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KOREAN AMERICAN IMMIGRANT MOTHERS'
CHILD LAUNCHING EXPERIENCES:
UNDERSTANDING OF PARENTING AND
MOTHER-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS IN MIDLIFE

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of
Montclair State University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

SOO-BIN YOU

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Upper Montclair, NJ

May 2020

Dissertation Chair: Dr. Olena Nesteruk

MONTCLAIR STATE UNIVERSITY

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

DISSERTATION APPROVAL

We hereby approve the Dissertation
KOREAN AMERICAN IMMIGRANT MOTHERS'
CHILD LAUNCHING EXPERIENCES:
UNDERSTANDING OF PARENTING AND
MOTHER-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS IN MIDLIFE

of

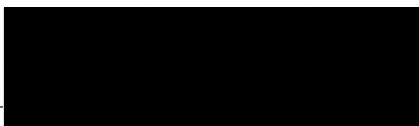
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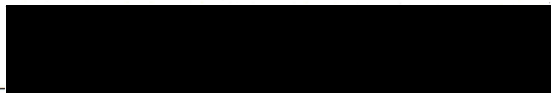
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ABSTRACT

KOREAN AMERICAN IMMIGRANT MOTHERS' CHILD LAUNCHING EXPERIENCES: UNDERSTANDING OF PARENTING AND MOTHER- CHILD RELATIONSHIPS IN MIDLIFE

by Soo-Bin You

Guided by the theoretical frameworks of family development and family systems theories from the life course perspective, the present study explored how Korean American mothers make sense of their child launching experiences in immigration context, and describe the family dynamics around parenting and parent-child relationship during the life transition. Focusing on the developmental task of child launching, thus, this study examined the topic that has received scarce attention in scholarly literature – culturally specific experiences of parenting and parent-child relationship from the perspective of Korean immigrant mothers in midlife.

To delve into the lived experiences of Korean immigrant mothers, this study employed a phenomenological approach throughout the entire research process of collecting and analyzing the data. Through the analysis of semi-structured interviews with middle-aged Korean immigrant mothers ($N=10$), nine sub-themes emerged under the three broader main themes of reflections on past parenting experiences, extended parenthood during child launching transition, and evolving parent-emerging adult child relationship. The nine sub-themes were 1) a hybrid of Korean and American parenting approach; (2) parenting challenges in the immigration context; (3) personal growth through parenting; (4) coping with feelings of loss after child's home-leaving; (5) parental support due to child's financial instability; (6) parental involvement despite child's growing autonomy; (7) maintaining

family ties through close living arrangements and frequent contact; (8) managing intergenerational conflicts through communication; and (9) establishing adult-to-adult relationships through an adjusted parenting approach.

The study findings suggested a complex and dynamic approach to understanding the interconnectedness among acculturation, parenting approach, and parent-young adult child relationship over time. In specific, this study highlighted the multifaceted impact of the immigrant context on acculturation and parenting experiences throughout childrearing and child launching periods. Through personal growth and the acculturation process during their parenting and child launching transitions, Korean immigrant mothers have gradually adjusted their parenting into a distinctively 'Korean American' parenting approach. Despite the extended parental support for their young adult children, in reaction to their children's growing independence and maturity, the mothers have further adjusted their parenting approach. The mothers' efforts to maintain family ties through frequent and close interactions with their young adult children, in turn, contributed to better relationship management and further acculturation among the participants. Those study findings have implications for future research on immigrant families and culturally attentive practice for immigrant parents in midlife.

Keywords: child launching; parenting; parent-child relationship; Korean immigrant mothers; young adults; middle-age

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DEDICATION

To my father

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Upon children's transition to adulthood, parents and children usually reset their roles in the family and a new set of rules or norms tends to emerge in their relationship (Bouchard, 2014; Nelson et al., 2007; Koepke & Denissen, 2012; Lindell, Campione-Barr, & Killoren, 2017). For parents, child's transition to adulthood may be involved with a child launching period which signifies the end of day-to-day childcare and the beginning of various life transitions related to older ages. Parental perception of child launching, impacts on parental psychological well-being, and ways of managing this life transition may vary by personal characteristics, parenting beliefs, previous parent-child relationship quality, and socio-cultural backgrounds (Chen, Yang, & Aagard, 2012; Dare, 2011; Hobdy et al., 2007; Jablonski & Martino, 2013; Mitchell & Wister, 2015; Nelson, Padilla-Walker, Christensen, Evans, & Carroll, 2011).

To explore the variability of child launching experiences among parents, this study of Korean immigrant parents' relationship with their children during this life transition employs theoretical and conceptual tenets from family development theory, family systems theory, and life course theory. The integrated theoretical framework illuminates midlife Korean immigrant parents' experience of child launching, which is bounded by two contextual frameworks: cultural beliefs about parenting practice and social location of immigrants in the U.S. society. That being said, Korean immigrant parents' experiences regarding their child launching cannot be understood without consideration of previous life history, family functioning and interaction, immigration experience, and socio-cultural norms within which Korean American families are embedded. Thus, this study aims to examine the ways in which Korean immigrant parents make sense of their child launching experiences, and the family dynamics around parenting and parent-child relationship during this period.

Background to the Research Problem

The current study tackles the relatively scarce attention in academia to a cultural approach to family dynamics during parents' midlife transition (Dolberg & Ayalon, 2017; Kloep & Hendry, 2010). Among the midlife experiences of adults who are parents, child launching (e.g., child's leaving the home for college, employment, marriage, or independence) can be an important life transition not only for children but for their parents as well, because it involves changes in many aspects of the parenting practices and roles. Such child launching is known to be involved with various psychological effects including empty nest syndromes (Mitchell & Lai, 2014; Mitchell & Wister, 2015; Nelson et al., 2007). When parents perceive child launching as a loss of parental roles, they may have difficult time to manage this transition (Sheriff & Weatherall, 2009). Meanwhile, other parents can welcome child launching as a sign of success in their childrearing job with appreciating relief from parenting stress and more time for themselves (Umberson, Pudrovska, & Reczek, 2010). In many cases, parents in the child launching period can have ambivalent and mixed feelings, which leads to different coping strategies among parents and, at times, changing parent-child relationship quality (Fingerman, 2017; Kloep & Hendry, 2010; Sheriff & Weatherall, 2009).

In contrast to the research findings among western populations, a growing body of research has highlighted culturally different experiences of parents in Asian countries and ethnic minority groups in western countries with regard to their child launching experiences (Guo, Xu, Liu, Mao, & Chi, 2016; Mitchell & Lovegreen, 2009; Wang, Shu, Dong, Luo, & Hao, 2013; Wu et al., 2010; Zhai et al., 2015). The research literature suggested that family functioning in cultural contexts provide important dimensions to be considered for better understanding of parental experiences during child launching with respect to psychological adjustment to possible

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life course transitions and changes. Moreover, the cultural approach is also crucial to studying parent-adult child relationship during the life transition, especially related to socio-culturally informed parenting style and parental belief during the children's transition to adulthood. For instance, several studies have shown that autonomy-supportive parenting styles which were prevalent in western cultures – especially when compared to parenting styles of Asian cultures – facilitated children's individuation and adjustment to independence (Koepke & Denissen, 2012; Shen, Cheah, & Yu, 2018).

Parent-Child Relationship and Parenting during the Child Launching Period

As a major family process (Arditti, 2012), parent-child relationship has been one of the important constructs which family relations scholars have investigated. Parent-child relationship is a multi-dimensional concept which can be defined as relational closeness, communication and conflict between parents and children as well as parental involvement and support (Fingerman, 2017; Jablonski & Martino, 2013; Lindell et al., 2017; Schwartz et al., 2009). More specifically, according to Fingerman et al. (2012), the quality of interactions between parents and children had the positive association with frequent contacts with each other. Also, the relationship quality was found to be related to positive level of parental support (e.g., financial and emotional supports) for the children (Fingerman et al., 2012). With regard to communication quality, in particular, adult children's self-disclosure of personal life was an important predictor of mother-child relationship quality (Urry, Nelson, & Padilla-Walker, 2011). Communication between parents and emerging adult children often involves the adult children's decision-making abilities, obligations to the family, and financial responsibilities (Jablonski & Martino, 2013). High level of family conflicts also had effects on the parent-child relationship. The family conflicts may be influenced by family structure such as stepfamily or parental control of child's lifestyles, which

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can cause young adult children's early leaving the parental home (Padilla-Walker, Nelson, & Knapp, 2014; Seiffge-Krenke, 2009).

The family relations literature demonstrated the close link between parenting styles and parent-child relationship. According to Baumrind (1966)'s typology of parenting styles, most parents' childrearing approaches and behaviors can be conceptually categorized into authoritative, authoritarian, or permissive style. The conceptual distinction is useful to understand the parents' attitudes and expectations not only toward young children but also toward their emerging adult children (Nelson et al., 2011). Especially, the recent millennial family studies identified a new concept of helicopter parenting style which may have profound implications in parenting approach during the child launching period (Fingerman, 2017; Odenweller, Booth-Butterfield, & Weber, 2014). As a form of controlling and intensive parenting, helicopter parenting involves parents' limiting of their child's autonomy in excessive and developmentally inappropriate ways such as choosing their child's college classes or solving disagreements with roommates (Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012). Despite the similarity with authoritarian parenting style, parents with helicopter parenting style successfully control their child's behaviors, whereas authoritarian parenting involves only attempted controls of their child's behaviors (and may not necessarily be successful; Odenweller et al., 2014).

With respect to parent-young adult child relationship, authoritative/autonomy-supporting parenting style was found to be associated with more positive outcomes as young adult children maintained closer relationships with their parents, compared to the children from the families with authoritarian parenting style (Fingerman et al., 2012). While the previous studies discussed the relationship between parenting styles and the well-being or adjustment of young adult children (Johnson, Gans, Kerr, & LaValle, 2010; Kins et al., 2009; Kumar & Mattanah, 2016),

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however, there is a paucity of research investigating the effects of such family transformation on parents. Kloep and Hendry (2010) are among the few researchers to date who have paid attention to the ways in which parents cope with this important transition in their own lives and its impact on their family role perceptions. In their study of different parenting styles during the child launching period, most parents were found to have perceived difficulties in 'letting go' their young adult children and they showed various ways of dealing with the transition. For further examination of the parent-adult child relationship development, the process and mechanisms in forming various responses of parents to child launching and the related family dynamics need to be researched in more diverse structural contexts (e.g., the contexts of ethnic culture or minority positions; Kloep & Hendry, 2010).

As long as becoming adult means a complexed transitional period to adult children, the child launching often generates positive feelings (e.g., childrearing stress relief), negative feelings (e.g., loosing parental role), or ambivalent mixed feelings to the parents (e.g., ambivalence about 'letting them go' and 'holding them on'; Dare, 2011; Kloep & Hendry, 2010; Sheriff & Weatherall, 2009). Thus, parenting styles during the child launching period may demonstrate the variability and the ambivalence in the parents' management and adjustment to the changing parent-child relationships. Based on the study of different clusters of parents (Nelson et al., 2011), largely and conceptually, two types of parenting style can be identified with respect to their child launching.

The first type of parents with autonomy-supportive parenting style may report happy feelings about letting go the adult children. Those parents were found to be satisfied with their children's independence and to feel proud in their achievement as a parent with endorsing the role stress relief perspective (Nelson et al., 2011). Also, they tended to have positive relationship

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with their children. Even though some parents may feel difficulties about their loss of parental role, they were relatively well-prepared to let them go and try to find their own coping strategies (Kloep & Hendry, 2010). The second type of parents with controlling/authoritarian parenting styles may have more difficulties in managing the relationship with the adult children than the autonomy-enhancing group of parents. This group of parents usually want to hold on or delay their children's independence (Kins, Soenens, & Beyers, 2011). On the bottom line, they perceived their children were not mature enough to be independent or still were viewed as a child who needed parental guidance and financial support. They tended to report a significant level of disagreement with their children's life style choices (Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012). As results, the parent-child relationship would deteriorate, subsequently causing conflicts and power fights (Kloep & Hendry, 2010; Padilla-Walker et al., 2014).

Study Focus and Problem Statement

To expand the previous research, the current study focuses on culturally unique experiences of parenting and parent-child relationship within Korean immigrant families. Similar to other Asian immigrant parents, Korean immigrant parents actively engage in their children's education and emphasize children's academic success over socializing with peers (Kang, Okazaki, Abelman, Kim-Prieto, & Lan, 2010). The figures (e.g., about 75% of Korean descendants in the U.S. have college degree and above; Pew Research Center, 2017) support the Korean Americans' successful educational attainment. Also, Korean American students make a second largest group among Asian American students who comprise more than one-fifth of the student body at the Ivy League universities (Lee & Zhou, 2017). Many researches attributed the Asian (including Korean) students' academic achievement to the Asian parenting culture which

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is significantly authoritarian style (Lui & Rollock, 2013; Park, Kim, Chiang, & Ju, 2010; Sung, 2010).

Despite their academic success, however, the intensive, controlling, and authoritarian parenting style of many Korean immigrant parents was found to be associated with high level of psychological distress among young adult children (Kang et al., 2010; Lee & Zhou, 2014). This aspect points to the family issues around intergenerational conflicts within Korean immigrant families (Ahn, Kim, & Park, 2008; Park et al., 2010). Park et al. (2010), for example, demonstrated that the Korean authoritarian parenting style was closely related to their low level of assimilation to American culture, and significantly predicted family conflicts between parents and their culturally Americanized young adult children.

Therefore, this study will pay close attention to intergenerational relationship and the role of parenting style during the transition period in Korean immigrant families. The acculturation gap -- different degrees and speed in adapting American cultural values -- between parents and young adult children suggests an important concept to understand intergenerational relationship in Korean immigrant families. In particular, communication quality and conflicting issues between Korean immigrant parents and their adult children may reflect discrepancy of their values and beliefs about family relations, especially at the time of children's transition to adulthood.

It is important to note that such intergenerational relationship quality may have profound effects on the parents' well-being in middle and later life. Whereas the first-generation Korean immigrant parents tend to hold traditional Korean cultural values -- such as family cohesion and filial piety, their second-generation children usually have individualistic orientation in terms of familial and social values. As results, the parents have been found to feel more loneliness and to

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be less satisfied with their relationship with adult children compared to other non-Asian populations (Mui & Kang, 2006; Wong, Yoo, & Stewart, 2006). Despite the importance of midlife transition and psychological well-being during the period, however, Korean immigrant parents' experience of child launching and their parenting in the immigration context during the period are little known. Differing from the previous research's focus on children's perspective and their outcomes, therefore, the current study is concerned with parental experiences and their adjustment during the transitional period of child launching.

