child in early years.
- A mean of co-sleeping age was 6.41 ($SD = 4.34$)
<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Collectivism</td>
<td>3.54 (0.52)</td>
<td>0.537</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Thinks the family needs over personal goals in setting goals</td>
<td>3.07 (0.97)</td>
<td>0.366</td>
<td>0.572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Frequently pays attention to others' feelings and needs</td>
<td>4.01 (0.72)</td>
<td>0.224</td>
<td>0.297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Fear ostracism the most</td>
<td>3.06 (1.34)</td>
<td>0.194</td>
<td>0.218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Thinks his/her success is mostly thanks to help from others including family</td>
<td>3.61 (0.88)</td>
<td>0.343</td>
<td>0.526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Thinks his/her failure is mostly due to lack of efforts</td>
<td>3.71 (0.91)</td>
<td>0.313</td>
<td>0.338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Regards sacrifice for the family as natural</td>
<td>3.33 (1.01)</td>
<td>0.289</td>
<td>0.466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Select partners or future spouse who will maximize family integrity</td>
<td>3.96 (0.74)</td>
<td>0.198</td>
<td>0.288</td>
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</table>

CFI = .819, RMSEA = .077
<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Items</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Individualism</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Thinks oneself (personal needs) over the family needs in setting goals</td>
<td>3.40 (1.14)</td>
<td>0.267</td>
<td>0.427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Frequently self-focused</td>
<td>2.22 (0.93)</td>
<td>0.230</td>
<td>0.468</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Fear dependence on others the most</td>
<td>3.16 (1.26)</td>
<td>0.105</td>
<td>0.132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Thinks that his/her success is mostly thanks to his/her ability</td>
<td>2.91 (1.09)</td>
<td>0.248</td>
<td>0.381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Thinks that his/her failure is mostly due to external factors (e.g. task difficulty, bad luck)</td>
<td>1.99 (0.81)</td>
<td>0.157</td>
<td>0.256</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Less willing to sacrifice oneself for the family</td>
<td>2.24 (0.97)</td>
<td>0.155</td>
<td>0.277</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Select partners or future spouse who are attractive and with exciting personality</td>
<td>4.08 (0.75)</td>
<td>0.173</td>
<td>0.212</td>
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CFI = .699, RMSEA = .070
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Parenting</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Enculturation</td>
<td>.363*</td>
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<td>3. Korean</td>
<td>.228*</td>
<td>.278*</td>
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<td>4. Co-sleeping</td>
<td>.084</td>
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<td>.160*</td>
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<td>5. Age of</td>
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<td>.092</td>
<td>.146*</td>
<td>.695*</td>
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<td>6. Early</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>.114*</td>
<td>.154*</td>
<td>.043</td>
<td>.007</td>
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<td>7. ACV</td>
<td>.428*</td>
<td>.584*</td>
<td>.376*</td>
<td>.064</td>
<td>.079</td>
<td>.045</td>
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<td>8. Guan</td>
<td>.421*</td>
<td>.412*</td>
<td>.302*</td>
<td>.047</td>
<td>.069</td>
<td>.021</td>
<td>.602*</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Guan</td>
<td>.310*</td>
<td>.235*</td>
<td>.175*</td>
<td>−.055</td>
<td>.019</td>
<td>.144*</td>
<td>.361*</td>
<td>.419*</td>
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Note: *p < .05; ** p < .01 and *** p < .001
Summary: Preservation and modifications

- Korean immigrant parents largely preserve traditional parenting values and practices, while also showing meaningful, yet not very dramatic, signs of adopting new cultural traits.
  - Solid endorsement on several traditional parenting values & behaviors (e.g. demonstrating and modeling to teach children the core values)
  - Some items are not endorsed as high as other items (e.g., virtue of stern parenting and refraining from excessive praises), showing signs of change.
  - Caution: Low endorsement may not be an indication of actual changes in behaviors. Parents in focus groups brought up the lack of active praise, rewards, and explicit demonstrations of affection to children as the most problematic aspect of the traditional Korean parenting and as particularly unsuitable for their children growing up in a Western culture. However, they also stated that these virtues are so internalized that they feel unable to express affection openly.
- Strong desire to transmit the value of centrality of family but toned-down expectation (e.g. from “obedience” to “seriously considering parental wish and advice”) or adoption to a new setting (no longer expect their children to live until married or not expecting children to avoid eye contact (i.e. keep your head down) when reprimanded)
- Co-sleeping arrangement is quite common.
- Traditional disciplinary practices, although still practiced, no longer prevalent or frequently used mostly likely because they may be perceived as child abuse.

Bicultural parenting?
- A general trend of higher endorsement of collective traits more than individualistic traits
- However, there are signs of equal or even stronger endorsement of some individualistic traits.
- The relationship between collectivistic and individualistic traits may not be dichotomous and this finding may suggest a new, blended culture with its own cultural scripts.
• Behaviors are the first to change while core values persist longer.
  – Survey participants answered as followed:
  – Parents should start *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* their children from early age (97.9%).
  – Children’s behaviors are largely determined by *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* (97.1%).
  – Child’s good manners (especially how they interact with the elders) are an indication of good *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* (95.7%).
  – *Ga-jung-kyo-yuk* is parent’s primary responsibility (97.3%).
  – *Ga-jung-kyo-yuk* is a primary method to teach child virtues (94.5%).
  – I pass down Korean traditions and values through *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* (75.2%).
  – *Ga-jung-kyo-yuk* should be stern to be effective (20.6%).
• **Ga-jung-kyo-yuk (IV)**
  – Korean traditional parent virtues
  – Enculturation of familial and cultural values
  – Important Korean traditional etiquette
  – Co-sleeping
  – Age of separate sleeping
  – Korean traditional disciplinary practices with young children

• **Controls**
  – Sampling & demographics (age, gender, income, and education of parents, age and gender of youth)
  – Parental acculturation (e.g., # of years in U.S., language, identity, cultural participation)

• **Western measures (DV)**
  – Authoritarian parenting style (PAQ)
  – Authoritative parenting style (PAQ)
  – Parental warmth (PPQ)
  – Parental acceptance (PARS)
  – Parental monitoring (LIFT & PYS)
  – Parent-child communications (LIFT & PYS)
  – Parental negative discipline (LIFT)
  – Parental rejection (PARS)
Study Hypotheses

• Korean *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* measures will be positively associated both with authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles.