The Overview

This chapter briefly introduced research problems around middle-aged Korean immigrant parents' experience of parenting and parent-child relationship during the child launching period, which requires a cultural approach. Followed by this introduction of research background, the following literature review chapter will discuss theoretical frameworks to explain life transitions and changes in immigrant families. Explicitly guided by the theoretical frameworks, I will review the research literature about middle-aged adults' life transitions focusing on their child launching task and relationship changes within family. The literature review will also include the construction of parenting approach in cultural context for further understanding of parenting experiences in Korean immigrant families.

Based on research gaps identified through the previous research reviews, the method chapter will suggest a rigorous qualitative research design through which this study would answer the research questions. In specific, I will describe research procedure, data collection, and data analysis employing a phenomenological approach.

Through the data analysis, in the study findings chapter, I will present three main themes, and those research outcomes will be further discussed in light of extant research contexts in the

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following discussion chapter. Finally, I will conclude this research with the modified theoretical model, and identify limitations as well as future research directions and practical implications of this study.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Frameworks: Changes and Transitions in Family Life

How do families change over time and how do they manage life transitions? To answer these questions, family research should be guided by conceptual and methodological frameworks of family theory. The explicit and critical use of theory is essential for scientific knowledge production (Lavee & Dollahite, 1991; Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield, & Karnik, 2009; Tudge et al., 2016). To make clear the link between theory and research, therefore, this study introduces three family theories that are useful to explain changes and transitions in family life: family development theory, family systems theory, and life course theory. In each section I will briefly describe each theory's historical development, basic assumptions, major concepts and their applications in empirical research, and discuss theoretical strengths and limitations of each theory in research on family changes and transitions.

Family Development Theory

As one of the earliest family-focused theories, family development theory points out that families, just like individuals, are influenced by developmental processes (Smith, Hamon, Ingoldsby, & Miller, 2008). The developmental processes are involved with the family life cycle in which a family expands and contracts over time. This family life cycle is well conceptualized in the eight-stage model proposed by Duvall (Duvall & Miller, 1985): marriage, childbearing, preschool age, school age, adolescents, launching stage, middle aged parents, and aging family members. The eight stages are based on the age of the oldest child and changes in each family member's (e.g., parents and children's) roles. As a family transitions to each new stage, according to the basic assumptions of the theory, there are normative life events and specific tasks that have to be achieved during each life transition. Family development theory further

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assumes reciprocal influences among family members and the changing nature of family processes. Thus, the theory posits that the understanding of family development basically requires multiple levels of system analysis (White, 1991).

Family development theory has guided a wide range of topics in empirical research. Some popular topics included family creations through marriage or adoption (Bejenaru & Roth, 2012; Fitzpatrick & Kostina-Ritchey, 2013; Hall & Adams, 2011; Moen, Bradford, Lee, Harris, & Stewart, 2015; Willoughby, Hall, & Goff, 2015), transition to parenthood (Brotherson, 2007), parenting (Davies & Gentile, 2012; Seiffge-Krenke & Pakalniskiene, 2011), marital quality (Huber, Navarro, Womble, & Mumme, 2010), and finance and work-family relations (Chaulk, Johnson, & Bulcroft, 2003; Erickson, Martinengo, & Hill, 2010; Rantanen, Kinnunen, Pulkkinen, & Kokko, 2012). In previous studies, the theoretical concepts of tasks and normative events were investigated with respect to life stages, transitions, and changes. In a study of the relationship between marital satisfaction and resilience among midlife adults, for example, midlife marital satisfaction was measured by successful achievement of tasks such as refocusing on the marital relationship and maintaining kinship ties with older and younger generations (Huber et al., 2010). Also, the effects of family structure (i.e., marital status and presence of child) on financial risk behaviors were found to be significant in explaining individual variability by age and income (Chaulk et al., 2003).

The strength of the theory can be highlighted in the methodological implications for cross-sectional comparison of life stages and longitudinal research design across the life span. For example, Davies and Gentile (2012) observed the differences in media use habits between three family stages (i.e., families with preschoolers, with younger school aged children, and with adolescents) to find that families in earlier stages showed more positive media habits than other

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families. A longitudinal study following the developmental trajectories of work–family conflict from early to late midlife revealed that work-family conflict is not limited to the early part of a working career and that the developmental trajectories of work-family conflict exhibit a substantial amount of heterogeneity (Rantanen et al., 2012).

Despite the theoretical and empirical merits in explaining changes and transitions in family, however, the family development theory has some weaknesses. First of all, the theory is descriptive at best, thus failing to explain various forms of families and the variability of family life (Aldous, 1990; Dykstra & Hagestad, 2007). Due to the theoretical assumptions of normative development and tasks, for example, various types of families (e.g., childlessness, same-sex marriage) and non-linear pathways of family life (e.g., child launching in later life) could not be fully explained through this theoretical framework. Secondly, some critiques also questioned family development theory's predictive or explanatory power as a theory (Rodgers & White, 1993). That is, the theory did not provide much insight into what governed the patterns of behavioral change in individual development and family choice. Also, it is insufficient to answer the question of what mechanisms in family relationships alter social-psychological functioning in adulthood (Seltzer et al., 2005). To answer these developmental questions, for example, researchers must determine what makes people change or stay in relationships and why some families manage transitions well and others do not.

Lastly, the theoretical framework based on family development also lacked the inclusion of various family identity factors such as race, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and family structure. To respond to these criticisms, family therapy theory (Carter & McGoldrick, 1999) and the systemic family development model (Laszloffy, 2002) attempted to broaden the scope of family development theory to include these factors. White (1991)'s revision of the theory also

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expanded the theoretical application to the dynamics of family development by incorporating scientific multiple level analysis. This evolution shows that the inclusion of diverse families and varied family experiences is critical for the theoretical rigor of family development theory.

Family Systems Theory

Since Burgess (1926) suggested a conceptualization of family as a system of interacting personalities, family systems theory has attended to the issues around the elements of families and the processes within families. Within the systems framework, the family is viewed as a unity where family members take their own roles, influence one another, and share interdependence.

Influenced by General Systems Theory, a key assumption of this theory is that a system cannot be understood in parts without consideration of the whole (Smith et al., 2008). Family systems theory suggests, thus, a family means more than a simple collection of parents and children. The holistic approach is important to explain family processes and functions such as family communication, conflict and cohesion, and adjustment to change, which are the outputs of the entire system (Chibucos & Leite, 2005). Therefore, when we want to understand any type of human pathology, any problem-solving approach needs to investigate a (family) system dysfunction rather than the person (Christian, 2006). Furthermore, family as a system has subsystems (e.g., couple, parent-child, siblings, etc.) and supra-systems (e.g., extended families, geographic locations, ethnic cultures, or national systems) through which the systems interact with each other. Those systems are not only interdependent but also hierarchical. Even though family systems strive to maintain equilibrium in their functioning, tensions may occur among the systems when receiving new information within or outside of the family (Chibucos & Leite, 2005). Upon the tensions, the interactions may be involved with changes in family systems through completed positive feedback loops among the systems.

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In empirical research, basic concepts of the family systems theory have been applied to understanding and explaining various family interactions and transitions. Most of all, the theoretical contributions have been found in the research on child development. Especially, studies of early childhood practice (Christian, 2006; Dunst, 2016) and problems of students in school settings (van Velsor & Cox, 2000) highlighted the importance of collaboration with families in child education. The studies also emphasized that differentials in family boundaries were often enforced by parenting in a family. As a major concept of the family systems theory, different degrees of boundary rigidity which is about who are within and outside of the family (i.e., the point of interface between the family and its environment) are critical to understand a child's behaviors. Many family systems' roles, rules and goals can be explained in the context of boundary setting. The boundaries can be permeable, but consistent boundaries are known to contribute to functional systems (Smith et al., 2008).

Beyond the theoretical usefulness to explain child/youth development, the applications of this theoretical framework have expanded across the life span of family (Fingerman & Bermann, 2000). The importance of family cohesion (Mullis, Brailsford, & Mullis, 2003) and family interaction patterns (Hargrove, Creagh, & Burgess, 2002) in young adults' identity formation, marital quality and satisfaction (Murphy, Nalbone, Wetchler, & Edwards, 2015; Olson, 2000; Polenick, Birditt, & Zarit, 2017), remarriage and step family relations (Papernow, 2018), intergenerational relationships (Sun, 2016), and elderly care in families (Taqui, Itrat, Qidwai, & Qadri, 2007) have been studied from the family systems perspective. For example, when family caregivers used effective family coping strategies, they would experience greater marital satisfaction (Murphy et al., 2015). Also, mothers and fathers were more satisfied with their marriage when they and their partner gave more frequent intangible support to adult children.

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The study findings suggested the value of considering both individual and couple-level characteristics of parent–child relationships and their potential consequences for midlife couples (Polenick et al., 2017).

The most important strength of the family systems theory is its practical implications for family therapy and intervention programs. Linking theory and practice, family therapists have utilized an adapted approach such as structural family therapy (Vetere, 2001) which focused on a family member's relationship contexts and the potential distress in the family relationships. Also, family systems approach was greatly useful for considering multiple influences on child development, adult adaptation, and the development of close relationships in order to design effective interventions (Cox & Paley, 1997). Many studies confirmed the effectiveness of family-based treatment in improving the medical condition of people with chronic illness (Hartmann, Bänzner, Wild, Eisler, & Herzog, 2010) and preventing behavioral and psychological problems among children and adolescents (Bukstein, 2005; Feinberg, Kan, & Goslin, 2009). In specific, through a meta-analysis of eight studies, Trivette, Dunst, and Hamby (2010) found that family-systems intervention practices directly enhanced both parental self-efficacy and well-being which positively affected parent-child interactions and child development.

However, critics have challenged the clarity of the family systems theory in explaining social phenomena around family relationship changes. From the positivistic perspective, the family systems theory is seen as too general and abstract (White, Klein, & Martin, 2015). Despite the theory's broad and flexible applications to empirical research, family systems theory was criticized to have weak explanatory power to elicit the detailed relationships of phenomena to each other. Another concern about the theory was that the conceptual dichotomy between an individual perspective and a family systems perspective reified the theoretical idea, which is

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problematic in understanding complex and diverse family dynamics (Smith et al., 2008). More importantly, feminist critics have argued that issues of gender inequality are not fully addressed within family systems theory (Whitchurch & Constantine, 1993). With equal emphasis on all members in family systems, for example, the theory could not capture the inequality of power between men and women. When the family systems perspective is applied to the issue of family violence, especially, the utilization of family systems theory can lead to the perception of a shared responsibility for violence between the victim and perpetrator and less accountability by the perpetrator for his or her actions (Murray, 2006). While acknowledging the theoretical limitations, however, Yerby (1995) suggested that a social constructivist perspective could correct some constraining aspects of family systems theory. Family systems theory's continuing evolution to further adopt interpretive and structural frameworks would improve its theoretical rigor.

Life Course Theory

Life course theory has developed as a multidisciplinary approach for the study of individual lives, family structure, social contexts, and changes over time. The life course is defined as "a series of socially defined events and roles that the individual enacts over time" (Giele & Elder, 1998, p.22). Life course theory emphasizes the variability of human development which is differently embedded in structural contexts, process, and time. Thus, the life transitions and role positions do not necessarily take a given sequence corresponding to the age or the life span. Rather, a life course should be understood as a holistic continuity and intersection of personal experience, family life, socio-historical factors, and social change throughout life. From a life course perspective, therefore, research usually focuses on the

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interconnectedness between micro- and macro-level analyses of family and social phenomena (Bengston & Allen, 1993).

The assumptions and propositions of life course theory are articulated by five core principles suggested by Elder, Johnson, and Crosnoe (2003). The five core principles inform the theoretical framework to explain the variability of human lives. First of all, the principle of life trajectory in a sequence of transitions suggests that earlier life decisions and experience shape later life outcomes. In studies of immigrants, for example, the life trajectory can be illustrated in the decision to immigrate, which affects the individuals' mental and physical health in later life (Montes de Oca, García, Sáenz, & Guillén, 2011; Wu & Penning, 2015). The second principle of historical period and geographical location emphasizes that the socio-cultural contexts where an individual's life is embedded can condition the person's life pathways. The two cohorts before and after the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, and the comparison of immigration to Canada and the U.S. are examples of how different social contexts decided the (il)legality of an individual's immigration status (Montes de Oca et al., 2011). Thirdly, despite the structural constraints, individuals can shape their life course through making their own choices (i.e., the principle of human agency). In other words, an individual as an active agent can manage the effect of social structure and make decisions that create discrete pathways. For example, studies of selective acculturation highlight the conceptualization of agency because immigrants choose to accept or reject some aspects of the host country's culture (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

The fourth principle, timing in the life course, is useful to understand within-group differences among immigrants because timing in life differentiates the meaning of an event or an experience. For example, the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals Initiative benefits those who entered the U.S. before the age of 16, but their slightly older siblings do not stand to benefit

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because of the timing (Batalova, Hooker, Capps, Bachmeier, & Cox, 2013). Among varied first generation immigrants, 1.5 generation and .5 generation immigrants show huge differences in the levels of acculturation (Rumbaut, 2004). Lastly, life pathways are shaped by others because of the interdependence of human relationships. The fifth core principle of interdependence (i.e., linked lives) is important since relationships with significant others often mediate or moderate the effects from the broader social structure (e.g., the role of family and social networks). For example, the lives of Chinese seniors have been transformed by transnational caregiving experiences which, in turn, changed the relationship with their adult immigrant children (Zhou, 2012).

As shown, life course theory as a framework to explain changes in family life has strengths as it takes into account historical and social contexts which impact an individual's behaviors. While bridging micro and macro environments, additionally, the theory acknowledges human agency and the capacity for change with the emphasis on linked lives (Hutchison, 2005). However, life course theory is not without limitations. The first limitation is that the theory lacks clear evidence of linkage between individual and family lives and macro systems (e.g., cultural values, social institutions). As Mayer (2009) pointed out, in present societies, it is hard to prove the impacts of external social power because they have been internalized into individual and family psychology and behaviors for a long time. As a result, psychological modes in the life course become more important than structural factors. The influence of macro systems can be clearly observed only in limited cases such as a sudden rupture caused by historical events (e.g., German Unification and its impacts on the working class). Secondly, the theory fails to explain what mechanisms underlie the relationship between early conditions in life and later outcomes (Mayer, 2009). The research guided by life course

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theory can be often descriptive, especially about the life trajectories where multiple mechanisms operate at multiple environment levels. To make up for the theoretical weaknesses and improve testability as a theory, recent theoretical development has focused on processes of the accumulation of advantage and disadvantage, and the concept of risk measured by its incidence and duration (Ferraro, Shippee, & Schafer, 2009; O'Rand, 2006; Willson, Shuey, & Elder, 2007). Despite the weaknesses, however, the most important contribution of the life course theory is its attention to the diversity and heterogeneity in life course trajectories. Therefore, the theoretical framework of life course perspective has great implications for culturally sensitive research and practice.

Conclusion

The three theoretical approaches (i.e, family development theory, family systems theory, and life course theory) have their own merits in explaining changes and transitions in families. With addressing the dynamic nature of family life over time, the three theories, in common, emphasize the importance of interaction between individual and others in family processes. However, empirical researchers who explicitly employed the three theories suggested that they differed in terms of scope and level of theorization. While family development theory is focused on socially normative life events and tasks according to family life transitions, family systems theory is concerned with dyadic, reciprocal, and direct interaction among the systems. Meanwhile, life course theory introduces socio-cultural context in which the interactions are embedded.

Each theory's different perspective on theorizing of family dynamics can promote better explanation of family relationship changes across life stages when their conceptual frameworks are integrated. That is, their conceptualizations of changes and transitions in family life are

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complementary as they compensate each other's theoretical limitations. Thus, the integrated approach may be helpful to systematically examine the dynamic interactions and mechanism at multiple environmental levels. Under the framework of family's developmental life stages, more specifically, family systems theory can provide the detailed mechanism and patterns of family interactions which motivate the life changes. Furthermore, life course theory can add macro level of explanations of culture and society which are missing in family development theory and family systems theory. In other words, changes and transitions in family life conceptualized in various relational terms over the life span allow for a fuller picture of family transitions as a result of integration of the life course perspective with bridging micro- and macro-structural level investigations. Most of all, the integrated theoretical framework can be particularly useful when it is applied to family research on culturally diverse racial and ethnic groups.

Life Transitions among Parents in Midlife

According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, middle age is defined as “the period between early adulthood and old age, usually considered as the years from about 45 to 64” (Middle age, n.d.). The U.S. census also categorizes the age group (45 – 64) as middle age (Howden & Meyer, 2010). However, previous research found that many adults differently perceived themselves as middle-aged or older, based on health, psychological, and socio-cultural conditions (Dolberg & Ayalon, 2017). When the variability in perceptions of age and the aging process are considered, chronological age may not be relevant to conceptualize midlife. Guided by family developmental theory and family systems theory, this study conceptualizes the midlife stage as a transitional period when parents manage their tasks related to launching their children and rebuilding the marital relationship and family ties between younger and older generations.

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Adults in their midlife face various life transition events including physical changes, child launching, care-giving for elderly parents, preparation for retirement, and loss of loved ones. During this period, many critical shifts in personal roles, identities, and relationships occur, and the management of transitions may be related to physical, psychological, and relational well-being in later life (Kiecolt, Blieszner, & Savla, 2011; Lachman, Teshale, & Agrigoroaei, 2015). In the following sections, therefore, life changes and challenges that midlife adults usually experience will be discussed. After the general description of physical and developmental challenges in midlife, specific experiences of parents in their child launching period will be presented in terms of their relationships with children, spouse/partner, and older parents.

Developmental Challenges of Midlife

During the midlife stage, many physical changes may occur. With respect to the midlife physical decline, literature in the fields of health and medicine have focused on the importance of diet, exercise, cancer screening, and stress management (e.g., Brim, Ryff, & Kessler, 2004; Chang et al., 2010; DeFina et al., 2013). For example, maintaining physical fitness and regular exercise were found to predict better cognitive functioning in later life (Chang et al., 2010) and a significantly reduced risk of dementia (DeFina et al., 2013). In particular, women in midlife experience menopause, which may affect their physical and psychological well-being. Despite some pessimistic images of menopausal women, however, most women were found to manage menopause-related life changes relatively well (Dare, 2011). For example, a study on menopausal mothers in midlife revealed that, just like younger mothers, they were still engaging in active and intensive mothering practices while maintaining good mothering ideology (Dillaway, 2006).

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Besides the physical and physiological changes, middle-aged adults encounter the developmental challenge of generativity (Erikson, 1980). According to Erikson (1980), generativity --defined as a concern for the continuation of life beyond an individual's death-- is a major developmental challenge to be resolved during middle to older ages. To establish and guide the next generation, generativity can be achieved by parenting, family care and investment, work contributions, or community involvement (Keyes & Ryff, 1998). As they reflect on one's life at the moment, midlife adults become concerned with generativity, and the successful achievement of generativity is known to be important for one's well-being in mid- and later life (An & Cooney, 2006).

As for middle aged parents, the generativity challenge is closely related to a particular experience of child launching, which has important implications not only for psychological well-being but also for relationship changes within families. For further examination of midlife parents' experience, the following sections will discuss what previous studies found about the psychological effects of child launching and relationship changes during this period.

Child Launching in Midlife

Among the midlife experiences of adults who are parents, child launching (e.g., a child leaving the home for college, employment, marriage, or independence) can be an important life event not only for children but for their parents as well, because it involves changes in many aspects of parenting practices and roles. Family development scholars identify child launching as one of the major tasks of parents who are in the midlife stage (Smith et al., 2008). The child launching period is a process-oriented concept, which broadly encompasses the period from the preparation for the adult children's individuation and departure until the completed physical and financial independence (Bouchard, 2014).

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At the same time, the parents' life stage of the child launching period is usually signified by children's transition from adolescence to adulthood. The term of emerging adulthood was coined to describe the period from 18 to 25 years old when young people undergo the transformation of their roles and commitments as adults (Arnett, 2014). During this period, young adults typically desire and achieve personal growth as independent individuals, and they prepare to depart or actually leave the home for education or employment purposes (Hendry & Kloep, 2010; Johnson et al., 2010; Koepke & Denissen, 2012). Due to recent prolonged education and financial difficulties of establishing independent life, however, many young adult children stay in their parental home, or return home after the initial leaving (Arnett, 2014; Seiffge-Krenke, 2009). The recent patterns of adult children's departure have brought new timetables in family life including extended parenting period (Fingerman, 2017). Therefore, interpersonal relationship changes with regard to the child launching experience should be discussed in the contemporary context of emerging adulthood of young adult children.

Psychological effects of child launching. Research findings on the effects of child launching on the psychological well-being of midlife parents were inconclusive. Child launching is usually known to lead to various negative syndromes including depression and loneliness among parents (Mitchell & Lai, 2014; Mitchell & Wister, 2015; Nelson et al., 2007). Especially, some parents who perceive child launching as a stressor rather than a rite of passage, find it difficult to manage this transition due to the loss of parental roles (Sheriff & Weatherall, 2009). For others, however, child launching can provide more freedom, leisure time, and less challenges and stress, indicating a parent's success in raising independent children (Umberson et al., 2010). In addition to the inconsistency of parental outcomes, a number of studies highlighted ambivalence and mixed feelings of parents, which triggered active parenting and changing

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parent-child relationship quality (Fingerman, 2017; Kloep & Hendry, 2010; Sheriff & Weatherall, 2009).

Parent-child relationship. Previous empirical studies have documented the importance of parent-adult child relationship quality with respect to the emerging adults' successful transition to adulthood (Fingerman et al., 2012; Johnson et al., 2010; Schwartz et al., 2009). For example, research showed that emerging adults who had better-quality relationships with their parents (particularly with mothers) were more likely to be well-adjusted to their adulthood in terms of self-worth and social competence (Lindell et al., 2017), and to avoid risky behaviors (Schwartz et al., 2009). In the meantime, a few studies discussed the implication of parents' relationship with their adult children for the parents' adjustment to their midlife transition during the child launching period (Fingerman, 2017). Fingerman et al. (2012) showed that the emerging adult children's successful adjustment to independence--influenced by a quality relationship with their parents--was subsequently related to the parents' perceptions of their children's satisfactory outcomes and parental life satisfaction.

In general, parent-adult child relationships were found to have consistent and moderating effect on parental well-being (Ward & Spitze, 2007). Research showed that there are fewer conflicts between older adolescents or young adult children and their parents (Kloep, 1999; Furstenberg, Rumbaut, & Settersten, 2008) compared to parent-child relations during childhood and middle adolescence. That is, most struggles for control usually occur earlier in adolescence, and parent-child conflicts around autonomy reduce upon the children's transition to adulthood. But, there still exist some degrees of developmental discrepancy due to the variability in individual and environmental factors affecting the relationship quality (Fingerman, 1996).

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The existing literature has discussed several factors influencing the different types of parent-adult child relationship during the child launching period. First of all, parental gender is frequently studied in the differential in the relationship with children. Research showed that mothers usually had closer relationships with their children than fathers (Urry et al., 2011). Living arrangement and frequency of contact are other factors that explain relationship quality. Physical distance between parents and emerging adult children (e.g., co-residence or proximity from the parental home) has a significant impact on the parent-child relationship as both parents and children age (Ward & Spitze, 2007). Some parents preferred living with their emerging adult children, and a proximity of living arrangement was found to have a positive link to parent-child relationship quality (Kins et al., 2009). Furthermore, millennial adult children tend to have closer relationships with their parents, having more frequent contacts with parents than the young adults from the earlier generations (Fingerman, 2017).

As for attachment styles, in the life trajectory from childhood through early adulthood, the development of children's secure attachment with parents was found to lead to a normative and successful individuation of the emerging adult children with regard to on-time transition to adulthood, psychological well-being, and low level of conflict in the parent-child relationship (Arnett, 2014; Kumar & Mattanah, 2016). At the same time, parents who had attachment anxiety showed more difficulties coping with the life transition of child launching than parents with a secure attachment style (Kins et al., 2011). In addition, research has shown that differences in parental expectations regarding the appropriate timing of their children's independence greatly influenced parents' experiences of the transition (Mitchell & Lovegreen, 2009). If the child's independence from parents occurred too soon or too late based on their normative expectation, the parents had a more difficult time coping with the event, and this lead

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to negative relationship quality with the children (Kins et al., 2011; Mitchell & Lovegreen, 2009).

Besides the factors above, most of all, various parenting styles were found to be differently associated with the quality of the parent-young adult child relationship as well as the emerging adults' outcomes (Johnson et al., 2010; Kins, Beyers, Soenens, & Vansteenkiste, 2009; Kumar & Mattanah, 2016). For example, authoritative/autonomy-supporting parents had emerging adult children with more positive outcomes on parent-child closeness, self-worth, and interpersonal relationship, compared to children from families with an authoritarian parenting style (Fingerman et al., 2012). On the flipside, authoritarian/controlling parenting style was related to low levels of parent-child closeness, high levels of mental distress and risky behaviors such as substance abuse (Nelson et al., 2011; Schwartz et al., 2009). Therefore, parent-child relationship during the child launching period is especially affected by the parents' perceptions of and attitudes towards parenting practices, which are frequently mediated by the emerging adult children's adjustment to developmental challenges.

Marital and couple relationship. Regarding marital relationship, married parents during the child launching period usually reported an improvement in marital quality and satisfaction as they were relieved of the parenting burden (Dennerstein, Dudley, & Guthrie, 2002; Umberson et al., 2010). Also, the increased marital satisfaction endured even long after the transition to an empty nest (Gorchoff, John, & Helson, 2008; Hagen & DeVries, 2004). In specific, Nagy and Theiss (2013) found marital or couple relationship changes in the themes of couple time, communication, privacy, and freedom. In line with other research (Gorchoff et al., 2008), the transitional period of child launching was involved with an increased enjoyment of time with partners as well as increased communication with each other. Even though they experienced

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some relational uncertainties around new roles and identities, and anxiety about dependency and growing older, midlife couples generally appreciated their new beginnings (Nagy & Theiss, 2013). Furthermore, fewer work-family conflicts could have contributed to the increased marital satisfaction (Bookwala, 2012).

In the meantime, some research revealed that marital quality and satisfaction among midlife parents were related to child launching patterns. In a study on parents with boomerang kids, Mitchell and Gee (1996) found that when adult children returned multiple times after initial home leaving, the parents felt less satisfied with their marital relationship. Likewise, a longitudinal study also confirmed that mothers had improvement in their positive mood and well-being in the first year after the transition to an empty nest period, but after children's returning home they tended to report reduced sexual activities (Dennerstein et al., 2002).

In contrast to reports of increased marital quality, however, some studies have found that the transition to an empty nest could increase the risk of marital dissolution (Hiedemann, Suhomlinova, & O'Rand, 1998; Hilton & Anderson, 2009). Orbuch et al. (1996) showed that marital satisfaction reached the lowest level during the midlife since it has decreased during the early years of marriage. The low quality of marital relationship was often related to various midlife stressors such as child launching and empty nesting, caring for aging parents, and retirement issues. Moreover, many couples were found to have stayed in unsatisfactory marriage to wait child launching phase for the sake of children's benefit (Hiedemann et al., 1998). As they reappraise the relationship, likewise, an increasing number of midlife women in western countries have reported they considered divorce after their child launching (Degges-White & Myers, 2006; Sakranda, 2005). However, some protective factors (e.g., positive appraisal from family members, rewarding experience which provides a sense of control over one's life, or

social support) may contribute to family resilience in the midlife marital relationship (Huber et al., 2010).