• Korean *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* measures will be positively associated with positive Western parenting characteristics (e.g. parental warmth, parent-child communication and monitoring).

• Korean *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* measures will be negatively associated with harsh parenting (e.g. negative discipline and parental rejection).

• One exception: Korean traditional disciplinary practices will positively relate to both positive and harsh parenting.

• Parent gender differences were exploratory.
Summary:

• A nuanced and detailed picture of Korean American parenting as a blend of Western concepts of authoritative and authoritarian styles and the coexistence of positive, and, though quite limited, negative parenting.
  – Certain aspects of *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* are positively associated with the authoritative or authoritarian style, or even with both of them simultaneously.
  – Authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles are positively correlated.
  – *Ga-jung-kyo-yuk* measures were positively associated with positive Western parenting measures
  – *Ga-jung-kyo-yuk* measures were not associated with harsh parenting (except traditional discipline).
  – Similar patterns across mothers and fathers with only a couple of exceptions
• Positive associations between traditional core cultural values (centrality of family and close familial relationships) and positive Western parenting measures (authoritative style, warmth, acceptance, monitoring and communication)
  – Universality of family values?
  – Bicultural parenting? Signs of acculturation (e.g. lower endorsement of stern parenting)? The associations between Korean ga-jung-kyo-yuk measures and Western parenting measures remain unchanged, regardless of whether demographic and parental acculturation variables are accounted for.

• Teaching Korean manners was associated with both authoritarian and authoritative styles and parental acceptance.

• No associations between co-sleeping and Western parenting measures. Unexpected findings re: age of separate sleeping and negative parenting
Recent study

• Development of indigenous Filipino American (FA) parenting
  – Filipino *pakikisama* (emphasis on group harmony despite conflict with one’s own desires); *hiya* (a sense of shame and propriety that creates conformity in the family); *utang ng loob* (debt of gratitude)
  – Much broader boundary of “family” that includes extended family as well as non-kin co-ethnic members (e.g. godparents)
  – Much higher family responsibilities on Filipina (moms and daughters)
  – Have created more than 300 new items ready to be tested using similar procedures used in KAF project (Extensive literature review; identification of existing but underused measures targeting Filipino families; focus-groups with FA parents and youth; in-depth individual interviews; meeting with community leaders and academic experts)
  – Deliberate focus on developing behavioral indicators of parental control and warmth that are more appropriate for FA and KA families
Next Steps & Proposal

• Evaluating and refining measures
  – 150 families (150 youth, 150 parents) for each FA and KA ($N = 600$)
  – Non-random, non-clinical sample; self-administered survey

• Longitudinal survey with FA and KA families in IL
  – 350 families (350 youth, 350 moms, 280 dads) for each subgroup ($N = 1,960$)
  – Two stage sampling: (1) Household-based random sampling generated using phone book, zip codes, ethnic surnames and phone screening, to generate an initial “pod” (2) the Stratified Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS)
  – Survey with youth for 4 years and with parents for 3 years
  – Baseline target youth age – 12 thru 17 (or in middle and high school youth)
  – In-person interview at baseline and self-administration in later times
  – Inclusion of fathers, non-English speaking parents, and youth who are not in school or college
Study Major Aims

• Examine the concurrent and longitudinal associations of family process on academic achievement, externalizing problems and internalizing problems.
  – Do indigenous family processes have an effect independent of or different from conventional processes in explaining development among AA youth?
  – Do these associations differ by gender (boys vs. girls and mothers vs. fathers)?
  – Does family process explain differences in youth outcomes between two major AA subgroups (FA and KA)?

• Delineate developmental trajectories and their determinants in family process for the three outcome domains during adolescence and the transition to young adulthood among AA youth. Compare them by gender and across AA subgroups.

• Investigate the influences of acculturation on the ways family process is connected to youth outcomes and developmental trajectories. Compare them by gender and across AA subgroups.
Parenting Beliefs
Childrearing Goals & Methods

Parenting Behaviors
Control, Reasoning, Warmth

Parent-child Relations
Conflict, Bonding, Family Obligation

Developmental Trajectories
Adolescent Outcomes
Young Adult Outcomes

Acculturation Gap

Youth Acculturation
Retention of Heritage Culture
Heritage Language Competence
Ethnic Identity
Implication for Practice

• Provides critical opportunities to maximize youth potential and positive youth development. In other words, an enhanced understanding of whether and how indigenous and conventional parenting benefit or harm youth outcomes can help shape a course of acculturative changes in a direction that is most beneficial to youth.
  – Can guide AA parents in preserving the aspects of their parenting methods that produce and maintain positive youth behaviors while helping them modify their parenting or adopt new strategies to prevent serious internalizing problems or worsening of those problems.

• Can guide parents of other racial-ethnic groups to adopt AA parenting methods to help maximize their child’s potential growth without increasing mental health problems.
  – Identify right “dose” (or combination) of parental control and warmth