Relationship with older parents. Caregiving for older parents is another role of adults in midlife. Recent studies showed that there is an increasing number of middle aged parents who have young adult children and living parents at the same time. This phenomenon is mostly due to the expanded life expectancy of older generation and the prolonged period of emerging adulthood of children (Igarashi, Hooker, Coehlo, & Manoogian, 2013). As a result, the role as a double caregiver – the so-called sandwich generation – has become common, which is known to be associated with various commitments and stresses (Grundy & Henretta, 2006). In addition to the caregiving burden, it is noteworthy that caregiving experiences are still highly gendered, and women's caregiving responsibility differs by cultural backgrounds of ethnic groups (Mitchell & Lai, 2014; Wiemers & Bianchi, 2015). For example, Korean older immigrants preferred physical proximity of daughters rather than sons, which moderated their depressive symptoms (Oh, Ardel, & Koropecky-Cox, 2017). Despite the caregiving burden for older parents, many middle aged women reported that death of parents had more serious long-term psychological impacts to them than other midlife challenges (Dare, 2011).

Conclusion

Despite the popular depiction of midlife crisis, previous research suggested positive pictures of midlife adults who were relatively well adjusted to various changing commitments and stressful life events (Lachman et al., 2015). This period was described as a sense of freedom, peace of mind, self-acceptance, and life experience. Concerns about future old age, however, were still prevalent among them (Dolberg & Ayalon, 2017).

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During the child launching period, psychological responses and relationship changes among midlife parents varied depending on the host of individual and environmental factors. Many parents were found to fare well, reporting the relatively positive adjustment to the life transitions. But a significant number of others showed the psychological and relational turbulence in the relationship with their adult children and/or partners. Especially, the latter cases may be explained by cumulative effects of stressful life events associated with psychosocial, interpersonal, and financial issues. Especially, the double care-giving burden of middle-aged women in the sandwich generation may affect other interpersonal relationships. Therefore, complex meanings attached to midlife may need further examination of multiple levels of factors around midlife parents' experiences.

Parenting in Cultural Context

Parenting has been widely studied in the fields of education and family science because of its association with child development. The existing literature explores various aspects of parenting styles, practices, behaviors, beliefs, attitudes, and cognition. Parenting is not only a way of nurturing children but also an important channel to transmit cultural values to the next generation through family socialization (Calzada, Fernandez, & Cortes, 2010; Chao, 2001). From the life course perspective, at the same time, culture as a shared belief system affects an individual's behaviors and decision-making. Thus, culture may play an important role in the sense that parenting beliefs and values affect parenting styles and practices.

To understand parenting styles in cultural context, the first section will introduce an influential model of parenting style, and discuss the applicability of the western model to culturally diverse parenting styles. In the following section, I will contrast culturally specific experiences in different parenting cultures through concrete examples from South Korean and

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European American parents. Finally, Korean American parenting in the two cultural contexts will be discussed through the lens of intersectionality.

Parenting Style Model

In the existing research literature, Baumrind's (1966) categorization of parenting styles and behaviors has been most widely used. Focusing on characteristics of parental authority, this parenting style model described three types of authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive parenting. Based on Baumrind's initial model, Maccoby and Martin (1983) expanded the model by cross-tabulating two basic aspects of parenting (i.e., acceptance/responsiveness and demandingness/control), resulting in four parenting styles, with adding uninvolved parenting style. More specifically, the authoritative parenting style involves warmth and responsiveness in parenting practice while holding high expectations for children. Authoritative parents clearly communicate with children about the expectations and rules, and administer discipline in a consistent and rational manner (Baumrind, 1991). By contrast, authoritarian parenting style is characterized as high levels of behavioral and emotional controlling of children (e.g., monitoring, rule setting, or punishment) with low levels of warmth. Authoritarian parents claim strong parental authority over the child, and rarely allow children's input in making decisions (Baumrind, 1991). In addition to the two contrasting parenting styles, parents with a permissive parenting style are non-demanding and avoid control, but offer parental warmth towards the children. Finally, uninvolved parents are disengaged with children, showing low levels on both parenting dimensions of responsiveness/warmth and controlling/disciplining (Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

According to this parenting style framework, authoritative parenting was regarded as the ideal type which promoted children's independence and competence, and yielded better

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outcomes in all domains of academic performance, social behaviors, and emotional well-being (Baumrind, 1991; Park et al., 2010; Rubin & Chung, 2006). Authoritative parenting style was also found to be beneficial for close parent-child relationships and reduced parent-child conflicts (Park et al., 2010). In the recent research on confrontive versus coercive parenting styles, Baumrind (2012) clarified the definition of authoritative parenting, while they confirmed the more positive effects of confrontive parenting on children's outcomes compared to coercive parental control (Sorkhabi & Middaugh, 2014).

Parenting Styles and Culture

Baumrind's parenting style model, however, has been criticized as only applicable to middle-class European American families. That is, studies with diverse samples found inconsistent results for non-European Americans (e.g., Chao & Otsuki-Clutter, 2011; Fu & Markus, 2014). Even though parenting styles in non-Western cultures were often described as authoritarian, for example, parents in ethnic minority groups have been found to use culturally specific types of parental control with high levels of protectiveness (Domenech Rodriguez, Donovan, & Crowley, 2009). With respect to child outcomes of different parenting styles, authoritarian parenting (e.g., corporal punishment, yelling, or shaming) did not yield more negative effects on child behaviors than authoritative parenting styles in cultures where the parent's harsh discipline was culturally normative (Gershoff et al, 2010). Thus, shaming as a way of disciplining was less harmful among Chinese children than among Canadian children (Helwig, To, Wang, Liu, & Yang, 2014) because the disciplinary parenting style was culturally acceptable in the Chinese society. Other studies demonstrated the positive effects of an authoritarian Asian parenting style which fostered children's educational and social achievement (Chao, 2001; Hsin & Xie, 2014). Those studies suggested, therefore, that parenting beliefs and

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values are important to the construction, perception, and exhibition of parenting styles and practices, and the effects of parenting style greatly depended on the cultural and social contexts where the parenting beliefs and practices are constructed (Chao, 2001; Smetana, 2017).

The culture and social environments in which families reside impact beliefs about parenting goals and strategies, which subsequently shape actual parenting behaviors (Rubin & Chung, 2006). Thus, parenting goals, values, practices and parent-child interactions vary from culture to culture (Bornstein et al, 2015; Deater-Deckard et al., 2011). In western culture (e.g., the United States) influenced by individualistic social values, the desired parenting goals are centered on raising independent and socially competent individuals. Contrastingly, traditional Asian families in a collectivistic culture usually emphasize interdependence, emotional self-control, and conformity (Kurasaki, Okazaki, & Sue, 2002). Such cultural values are usually transmitted into parenting practices in the forms of educational expectation (Goyette & Xie, 1999), training (Chao, 1994), and success frame (Lee & Zhou, 2014). Selecting Korean parenting culture as an example of a non-Western parenting style, the following section compares the parenting styles of Korean parents and European American parents in order to show the ways in which culture shapes different parenting beliefs and practices.

Korean vs. European American Parenting Style

Under the influence of Confucianism, in South Korea interpersonal relationships and social structure are highly collectivistic and hierarchal, which in turn affect family values and parenting orientations. That is, Korean parents emphasize filial piety, respecting elders, fulfilling one's obligations, and caring for others (Park & Chesla, 2007). Even though traditional and modern family values coexist in contemporary Korean society, hierarchal and patriarchal family values are still dominant and have strong influences on child-rearing values and practices among

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Korean parents (Chung, Chung, Kim, & Park, 2007; Ryu, 2007). Such Korean cultural values strictly prescribe parents' roles and responsibilities for children, which should be responded by children's responsibilities toward parents. This cultural background of parenting differs from parenting culture in the United States where interpersonal relationships are more horizontal, and individualistic social values are prevalent. In the U.S., most social roles (e.g., parenting roles) are not so much culturally prescribed as they can be negotiated among individuals (Tamis-LeMonda & McFadden, 2010).

In Korean culture, parental devotion to children is one of the most important social virtues, and Korean parents strongly perceive their responsibility to teach and guide their children. The parental attentiveness to childcare usually begins even during pregnancy (the so-called Taegyo; prenatal child education; Lee, Lee, & Tulo, 2016). Korean parents, in general, highly invest in parenting and child education (Park, Byun, & Kim, 2011). For example, a study of Korean parental attitudes towards children's education revealed that Korean parents' goals are mainly focused on their children's academic achievement as they considered education necessary to achieve a successful life for their children (Yang & Shin, 2008). In this vein, Korean parents especially were found to feel significant cultural pressure to perform well as parents, which was frequently associated with low levels of parenting competence (Han & Hong, 2000). According to a comparative study of different parenting cultures, among mothers in six countries (Argentina, Belgium, France, Italy, Japan, and the U.S) European American mothers reported the highest level of confidence in their parenting (Bornstein et al., 1998). American parenting culture emphasizes personal competence with respect to self-perception and parenting goals, which could explain this result (Tamis-LeMonda & McFadden, 2010).

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Another important aspect of Korean parenting is that traditional gender roles in Korea ascribe the first responsibility of parenting to women (Kwon & Roy, 2007). Due to the Korean notion of parental devotion to children, Korean mothers frequently have difficulties balancing multiple social roles in the family and workplace (Cho et al., 2016). Compared with fathers, Korean mothers considered children their first priority rather than their personal life (Han, 2007). Cho et al. (2016) pointed out some underlying social and cultural contexts (e.g., lack of childcare facilities and gender inequality in family and workplace), which added more challenges for Korean mothers. In contrast, the individualistic culture and better gender equality in American society (e.g., Greenfield & Suzuki, 1998; Tamis-LeMonda & McFadden, 2010), suggest that European American mothers would be unlikely to focus on parenting to the exclusion of their other roles.

In summary, there exist salient differences between Korean and American parenting cultures, which influence various aspects of parenting styles and behaviors. Thus, western parenting models cannot be simply applied to explain culturally unique Korean parenting style and its outcomes in children and parent-child relationship. Based on the cultural differences in parenting styles, the next section discusses parenting style and practice in Korean American families who are living in two cultural contexts.

Korean Immigrant Parents and their Parenting Experiences

Immigration changes the environmental settings where families are embedded. While Korean immigrant parents raise their children in the U.S., they may encounter differences in parenting norms between the two cultures. As with other ethnic minorities, additionally, Korean immigrant parents must navigate dynamic experiences in the interacting contexts of various social identities in American society. Therefore, I particularly employ the lens of

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intersectionality to understand between-group diversity as well as within-group heterogeneity in parenting and immigration experiences (May, 2015). By exploring the research findings on Korean immigrant parents in family and immigration studies, this section aims to highlight the ways in which parenting and immigration experiences are intertwined with the social categories of ethnicity, class, and gender in the structure of power relations. These complex interactions can only be fully understood through the lens of intersectionality.

Korean American Parenting Style

Parenting in an immigration context usually reflects the unique cultural and social settings affected by both countries' cultural values and social norms (i.e., parents' country of origin and the hosting country). By claiming full responsibilities for children's outcomes, like Korean parents, Korean American parents were found to exhibit parental authority as a way of loving their children (Cote, Kwak, Putnick, Chung, & Bornstein, 2015). And, Korean immigrant parents actively engage in children's education and emphasize children's academic success (Kang et al., 2010). As a result, many studies have attributed Korean American students' high academic achievement to their parents' authoritarian parenting style (Lui & Rollock, 2013; Park et al., 2010; Sung, 2010).

In the meantime, Korean immigrant parents also utilize and adopt American ways of parenting in combination with aspects of their heritage culture. For instance, research on younger Korean immigrant parents with little kids found that the parents had a warm and accepting parenting style (e.g., more kissing/hugging or more autonomy to children than Korean parents do) with appropriate parental control (Kim, Im, Nahm, & Hong, 2012). With respect to disciplining children, young Korean American parents also employed American ways of disciplining children such as removing privileges or using timeouts, rather than harsh

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disciplinary methods such as spanking (Kim & Hong, 2007). Thus, Korean American parents displayed more parental affection, maintained open communication, and negotiated mutual decision-making with children, compared to Korean parents (Kim et al., 2012; Kim, Knudson-Martin, & Tuttle, 2014).

However, Korean immigrant parents who belong to middle to older ages tended to hold traditional family values more strongly such as emphasis on filial piety and family cohesion (Ahn et al., 2008; Park, 2012). Based on their belief about the importance of education deeply rooted in traditional Korean culture, furthermore, Korean immigrant parents' experience as an ethnic minority in American society reified their aspiration for their children's educational success because they believed education was the only way to achieve upward social mobility (Lee & Zhou, 2014). However, culturally Americanized children in the U.S. education system and social environment often challenge parental and familial pressures (Kang et al., 2010). In this circumstance, many studies with Korean American college students found that Korean immigrant children perceived their parent's parenting styles as intensive, controlling, and even authoritarian, which was associated with a high level of psychological distress among them (Ahn et al., 2008; Kang et al., 2010; Lee & Zhou, 2014). The intergenerational conflicts within Korean immigrant families were found in many other issue areas including dating, marriage, and career decision making (Ahn et al., 2008; Park et al., 2010).

As shown, parenting styles are differently perceived, constructed, and practiced by age group and immigration generation. The variability of parenting styles among Korean American parents can be further understood by examining various factors influencing their parenting beliefs and experiences in the immigration context: the acculturation modes, immigration stressors, socio-economic background, and gender ideology.

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Acculturation Modes

Although there exist individual differences, some negotiation and reconstruction of parenting style in immigration context occur in the process of acculturation. According to the studies which compared parenting styles among Korean, European American, and Korean American parents, for example, Korean American parents reported more individualistic value orientation (Park, Joo, Quiroz, & Greenfield, 2015) and more positive parenting cognition (Cote et al., 2015) than Korean parents as a result of acculturation to American parenting values.

To a large extent, the acculturation strategy of how parents relate to their culture of origin as well as to the host culture can be expected to affect the parent-child relationship through various parenting styles. With regard to the acculturation strategy, Berry (2003) proposed that there are four ways ethnic minorities can associate with their host culture: assimilation (identifying primarily with the dominant culture and diminishing the significance of their own culture), marginalization (rejecting both their own and the hosting culture), separation (mainly holding on to their original culture and avoiding the other culture), and integration (pursuing biculturalism through maintaining the original culture and selectively acquiring some aspects of the hosting culture). Using the model of acculturation, some studies found that more assimilated or integrated Asian immigrant parents adopted relatively Americanized child-rearing attitudes and behaviors and tended to encourage their children similar to European American families (Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000; Patel, Power, & Bhavnagri, 1996). Likewise, Korean immigrant mothers who used more praise and encouragement as a way of parenting showed higher level of American acculturation, and in turn their children had fewer psychological and behavioral difficulties (Seo, Cheah, & Hart, 2017). On the flip side, other studies demonstrated that the Korean immigrant parents' controlling parenting style was closely related to their low

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level of assimilation to American culture, and significantly predicted family conflicts between parents and young adult children (Ahn et al., 2008; Park et al., 2010).

With regard to acculturation, the different modes or pace between parents and children have more profound impacts on the immigrant family life, including intergenerational relationship quality. The acculturative gap involves parenting stress among Korean immigrant parents (Yoo & Vonk, 2012), which intersects with language barriers, social discrimination, and lack of social and financial resources.

Immigration Stressors: Language Barriers, Social Discrimination, and Lack of Social Support

While raising their children in the U.S., immigrant parents encounter various immigration stressors. Among them, challenges of unfamiliar social and educational system and insufficient English proficiency were most frequently reported stressors by immigrant parents. In a study with Korean parents with adolescents (Choi, Dancy, & Lee, 2013), for example, parents reported frustration as they could not advocate for their children when the children had troubles at school or in peer relationships, which were mostly due to language barriers and the lack of knowledge about American social systems. As a result, they often felt guilty, incapable, and powerless as a parent.

For the parents with limited English skills, their immigrant children often act as a language brokers, interpreting and translating for their parents in a variety of settings (Chao, 2006). Language brokering by children was found to lead to the children's parentification (Weisskirch, 2010) and the heightened conflicts between parents children (Chao, 2006). Moreover, as children came to learn about financial and legal problems of their parents, Korean immigrant children maintained internalized injury with respect to their low socio-economic

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status (Kwon, 2014). Although some studies highlighted positive aspects of language brokering such as children's respect for parents and appreciation of parental sacrifice and maintenance of heritage culture (Kang & Larson, 2014; Shen, Kim, Wang, & Chao, 2014), the loss of parental authority might be a stressor in parenting practice among Korean immigrant parents.

In addition, the perceived discrimination that immigrant parents experience also involved a significant level of distress in immigration. Despite enhanced multiculturalism in American society, various implicit and explicit forms of discrimination in workplaces, public institutions (e.g., health care, social services) or even personal relationships still exist (Lee, 2003; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). As Lee and Zhou (2014) pointed out, social discrimination has magnified the parental and familial pressures on younger generation's academic success because the parents want their children to achieve higher social position through educational attainment and to not experience similar social discrimination that they have experienced.

Despite the increase of immigration stress, most immigrant parents had difficulties in finding social support or resources and accessing institutional assistance to appropriately deal with the stressors (Oh, Koeske, & Sales, 2002; Park & Bernstein, 2008). This is because immigrant parents are separated from their familiar social systems and do not know the U.S. social systems well.

Socio-economic Backgrounds and Resources

While Korean immigrant parents are missing social networks and resources in the U.S., their parenting practices are more complicated with socio-economic status of the family. In previous literature, racial/ethnic and immigrant disparities in parental support (e.g., financial support and receiving advice from parents about education or employment) were explained by family socioeconomic resources (Hardie & Seltzer, 2016). In this vein, much of the educational

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success of Asian American children was attributed to positive parenting based on favorable family background characteristics as a model minority group (Goyette & Xie, 1999; Kao, 1995). However, some scholars challenged the model minority stereotype about Asian American students with disaggregating the Asian American population by country of origin and class, and they pointed out relatively high poverty rate among Asian Americans (Macartney, Bishaw, & Fontenot, 2013). For example, some studies on Korean immigrant youths in the inner city area demonstrated that low socioeconomic status due to immigration and lack of social support systems were barriers to their successful educational achievement and adjustment in the hosting country (Lew, 2006; Yeh, Kim, Pituc, & Atkins, 2008).

On the other hand, other research found that intensive Korean American parenting style and high level of parental support and involvement for children override their disadvantages of low socioeconomic class (Lee & Zhou, 2014). Regardless of their socioeconomic status, Korean immigrant parents made full use of personal and co-ethnic community resources for their children's career success (Zhou & Kim, 2006). Low-income Korean immigrants were more likely to utilize ethnic network for education (e.g., SAT prep) -- especially through Korean immigrant church -- than even Chinese Americans (Park, 2012). Interestingly, the high level of parental support and involvement are not necessarily translated into the quality relationship between parents and adult children in Asian immigrant families (Ahn et al., 2008; Park et al., 2010).

Gender Relations

Acculturation might affect traditional gendered perception of childrearing responsibility. According to Im, Kim, and Sung (2014), Korean immigrant working mothers who adopted American parenting culture showed a greater role balance in work-family relations than mothers

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in South Korea. Another study showed, however, Korean American mothers felt less satisfied with their parenting and report lower degree of parenting competence than European American mothers (Cote et al., 2015). These findings can be explained by some research on cultural influences of Korean Confucianism which was still working as gender-based oppression as traditional Confucian ethics affected Korean immigrant mother's parenting role expectation and attitudes (Choi & Kim, 2012; Yun, 2013).

With respect to fathering, previous studies showed that Korean American fathers displayed more authoritarian parenting style than mothers (Kim, 2008). This is in line with other studies on parenting style of Asian fathers who tried to control and discipline their children in immigration contexts (Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2009). Among others, Vietnamese adolescents tended to perceive that their fathers did not acculturate to Western culture regardless of time spent in the United States, and their fathers continued to use the traditional authoritarian parenting style that is prevalent in Asian culture (Nguyen, 2008).

Overall, in addition to cultural background of Korean heritage, immigration experiences of Korean American parents – including acculturation mode, ethnic minority position, class, and gender – are all intertwined with patterns of parenting and family interactions in complex ways. Although Korean cultural values may underlie Korean immigrant parents' parenting styles, their parenting style cannot be simply categorized as authoritarian. Parenting style 'varies depending on the social milieu in which the family is embedded' (Darling & Steinberg, 1993, p. 487). It is important to capture critical intersectionality among the influencing factors on Korean American family values and parenting practices, which helps understanding the complex family dynamics in Korean American families.

The Present Study

Based on the literature review, the present study responded to current research gaps in understanding middle aged Korean immigrant parents' experience during the child launching period. More specifically, this study focused on the intergenerational relationship and the role of parenting styles and beliefs during the child launching life transition.

Research Gaps

This study addresses the paucity of research on midlife adults in general. According to 2010 U.S. census data, middle-aged adults (ages 45 to 64) made up 26.4% of the U.S. population (81.5 million), which increased by 31.5% compared to the 2000 data (Howden & Meyer, 2010). As a part of the working-age population, adults in their midlife hold important roles in family and society. At the same time, they also face various life transition events. Middle age is an important but complex period when midlife adults manage personal growth and decline while bridging their earlier life experience and later life qualities. Despite the importance of developmental tasks and challenges among midlife adults, however, this middle-aged population has gained relatively little scholarly attention in the field of family science.

By focusing on the specific developmental task of child launching, the proposed study also tackles the relatively scarce attention in academia to a cultural approach to family dynamics during parents' midlife transition (Dolberg & Ayalon, 2017; Kloep & Hendry, 2010). Previous research suggested that child launching often generated positive feelings (e.g., childrearing stress relief), negative feelings (e.g., losing parental role), or ambivalent mixed feelings to the parents (e.g., ambivalence about "letting them go" and "holding them on"; Dare, 2011; Kloep & Hendry, 2010; Sheriff & Weatherall, 2009). Differing from the research findings among western populations, however, a growing body of research has examined culturally different experiences

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of parents in Asian countries and ethnic minority groups in western countries with regard to their child launching experiences (Guo et al., 2016; Mitchell & Lovegreen, 2009; Wang et al., 2013; Wu et al., 2010; Zhai et al., 2015). For example, after their children left home, Chinese parents reported poorer familial and social relationships (Wu et al., 2010) and showed more depressive symptoms and anxiety compared to their counterparts with children at home (Wang et al., 2013; Zhai et al., 2015). Also, many Korean mothers were found to use a helicopter parenting style (i.e., a form of intensive parental control; Odenweller et al., 2014; Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012) even when their adult children moved out of the family home (Kwon, Yoo, & Bingham, 2016). According to Mitchell and Lovegreen (2009), Chinese and Asian Indian immigrant parents in Canada were more likely to report experiencing negative psychological symptoms than parents from other ethnic groups. Further research found that ethnic group norms such as collectivist family cultural system influenced the psychological perceptions of the child leaving and pathways during the child launching period (Mitchell & Wister, 2015).

The research literature suggests that cultural context must be considered for better understanding of parental experiences during child launching with respect to possible life course transitions for parents. Moreover, the cultural approach is crucial to studying parent-adult child relationship, especially related to parenting style and parental practice during the child's transition to adulthood. For instance, several studies have shown that autonomy-supportive parenting facilitated children's individuation and adjustment to independence (Kins et al., 2009; Koepke & Denissen, 2012).

Previous studies mainly discussed the relationship between parenting styles and the well-being or adjustment of children in the emerging adulthood; however, there is a paucity of research on the effects of such family development on parents. Kloep and Hendry (2010) are

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among the few researchers to date who have paid attention to parenting styles and the ways in which parents cope with this important transition in their own lives and its impact on their family role perceptions. In their study of different parenting styles during the child launching period, most parents were found to have perceived difficulties in 'letting go' of their young adult children and they showed various ways of dealing with the transition. The process and mechanisms in forming various responses of parents to child launching and the related family dynamics need to be researched in more diverse structural contexts (e.g., the contexts of ethnic culture and minority positions; Kloep & Hendry, 2010).

Research Question and Conceptual Model

This study aims to explore Korean immigrant parents' child launching experiences, focusing on intergenerational relationship and parenting style during the life transition. Guided by the theoretical frameworks of family development and family systems theories from the life course perspective, this study will answer the research question of "how do Korean immigrant parents make sense of their parenting and describe their relationship with children during the child launching period?"

[Insert figure 1: the conceptual model]

While midlife parents experience various challenges in general, Korean immigrant parents are particularly known to have significant relationship turbulence with their adult children due to their controlling parenting style and intergenerational acculturative gaps (Ahn et al., 2008; Kang et al., 2010; Lee & Zhou, 2014; Park et al., 2010). Intergenerational conflicts may have profound effects on parents' adjustment to life changes and well-being in middle and later life. For example, some studies found that the Asian immigrant parents feel more loneliness and are less satisfied with their relationship with adult children compared to non-Asian

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populations (Mui & Kang, 2006; Wong et al., 2006). Despite the importance of midlife transition and family well-being during this period, Korean immigrant parents' own accounts of the child launching experience and their parenting in the immigration context are little known.

The integrated theoretical framework which was suggested above supports the research objectives of this study by providing a lens to understand family process among Korean immigrant parents and children during the period of life transition. In specific, the developmental challenges during the child launching period and the socio-cultural contexts within which immigrants' lives are embedded constitute important factors in understanding the childrearing and child launching experiences of Korean immigrant parents. Within the broader socio-cultural context, Korean immigrant parents negotiate and construct their parenting styles and practices. As a result, the subsystem relationship between parent and adult children may be influenced by the ways in which Korean immigrant parents respond to a range of personal perceptions, family environment, and socio-cultural norms. Upon child launching, especially, the parents' thoughts about and response to their midlife experiences can illustrate their past and present life trajectory.

In summary, the current study addressed the importance of unique cultural dimensions of midlife parents' relationship with their adult children within Korean immigrant families. In doing so, this study aims to explore parental experience of child launching and to understand the challenges and adjustments in midlife parenting of children in emerging adulthood. For the research objectives, I designed a qualitative exploratory study of which research method and procedure will be described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3. METHOD

This study aimed to explore Korean immigrant parents' child launching experiences and to examine their parenting approach and relationship with their children in emerging adulthood. Thus, the research questions to be answered were 'how do middle aged Korean immigrant parents make sense of their parenting?' and 'how do they describe their relationship with children during their child launching period?' To examine these questions, a qualitative study was designed to collect the lived experiences of midlife Korean American parents. Semi-structured face-to-face interviews with Korean immigrant mothers were conducted to collect data about various aspects of past parenting and current child launching experience, parental perception of children's adulthood, intergenerational relationships (e.g., communication, conflict, and parental supports), and challenges in the immigration context.

In specific, a qualitative method of phenomenological approach was used to collect and analyze the data. In this chapter, the detailed procedure (i.e., sampling, recruitment, and data collection) and analytical strategy will be described. For the proof of rigorous research, I will also discuss my positionality as a researcher and the ways in which I established the trustworthiness of the current study.

Qualitative Research Method: Theoretical Foundation

The integrated theoretical framework of family development, family systems, and life course theory which was described in the previous chapter of literature review has methodologically informed this exploratory qualitative study of child launching experiences among Korean immigrant parents. In specific, the theory driven research design is useful to explore dynamic relationships among family members (i.e., parent-child subsystems) focusing on changes and contexts in family development.

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A qualitative research has merits in this study for following reasons. Firstly, as the current study utilizes the theoretical concepts of family systems such as holism, interdependency, reciprocity, boundaries, and subsystems, the research question of this study can be answered through relatively unstructured research methods in collecting and analyzing data (Emery, 2014). It is particularly relevant in a sense that family relations are based on complex systems of emotion (Emery, 2014), which cannot be measured simply by demographic or social variables. Secondly, a qualitative study is useful to examine the diverse cultural dimensions in family life. As this study is concerned with, the variability and intersectionality of race/ethnicity, gender, class, and other social categories need to be examined with deeper and richer accounts of phenomena using qualitative data (Weisner, 2014). Through a qualitative inquiry, that is, we can better understand variations in family norms and beliefs, and successfully capture and interpret experiences in contexts across the demographic and analytic categories (Ganong & Coleman, 2014). Thirdly, to achieve the research goals of this study, we need to gain participants' trust and rapport, which is a strength of qualitative inquiry. Such qualitative research also enables to employ various qualitative sources of narrative texts, field notes, or observations (Braithwaite, Moore, & Abetz, 2014).

Based on the methodological merits of qualitative research, all the processes of the current study including participant sampling and recruitment, interview questions, and data analysis were framed by the major theoretical principles of the pertinent theories. For instance, theoretical sampling has defined the research participants in consideration of development stage (e.g., child launching and emerging adulthood) as well as socio-cultural contexts (e.g., first-generation of U.S. immigrants). Also, the interview questions addressed the life course perspective with collecting the narratives of parents about their past and current parenting

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experience (i.e., life trajectory) and their relationship with young adult children (i.e., linked lives). Throughout the research process, more importantly, I have tried to maintain reflexivity on the interactions between a researcher (me) and my research participants, which is methodologically consistent with linked lives of the life course perspective.

Phenomenological Approach

This study utilized a phenomenological approach as one of the qualitative research methods. A phenomenological approach, just like most qualitative research methods, promotes an inductive reasoning in data collection and analysis, and aims to generate in-depth description of the ways in which people experience the phenomena of research interest (Smith, 2011). That is, the phenomenological method focuses on the lived experience of individuals and investigates how people perceive and make sense of their experience. Research topics in phenomenological studies usually cover the unique experience of a group of individuals, and research questions are framed broadly and openly so that the study explores the area of interest flexibly and in detail.

The primary goal of the phenomenological approach, thus, is finding the essence of the experience (or phenomenon) through the interpretation of data. For this purpose, a researcher should enter the world of a research participant, and a participant's own perspective is emphasized. A bracketing strategy is usually adopted to achieve the goal of putting aside preconception or prior beliefs that a researcher had about the phenomenon. This is a strategy to separate the dual hermeneutic interpretations of phenomena; one is the interpretation by the individual being researched, and the other one is the interpretation by a researcher. In doing so, the phenomena can speak out by themselves and the essential meaning of the experience can be captured (Smith, 2011; Thackery & Eatough, 2015; Wertz et al., 2011).

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In the previous studies, phenomenological approach was often applied to problems in health and healthcare research which examined emic perspectives of patients and caregivers (Biggerstaff & Thompson, 2008; McGregor, Dickson, Flowers, Hayes, & O'Carroll, 2014). More importantly, the phenomenological approach is well suited to research problems theoretically framed by the life course perspective. For example, phenomenological analysis enabled to find the meaning of young adults' re-entry to society and their transition to adulthood after incarceration (Arditti & Parkman, 2011). Using the phenomenological approach which actively engaged in participants' lives, Thackeray and Eatough (2014) also successfully described the nuanced and contextualized accounts of maternal experience of parenting a young adult child with a developmental disability from the life course perspective.

Phenomenological approach also supported research problems around culture in general and migration and acculturation in particular -- with finding the meaning of social identities and roles in changing and complexed cultural contexts. In the studies of Korean American families, for example, the meaning of cultural values (e.g., filial piety) in family caregiving (Han, Choi, Kim, Lee, & Kim, 2008; Park, 2012), life transitions of pregnancy and child birth (Lee, 2013; Suk, 2011), acculturation and social adjustment (Lee & Koro-Ljungberg, 2007; Shin & Shin, 1999), and parenting and parent-child relationship in the midst of facilitating children's academic success (Yang & Rettig, 2003; Yang & Rettig, 2005) were some frequent topics of research where a phenomenological approach has been employed. Especially, parenting experiences of Korean immigrant parents who had children with mental health issues were investigated using the phenomenological method, which found the essential structure of unique cultural dimensions of parenting experience in the U.S., including unfamiliarity to the U.S. mental health system,

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discrimination and cultural sensitivity in society, and the challenges of acculturation and adjustment (Ahn, Miller, Wang, & Laszloffy, 2014; Donnelly, 2005).

Along the methodological implications of phenomenological approach, likewise, this study of parental experience of child launching in immigration context employed a phenomenological approach throughout the entire research process with exploring the lived experience of Korean immigrant parents. The detailed research procedure will be described in the following section.

Research Procedure

Sampling and Recruitment

Using the phenomenological purposive sampling method, eligible study participants were required to match specific inclusion criteria. Firstly, the participants must be first generation Korean immigrants. First generation means people who were foreign born (i.e. born in Korea), immigrated to the U.S. after they were 18 years old, and were culturally socialized in their home country (Rumbaut, 2004). Study participants may have any immigration status including permanent residents, any type of U.S. visa status, or undocumented. For privacy protection, participants were not asked for their legal immigration status. Secondly, participants must reside in the metropolitan area of New York City and New Jersey. This qualification confirmed their similar living environments in an urban area and close to ethnic enclaves, not only for the practical consideration of interview research. Thirdly, study participants were parents with at least one child in the age ranges from eighteen to thirty. This criterium ensured that the children were in emerging adulthood and the parents were in the child launching period. Although some previous literature defined emerging adulthood as the age group between eighteen and twenty-five, the recent trends of prolonged education and financial issues among young adults extended

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the period until thirty (Arnett, Zukauskienė, & Sugimura, 2014), which this study adopted as an age eligibility.

Study participants were recruited by word of mouth using my personal network as well as through contacting Korean American organizations in the yellow pages (e.g., Korean cultural centers and local Korean churches). Especially, when I contacted the targeting organizations, I asked site approvals (Appendix A) for posting recruitment flyers (Appendix B) and for sending recruitment letters to prospective participants (Appendix C). Upon the site approval, the recruitment flyers posted in the designated places. After a period of initial recruitment, snowballing referrals were also utilized (Etikan, Alkassim, & Abubakar, 2016). All referred individuals received the recruitment letters (Appendix C) for the invitation to this study.

Despite my initial attempt to recruit both mothers and fathers, only Korean immigrant mothers participated in the interviews. In addition to common challenges of recruiting fathers in qualitative interview research (Mitchell et al., 2007; Roy & Kwon, 2007), Korean fathers' lower engagement in parenting than mothers and my positionality as a female researcher might have consisted some barriers to access them. Thus, the modification of study sample was inevitable.

Sample Description

Ten Korean American mothers who were first-generation immigrants in the U.S. participated in the face-to-face individual interviews. Average age of our participants was 51.6 (range: 46-60) and they have lived in the U.S. for 21.7 years on average. Four mothers were currently employed in full time and three were part-time workers. All participants had college level education and above including two of them with master's degree. Nine of the participants were married for 25.6 years on average (range: 20-35), and one mother was divorced 2 years ago after 25 years of marriage. Study participants have seventeen children (male=9, female=8) with

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an average age of 23.2 (range: 19-30). Fourteen of these young adults have left home (eight for college and six for employment), and three were living with parents (one was commuting to work and two were attending adult daycare due to autism syndrome). Table 1 shows the detailed demographic information of my participants. To ensure confidentiality, I assigned pseudonyms to the participants in an alphabetical order.

[Insert table 1 here]

Data Collection

Followed by the study approval by the Montclair State University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) in July 2018 (Appendix I), I started the recruitment procedure from August 2018. And, interview data were collected for four months between September and December of 2018. More specifically, after a brief screening for eligibility through a telephone interview (Appendix D), the participants were officially invited to a face-to-face interview. Upon their oral agreement to participate in the interview, the participants chose the time and place of the interview meeting at their convenience. The interviews took place at their home, café, or public library of their choice. In the beginning of an individual interview meeting, the participants were informed of the purpose of the current study, details of the research procedure, their rights as a research participant, risks and benefits related to the study, and contact information. Those points addressed important ethical issues of research procedure, which required the participant's formal consent (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). The informed consent form is shown in Appendix E.

All the interviewees could choose an interview language of either English or Korean according to participant preference. Also, the data collection materials (e.g., recruitment flyers and letters, consent form, and interview questions) were carefully translated to ensure consistency in both languages. Appendices A through G contain two different language versions.

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Guided by the interview protocol (Appendix F) which described the interview procedure and the guides of interview questions, semi-structured interviews were conducted. Before I started an interview, I asked the participants to fill out a sheet of demographic information questionnaires (Appendix G). When necessary, I had brief conversations asking some additional explanation on their answers. The conversations around personal and family backgrounds were helpful to build rapport and trust between a researcher and an interviewee. In this manner, the interview began with general and comfortable questions such as the participant's family members, information about children (age, gender, residence, occupation, or marital status), and brief immigration history. In the later part of the interview session, I asked more sensitive and deeper questions including challenges and difficulties in parenting and parent-child relationship quality. The interview questions incorporated major issues addressed in the previous literature with respect to Korean American parenting style, immigrant parenting stressors, and intergenerational conflicts, parental supports, and communication in Korean immigrant families (Kwon et al., 2016; Yoo & Vonk, 2012). Interview questions are listed in Appendix H.

Each interview session took approximately 75 minutes on average (lasting 47 to 112 minutes) and was audio recorded. All interviews were conducted in Korean due to participants' preference. The collected data was transcribed verbatim, including pauses between sentences, laughs, tones, etc. As the interviews were conducted in Korean, the audio data were transcribed in Korean.

Data Analysis

In many previous studies which included interviews in foreign language (including Korean), data were transcribed and analyzed in the same language because it was important to retain the subtle nuances which might be lost in translation (van Nes, Abma, Jonsson, & Deeg,

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2010). In this study, likewise, the interview transcripts in Korean were analyzed in the original language of Korean, and the selected quotes to present study findings were translated into English at the later stage of analysis. For the accurate translation from Korean to English, I discussed with a faculty member who had in-depth knowledge of Korean language and culture, and she also checked the validity of the data analysis. In addition to the interview transcripts, I also incorporated all the relevant information (e.g., my own observation and field notes during the data collection) into the translation as well as the analysis. For the data analysis, I mainly used paper and pencil, which enabled to capture the nuanced interpretation of the data.

In line with a phenomenological approach, I employed a five-step method suggested by Giorgi and Giorgi (2008). In the first step, each participant's transcript was read several times while I was listening to the audio file, and was analyzed separately. The multiple readings with listening to the audio recordings were important to obtain a general sense of the whole text (Rodham, Foxb, & Doranb, 2015). With breaking down the narratives into smaller pieces, in the second step of the line-by-line coding, I identified meaning units and wrote memos on the margins of the transcript. In the next step, the meaning units with memos were transformed into more abstract concepts. This process required interpretation of each piece of meaning units from a psychological perspective. To develop the essential structure of the participant's lived experience, the fourth step was involved with a process of clustering the meaning units into some advanced levels of themes and categories. In the final step, each interview transcript was compared with the other transcripts to deepen the understandings of contextualized experiences. This thorough analytical approach could lead to connections and common themes emerging throughout all of the transcripts of participants (Wertz et al., 2011).

Validation of Research Data

Establishing trustworthiness is important to validate the current study so that research findings should accurately represent the lives, cultures, and contexts in the data without being influenced by biases. One of the strategies I used to conduct a trustworthy and rigorous study was member checking. Member checking is the most common method with a phenomenological approach to make sure that participants' experiences are accurately captured from their own point of view (Urban & van Eeden-Moorefield, 2018). Thus, I tried to ensure the credibility of the data by probing the participants' narratives during the interview sessions.

I also used an audit trail which improved confirmability of this study through a complete accounting of every part of the research process. The audit trail included the reports of all decisions made and how the decisions were made during the data collection and analysis processes. For this purpose, regular meetings with my dissertation adviser were arranged throughout the research process when I could check the right direction for the details around the data collection and analysis. In addition, research journaling, memo-ing, and reflexivity could enhance credibility of the research through critical reflection of my own values and beliefs, and monitoring bias which might influence the research process and outcomes. In the following section, I will discuss the importance of reflexivity which is related to my positionality and ethical considerations in this study.

Reflexivity and Positionality

Qualitative research data (e.g., the accounts of research participants) are usually considered constructed through the participants' social interactions and negotiated within social structures and research contexts (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Furthermore, researchers may bring various values and assumptions into their research. Employing a phenomenological approach, in

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particular, I paid special attention to a rigorous qualitative research design and procedure with clarifying my own positioning within the research contexts as well as in the relationship with participants. Throughout the research process, therefore, I made efforts to maintain the reflexivity on the positionality.

In this study, I am positioned as a native researcher who studies one's own culture and familiar topics/population to the researcher (Ghaffar-Kucher, 2015). My positionality as a native researcher implies that basically I have an insider's perspective in my research. More specifically, I was exactly qualified for my research population. As an insider to Korean culture, therefore, my own ethnicity, familiarity with the culture, and the shared experience as a middle-aged immigrant parent definitely made possible easy access to and quick rapport building with my research participants. Moreover, Korean immigrants with limited English ability were found to feel comfortable telling me their stories in their native language. More importantly, being familiar with Korean socio-cultural norms, I was aware of what to say and what to avoid in research interviews in order to improve trust and to facilitate the interview procedure. During the data analysis, I also could catch the nuanced meaning of responses from the participants. Due to the familiarity, however, I had to be aware that I might miss or overlook important points which would not have been expected due to the possible biases, and the participants might omit meaningful accounts with assuming that I would know the information (Berger, 2015). While analyzing the data, therefore, I examined the interactions that took place between the research participants and me (i.e., researcher) during the interview sessions to monitor my effects on neglecting or highlighting certain themes (Berger, 2015).

Reflexivity throughout the research process was important to ensure that I am remaining cognizant of these research challenges. Self-reflection on my research purpose, audience for the

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research, research implications for the participants, and methodological approach were useful for trustworthy and meaningful research outcomes. Such efforts may not completely dissolve the tensions and issues in the research but would address them to achieve and manage collaborative approaches between the researcher and the participants (Urban & van Eeden-Moorefield, 2018).

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS

While exploring Korean immigrant mothers' experiences during midlife transitions, this study aimed to examine their parenting practices and relationships with their children in emerging adulthood. I employed a phenomenological approach to answer the specific research questions 'how do middle aged Korean immigrant parents make sense of their parenting?' and 'how do they describe their changing relationship with young adult children during and post-launching?'. The primary goal of the phenomenological approach in this study was to find the essence of the child launching experience and parent-child relationship during the life transitions based on the interview data with Korean immigrant mothers.

The data analysis of interviews yielded study findings which were categorized into three themes: 1) reflections on past parenting experiences, 2) extended parenthood during child launching transition, and 3) evolving parent-emerging adult child relationship. There are three sub-themes within each theme.

Reflections on Past Parenting Experiences

During the midlife transition Korean immigrant mothers with young adult children tended to reflect on their past life trajectory especially related to parenting experiences in the U.S. Upon the end of day-to-day childrearing practices, the mothers often re-examined past parenting experiences and accordingly reset their relationship with young adult children. While navigating the question of "how do Korean immigrant mothers make sense of their past parenting experiences," this theme covered the ways in which study participants negotiated two different parenting cultures. In specific, Korean immigrant mothers' reflections on their past parenting experiences revealed childrearing challenges and regrets upon launching their children as well as lessons from these past experiences.

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While looking back on a couple of decades with their children, my participants expressed various emotions. Without exception, all mothers became emotional from happy memories with their children or regrets about their parenting practices, both of which often brought them to tears during the interviews. Through the analysis of their narratives, three sub-themes were identified: 1) hybridity of parenting approach, 2) parenting challenges in the immigration context, and 3) personal growth through parenting.

A Hybrid of Korean and American Parenting Approach

After immigrating to the U.S. the mothers adopted American parenting strategies which were different from their knowledge and experience in Korea. Based on traditional Korean parenting beliefs, the study participants were found to have created their own hybrid parenting approaches in the immigration context.

More specifically, while raising children in the U.S., Korean immigrant mothers' parenting beliefs were found to still be rooted in Korean culture. When they were asked about parenting goals during their childrearing, the participants reported that they had focused largely on the two main aspects of their children's education: social behaviors and academic/career success. Most of all, they strongly emphasized self-discipline, moral values and social conduct -- such as being respectful to elders and caring for others -- which were based on traditional Korean culture. For example, Dahee stated:

D: I have always stressed to live with a good manner, a good virtue. ... When it comes to [social] behavior, I was very strict. For example, when he was disrespectful or rude... I scolded him a lot.

In addition to the emphasis on behavioral aspects when educating children, academic and career success was important to the mothers because they wanted their children to be a competitive person who would be successfully integrated into U.S. society. These Korean

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immigrant mothers actively engaged in their children's education and fully supported their children financially and practically in order to ensure academic success. They considered this the most important part of parenting practices in Korean culture. Most of the study participants sent their children to learning centers for extra help with school work, and provided additional money and support (e.g., rides) for various extracurricular activities. They believed that spending money on a child's education was the best investment for the child's future.

For example, a mother of one son, Gisun, related her parenting experience during her son's elementary school years. Because her son was born after the loss of her first baby, Gisun was determined to prioritize her child's health over anything else. According to her, however, later she found herself to be "a typical Korean mom" with a fervent emphasis on education. Eventually, she fully devoted herself to support her son's tutoring and other educational enrichment activities. She stated:

G: Education was a really big part of family expenditure because I spent most of my earnings to support his learning, instead of saving them. My son agreed to do so [to participate in activities] [such as] sports, music, tutoring, and others... [for example] music lessons included oboe, piano, and drum. Sometimes we went to three different activities until 10 pm without having dinner. No time for dinner then.

As Gisun mentioned that her parental support for her child's education was based on mutual agreement with her son, many Korean mothers similarly reported that they tried to balance intensive parenting with the child's autonomous decision making. That is, the Korean immigrant mothers adopted an autonomy-supportive parenting style from American culture. My participants thought that an ideal parenting strategy was granting autonomy to children with appropriate parental control, similar to many European American parents. Thus, they utilized American parenting strategies such as open communication and mutual decision-making with children. For example, Eunji, the mother of a college senior, reported that she tried to follow

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what she had learned from a documentary film about parenting which contrasted Western vs. Korean parenting practices. She reflected that the film was very influential in her parenting because she found some merits of Western parenting style over the traditional Korean parenting approach. Thus, her method of employing Western parenting strategies was to give her son a limited number of options from which to choose without forcing a certain parental opinion. In this vein, Gisun also emphasized that open discussion with her son was an important characteristic of her parenting style. She and her son made decisions on educational issues based on mutual agreement; no matter how long the discussion took. One of the examples of mutual agreement was her practice to not check her child's school report card during the high school years.

G: I was very interested in his school work. But I noticed he was feeling stressed [when I checked his GPA]. So, I asked him, "do you want me to see your report card or not?" He said, "is it okay if you check it only when I want to show it to you?" So, I said okay. Since then I have never checked his report card.

Even though Korean immigrant mothers valued an autonomy-supportive parenting style and partially adopted American parenting strategies, they perceived their primary parental role as teaching and guiding children more than nurturing them, which was based on socio-cultural values from their upbringing in Korea. This point was well illustrated in Dahee's statement.

D: Discovering talents and encouraging strengths in children, as I have observed them since they were little, that is mom's role I believe. So, I always told him "your style is more like a researcher or a medical doctor because you like to sit down to work by yourself" as I felt like that.

In this sense, the mothers thought that good parenting meant monitoring and educating children to make the right choices for a better life. As a result, the participants eventually pushed and controlled children's behaviors according to their beliefs about parenting. To the Korean

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immigrant mothers, good parenting meant controlling children in order to guide them to achieve parental goals. Chayeon reflected on her parenting of her daughter:

C: I thought I gave her much freedom to enjoy and experience many things. But, when I let her do those things, I always controlled and set limits on her boundaries. I always accompanied her when she went out to play. You can do everything but this and that... in that way. For example, when she was a 9th grader, I said "you cannot hang out with 12th graders."

Overall, while Korean immigrant mothers were fulfilling parental roles prescribed by Korean cultural values and parenting goals, they also believed the ideal parenting strategy was to grant autonomy to children with some degree of control. Thus, these Korean immigrant mothers were adopting some aspects of American childrearing style in combination with the aspects of their heritage culture.

Parenting Challenges in the Immigration Context

When asked about parental satisfaction once their children no longer needed daily care, Korean immigrant mothers expressed mixed feelings of satisfaction and regrets about their past parenting. They were satisfied with their accomplishments as they thought their goals of raising a socially competent individual were relatively well achieved. As they recalled those days when their children were younger, however, the participants reported more regret and guilt toward children than satisfaction or pride. These responses were attributed to the participants' perception about some features of child's outcomes during this period of young adulthood. For example, the vast majority of my participants stated that their children's outcomes still did not meet their expectation in terms of career success or psychological characteristics such as confidence. Interestingly, the mothers believed that they were responsible for the child's outcomes because their support as parents was insufficient due to the following factors: limited English proficiency,

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lack of knowledge about the American education system, and an acculturative gap with their children.

Although they highly valued the quality educational opportunities that their children were afforded in the U.S., the first-generation immigrant mothers could not fully take advantage of such benefits due to the language barrier. Most of the participants reported limited English skill as a main parenting stressor. Most mothers wanted to actively engage in their child's school affairs (e.g., PTA), which they regarded as a way to learn about the American education system and help their children. But, they could only do intermittent, limited volunteering in some school activities because they were not confident communicating in English. Chayeon recalled the frustration she experienced due to her language skills.

C: The most difficult thing was related to interactions with other (American) parents and school... I had restrictions to participate in the PTA. If I were better at English, I would have worked actively in the PTA. I could not access the full information about what was going on around school and parents. It was not clear to me always.

Also, missing substantial communication with teachers and other non-Korean parents hampered the mothers' attempts to be more involved in their children's schooling. They usually had to seek help from other Korean mothers in the vicinity or online communities, but the information was not always accurate or available in a timely manner. Dahee was one of the mothers who regretted missing appropriate support for her children due to a lack of knowledge about the U.S. school system.

D: He kept saying like "school is boring. I don't like classes, too easy..." But I only told him "why don't you just have fun at school? Playing is learning." Actually his math level was so high that he didn't have any interest in math classes at school. Later, later I came to know I could have requested the school to place him in the upper level classes. I didn't know there was such a placement system in America. I just thought we should follow whatever the normal curriculum suggests. If I knew the educational system, my son wouldn't have lost interest in his studies.

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Another challenge frequently mentioned by the Korean immigrant mothers was an acculturative gap between parents and children. Even though they adopted some American parenting strategies, the mothers acknowledged that they basically maintained Korean socio-cultural values, which at times caused overt conflicts with their culturally Americanized children. More influenced by the American education system and social values, the young children used to express disagreement with their parents' guidance for decision making on academic and various life issues. For example, Fajin, confessed that her daughter still does not want to talk about dating due to her memory of a time when her mom yelled at her after misunderstanding a situation at an after-prom party. She explained that the incident became a psychological trauma to her daughter.

F: I was so conservative... I didn't like such things like a prom party. I simply took her home after the party. Maybe she wanted to hang out with her friends. While I was away, her partner came to our house, delivered something, and went back. I saw his car was coming out from my house, and I was so mad at her. I didn't listen to her excuse. That incident hurt her feelings. She never talks about her dating until now, never.

Even in the cases where there was no explicit conflict, some mothers found that some aspects of their Korean parenting approach, which imposed excessive pressure on children, might have restricted their freedom and self-confidence. Chayeon regretfully stated:

C: I directed "no! it's not good, you do this and that..." so [as results] she kept asking me what to do whenever she had to make a decision... missing confidence. [Now I think] I should have given her more self-confidence and respected her opinion and encouraged what she wanted to do. I feel sorry... I think she was a little depressed during her high school years.

Study participants also recognized that their children might have difficulties balancing two cultures (e.g., Korean at home vs. American at school). According to the mothers, the children's struggle to balance the two cultures might have been more difficult stressors than the

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mothers themselves or their children's peers from American families experienced. Bomin described in this way:

B: I raised them in my own way, but I know, my children must have it more difficult than me. While adjusting to Korean parents' style at home, they had to follow American ways of life outside. My daughter complained a lot about the problems.

Due to those challenges in an immigration context, many participants doubted if they had fulfilled their parenting job satisfactorily enough to encourage their children's potential for a better life. For example, Ayoung reported that if she could do anything differently she would deviate from some aspects of Korean parenting style.

A: Based on my own upbringing in Korea, I always tried to impose my thoughts about good behaviors to my children. Be obedient to teachers, do not make noise, keep your stuff neat, wipe out this and that... I'm not sure if I did right, but it was inevitable for me. Because of my intervening, I think, they could not turn to be creative, and they might not be able to do what they wanted to do freely...

Upon the completion of daily childrearing practices, they claimed full responsibility for their young adult children's outcomes, and expressed regret that they could not provide what they felt were appropriate supports. Overall, the Korean American mothers expressed more regret than satisfaction with their past parenting. While they appreciated their accomplishment that the children turned out to be socially competent, they still questioned whether or not their parenting had allowed their children to reach their full potential. As they were about to launch children, the mothers expressed misgivings about their past parenting behavior.

Personal Growth through Parenting

Study participants retrospectively described their parenting experience as a process which facilitated their personal growth. The Korean immigrant mothers in this study were influenced by and learned from their children, and over time felt their attitudes evolved to incorporate more American cultural aspects. After gradually coming to a better understanding of each other, Jiwon

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said her parenting experience eventually contributed to “mutual maturity” of both parents and children. As a result, these mothers reported their parenting approach has changed over time as they raised children.

Ayoung, a mother of three children, found her parenting approach had changed as she raised her children. In particular, she reported her parenting strategy differed depending on the child’s birth order.

A: As time went by, I have learned little by little [about what to do for my children]. To my first child, I strongly believed that he was mine. So, I thought I could direct him just as I wanted to make him. I disciplined him so strictly. I scolded him a lot and often, [for example] I made him practice [music] again and again until late. But, such harsh disciplining has decreased for the second and third child. I guess I came to be more moderate to realize that children can be all different individuals who should be respected. I realized that my children are not just my property, and they are gifts from God.

As such, many Korean immigrant mothers emphasized that raising children was a learning process to get to know more about their own children. In particular, Bomin mentioned that mothers should not be over-confident to believe that they will understand their children.

B: I had to admit I didn’t know all about my own child. Sometimes I was surprised to find unexpected aspects from my child. Like, [realizing] “oh, was he my son?” And, often I gave him the wrong advice without understanding his real characteristics. I simply trusted him that he would be fine in any environment, but I should have considered his style, and should have guided him to choose a smaller liberal arts college instead of such a big university. Now I came to learn about his style.

This evolution also concurred with parents’ assimilation to American culture. My participants admitted that they used to be relatively conservative while imposing traditional Korean cultural values on their children, but gradually they came to better understand American social behavior. They described the process as training to give up their stubbornness in parenting practice. As illustrated by Inhye and Hyun’s statements:

I: In the beginning, without knowing, I was sticking to my own ideas about education with which I was familiar. I had a sort of Korean standard in my mind. But, at some

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point, I realized that those standards were not relevant to my children in America. Since then, I felt [my parenting] seemed like a training for me to remove all the perceptions and standards that I had previously.

H: [I came to change my thought] Looking back, kids needed to be raised in American ways because they live in America. I, like other Korean parents, was so conservative and strict that my child could not lie down in front of the elderly, for example. But [now I think] it's okay, we don't have to think such behaviors are rude in America. I felt there were many cultural differences between my children and me. I know [forcing my own values] was not fair to them.

Based on their parenting experience in the U.S., finally, the participants advised other Korean American parents to be more flexible about parental authority and not stick to their own parenting beliefs too rigidly. Also, they recommended respecting children's opinions and listening to what they really want, which is necessary for children's healthy development and maintaining better parent-child relationships.

Conclusion

Korean immigrant mothers' reflections on their parenting experiences in the U.S. showed how they have negotiated and reconstructed their parenting approach in the immigration context. The parenting experiences of my participants revealed the unique context affected by both countries' cultural values and social norms (i.e., parents' home country and the host country). Some aspects of their parenting approach such as parenting beliefs and goals were influenced by the cultural values about education which they had brought from their home country, Korea. Meanwhile, the American culture which they adopted in the new country also affected their parenting practices and strategies. Influenced by Korean culture where parental devotion to children is one of the most important social virtues, however, the immigrant mothers were found to feel cultural pressure to perform well as parents.

The study findings showed that the acculturative gap caused parenting stress in the immigration context along with language barriers and a lack of information and social resources.

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All these factors had profound impacts on immigrant family life including intergenerational relationships and parenting competence. Despite the challenges in parenting, however, Korean immigrant mothers could achieve personal growth through parenting. In particular, the participants reported that acculturation and improved understanding of children were important for better parenting.

Extended Parenthood during Child Launching Transition

The Korean immigrant mothers' perception of life events and changes related to child's transition to adulthood revealed the essence of their child launching experience. Most of all, this theme was focused on extended parenting experiences in cultural context during the child launching period.

Due to Korean family values constructed around life-long intimate interactions between parents and children -- which requires love and care from parents and filial piety and conformity from children -- there is no direct equivalent of the concept of *child launching* in Korean language. Thus, I structured interview questions around various forms of independence that young adults could achieve during this life stage. While answering these questions, the Korean immigrant mothers expressed their thoughts and feelings about their young adult child's maturity and readiness for independence. The narratives of study participants revealed a culturally unique understanding of child launching in an immigration context.

Through the analysis of study participants' parenting experiences during the life transition of child launching, three sub-themes were identified: 1) coping with feelings of loss after child's home-leaving, 2) parental support due to child's financial instability, and 3) parental involvement despite child's growing autonomy.

Coping with Feelings of Loss after Child's Home-leaving

The vast majority of study participants' young adult children were currently living away from the parental home for college or employment. The Korean immigrant mothers in this study stated that their child's initial leaving for college was one of the most important life events in their parenting experiences because it signified the end of day-to-day child care and a change in interactions with young adult children. Recalling when their children left home for the first time, the mothers reported that they felt such emotions as sadness, regret, and worry rather than relief from the daily care. For example, Eunji stated,

E: I was simply sad... just because I thought "I cannot see him [whenever I want to]." Relief or freedom... such feelings were less than 5% of what I felt then.

Such negative feelings of loss were mostly triggered by seeing the child's empty room which symbolized the empty nest and parental role loss. Ayoung described her feeling of loss of parental responsibility when she came back home after dropping off her son at college, "I wouldn't have to pack a lunch box for him or take care of him any longer." Inhye was also close to tears while reporting her experience.

I: I didn't have any feeling until I came back home [after dropping him off]. We exchanged goodbyes, and my husband and I just drove home... As I entered the house, I saw a light in his empty room... [realizing] "Oh... he is not here..." [at the moment] what came to my mind was all the ways that I had not treated him well enough [as a parent in the past] (emotional).

When mothers perceived children as out of reach due to geographical distance, the feelings of parental role loss were more salient. What bothered my participants most was the feeling that they could not provide appropriate assistance if the children would need help. For example, Chayeon explained,

C: I felt like I left a little kid away. I was so much worried and so sad. [I was wondering] if she was doing well in classes, making good friends, having healthy food... those were my concerns. My heart was always in Boston [where she was].... Because she went too

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far away, I couldn't take care of her when she would be sick. That was really heart-breaking to me. I have never felt something like relief.

Even though most participants had experienced emotional difficulties when their children left home, such feelings of emptiness and loss did not last for a long time – the adjustment usually took about six months. As time went on, these mothers realized that their children were doing well in college, and constant contact with their children relieved parental concerns and worries.

In contrast to the socio-cultural norms in Korea, young adult children's home-leaving for education or independence is considered common and desirable in American culture. In this context, the Korean immigrant mothers also accepted a child's home-leaving as a normative life event for the child's independence in American society to help them cope with the event. Some mothers reported that they felt relieved when their children left home for employment or after a long period of staying at home beyond the normative age of departure. As Ayoung stated, for example, she felt satisfied when her son left for his job after graduation because she thought "it's not good for him to stay home without a job." According to Fajin, her daughter gave up her dream of studying fine arts in a prestigious college in order to support her family with a special needs sibling at home. After her daughter left for California years later for the sake of her own career, Fajin was finally relieved and welcomed the departure as she had wished for her daughter's independence.

F: While living together, I always felt sorry for her sacrifice. So, I was really happy when I saw her leaving for her own life. I know I need her, I want to hold her. But now finally she came to be able to live just like her peers do. Although I was feeling emptiness, I was so happy.

Also, most of my participants regarded physical separation as part of the process of child launching. For example, Eunji was one of the mothers who had experienced intense emotional

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difficulties after her child left home for college. While she was coping with the feeling of emptiness, she stated:

E: But, now I'm thinking that it was nice to practice for being separated in this way. What if he were to get married right after staying with me at home? [Currently] I can spend some time with him whenever he comes back home during his school breaks. If he would leave for real independence without such practice time, it would be much harder for me.

As illustrated in Eunji's statement, most of these participants saw a child's home-leaving for college or employment before marriage as a practice to prepare for the child's real future independence. These mothers viewed the current physical separation with their children as a process of transitioning to the full launching.

In this vein, study participants also expressed looking forward to their children's marriages, which, in their views, would signify the completion of the child launching process. All young adult children of the participants were not married yet at the time of study. Only one child was planning for a wedding in the near future. Thus, the mothers did not see the child's marriage as imminent, rather they were currently concerned with the effects of their parenting on the child's career and life management. However, they perceived that the complete independence of the young adult children would come and they should let the children go at that time. In other words, only the child creating their own family would signify real child launching to the mothers, at which point they anticipate feeling a genuine loss of their parental role. In this sense, the participants expected the child's marriage would be another important turning point in the life transitions of parents and children. As her son recently proposed to his girlfriend, Ayoung expected significant life changes would occur soon. She expressed mixed feelings about her son's prospective marriage with parental accomplishment and concerns.

A: He is 28 years old, which is old enough to get married. So I don't feel sad. He is a son as well as the first child, so I feel rather accomplished. But, he will be a head of

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household, which means he must be responsible for his wife and children. In that sense, I feel bad a little. I easily shed tears whenever I attend other people's weddings, so I'm worrying about being too emotional at my son's wedding. I don't know [what it will be like].

In sum, children's initial leaving the home was an important life transition for Korean immigrant mothers because it involved changes in many aspects of their parenting practices and roles. The experience of physical separation had psychological impacts on parents in their midlife with some feelings of parental role loss. However, my participants coped with the changes relatively well because they perceived their children's home-leaving as a normative process of becoming an independent adult and as practice for the final launching—marriage. Therefore, to these mothers, the current physical separation did not represent the children's independence or maturity per se.

Parental Support due to Child's Financial Instability

While they considered children's marriage as a critical point of full launching, the Korean immigrant mothers also viewed financial independence as an important indicator of their young adult child becoming a *real (full)* adult. Regardless of the children reaching the legal age of adulthood (i.e., eighteen), leaving home, or achieving psychological maturity, most mothers did not regard their children as independent until they at least graduate college and get a job.

C: She is only 21, although drinking is legally permitted, she is too young to be an independent adult [because] she is not financially independent. I would feel like she is an adult when she gets a job after her college graduation.

Due to the lack of financial independence while attending college, all of the participants reported that they paid their children's college tuition. In light of their beliefs in the importance of education, especially, Korean immigrant mothers thought that financial support for education was the parent's responsibility during this life stage. In addition, they also paid for other expenses such as housing costs and allowance as long as children were attending college (i.e.,

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until they were employed). Paying children's tuition posed a significant financial hardship to the parents, but they felt proud to be able to save their children the burden of taking on student loans. Some mothers believed this support was an investment for the children's successful future. Also, they expected such financial support might be helpful for a better relationship as the children would feel indebted. These points were illustrated in Fajin's statement:

F: I made all financial supports for her education because I didn't want her to pay off loans. Surely the best part of my support as a parent for her was that I helped her to graduate without loans. Therefore, she is treating me very well. Recently she bought me a TV, and she paid for all the clothing for her brother... also she is being generous with her grandmother, giving some money, which is a part of what I should do.

According to the participants, their young adult children were often willing to share the parent's financial burden. Those children hesitated to ask for financial support from their parents, and at times they refused extra monetary aid from their parents. Korean immigrant mothers considered such behaviors a welcome sign of independence. Most parents and children mutually agreed to stop the financial support after the child got a full-time job. If possible, however, my participants wished to provide further financial support even after their children were capable of financial independence. For example, some mothers worried about their children's poor housing conditions in New York City.

J: He [my child] graduated [and got a job in NYC]... I thought he would live in a better apartment, but he refused to receive my [financial] assistance. I asked why? He said "because I graduated... I cannot afford such good housing."

A: Sometimes I would really like to give her some money. She lives in a gloomy place in downtown Manhattan. My husband is saying that young ones should live by themselves even in hardship. So we let my children live with their own earnings. But... [I feel bad for them].

As such, Korean immigrant mothers were not satisfied with their young adult children's financial status. Thus, they believed that young adults were not independent enough to thrive without help. In addition to financial assistance, during most of the college years and even after

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the children had established financial independence, Korean immigrant mothers of young adults were willing to provide -- or actually have provided -- various practical supports. Those supports included cooking or delivering food to the child's home, taking care of the children when they were ill, and providing transportation. With the growing independence of their children, the mothers considered these forms of support one of the few things left through which they could express their love and care. Ayoung was one of the mothers who providing those supports for her children.

A: I often bring some food from home whenever I cook something. I don't have much to do for them these days besides such things like cooking and delivering food, or buying some meals that they cannot afford to.

Jiwon felt these supports for young adult children are culturally unique parenting practices among Korean American mothers:

J: Korean mothers here [in the U.S.] deliver home-made food to their children's college dorm even far distant. American mothers never do that.

Interestingly, the Korean immigrant mothers were envisioning further parental support (especially financial) for their adult children beyond child launching. They expressed their hope to provide financial assistance, such as wedding costs or a downpayment on a home, when their children create their own families. For example, Gisun recently started a new business to financially prepare for her life after child launching. According to her, the financial preparation is meaningful not only for herself but also for her child.

G: I will not ask him any living cost later. I don't want to be burdensome to him. Rather, if possible, I like to help him. For example, if I could make a downpayment when he buys his family house, it would be greatly helpful for him to manage his life... because he may pay a monthly mortgage only after getting a job. I see many cases around me that a little [financial] assistance such as a downpayment makes a big difference in a child's future life management which will be much easier.

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With respect to future care-taking issues in their older age, all of the mothers reported that they would not want to rely on their children for care-giving. Although it might be inevitable some day, they did not want to place a financial and psychological burden on their children. Considering a long life expectancy these days, they thought that day-to-day care for parents would interrupt or even ruin the adult children's lives. Thus, they strongly recognized the necessity to prepare financially for their health care and living arrangements.

F: They say these days elderly people spend 14 years on average with illness until they die. Think about that... I'm in bed for 14 years. If so, what would happen to my child? I don't want to imagine that my daughter should take all the responsibilities to take care of me for such a long time. I should get prepared for the occasion. I'm thinking about saving some money for my future health care.

Also, many participants asserted that they would definitely go to a nursing home when necessary. While clearly distinguishing between the traditional Korean culture of elderly care and American care culture, the mothers did not endorse adult children caring for older parents based on filial piety of Korean culture. They rather preferred using the institutional care system in American society. According to Dahee, she experienced changing views on nursing homes while living in the U.S. She stated:

D: My opinion [about care-taking in older ages] might be different if I were in Korea. But, because I came here, I often see how American people do it.

Without receiving care from their children, the participants wanted to be financially well-prepared to not only sustain their later life but also, more importantly, to provide more support for their children and their family. Thus, to these Korean immigrant mothers, preparation for their old age could be another major source of stress. However, at this point in time, my participants were more concerned about how to help and support their children than the ways in which they would manage their own aging. Jiwon described the extended parenthood in this way:

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J: I expected the end of parenting when my children went to college. But, it was absolutely not the end! I moved to California [after children's leaving] because they got a job and live independently. So I thought they don't need us any longer. However, I realized they still needed my help when they are sick, for example.

In sum, in this midlife life stage, it was difficult for these mothers to define their future roles and tasks in other ways than as supporters for children. That is, the Korean immigrant mothers were still actively engaged in the lives of their young adult children, and perceived themselves as care-givers for children. The mothers expected to continue the current financial supports for their children at least for the near future.

Parental Involvement amid Child's Growing Autonomy

As part of their child launching experience, Korean immigrant mothers in this study mentioned their young adult children's growing autonomy through which they recognized that their children had entered young adulthood. During this period, specifically, the young adult children often claimed their own autonomous decision-making without parental input. According to Fajin, for example,

F: These days she became self-reliant. Especially since she became financially independent, "Mom, I can do it by myself. Don't worry about me. It's my business." She cuts my words like that. Last time when she was looking for her housing, I told her I didn't like her choice. But she simply ignored me.

Such independent decision making by children brought mixed feelings to the mothers. On the one hand, they valued and welcomed the child's psychological maturity and social independence, but on the other hand, they felt an emotional distance from their children because the mothers thought the children didn't need parental assistance or guidance any longer. Eunji described her feeling in this way:

E: Each time he came home, I felt something like [emotional] distance between us. At one point, he came to make all the decisions by himself. In the past, he used to consult with me about every single thing from the beginning because he didn't know what to do. But

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now he says, "I'm going to do this, what do you think about it?" I know what will come next. He would say "I made up my mind regardless whatever you say."

Even though the mothers in this study recognized such changing attitudes of children as a sign of the natural transition to adulthood, in addition to the emotional distance, they also felt concerned about their children's life choices. Although children had already left the home and showed some signs of psychological maturity, the mothers were not confident about completely launching their children, and still questioned their child's full status as an adult.

H: Not yet... [she is not an adult]. I don't have too much expectation [of her maturity] considering her age. She is not ready to be an independent adult... not trustworthy yet. I think she lacks life experiences, something like serious ordeals in her life so far, which someone should overcome to become an adult. She doesn't know the bitterness of life... (laugh)

Therefore, study participants reported that they were still deeply concerned about various aspects of their young adult child's life, especially important decision making around career choices, mate selection, social relationships (e.g., disputes with roommates, making good friends, etc.), and health or safety. With respect to those issues, Korean immigrant mothers maintained active involvement in their children's decision-making processes. They were found to often express their opinion in conversations with children and have significant impact on the child's decision-making.

In particular, the Korean immigrant mothers explicitly and implicitly have engaged in young adult children's career preparation and career choice. As an extension of the emphasis on academic achievement during adolescence, Korean immigrant mothers wanted their children to pursue high-status and high-income careers such as law or medicine. More specifically, they defined a successful career as one that provides both financial security and high social status. Throughout the interview, repeating her concerns about career choice of her children, Chayeon

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explained that parental aspirations for children's success were influenced by the family's social position as immigrants.

C: The biggest concern, these days, is about her job [career]. She is talking about what she likes to do. But I'm not sure if the job [of her interest] will guarantee a certain level of life quality. I don't feel comfortable with her job preference... In my thought, we are Asian immigrants. So, the only way to be recognized and respected here [in this U.S. society] is having a good occupation. Especially, medical doctors or lawyers have high income, and most of all, they are respected.

Academic success in college (e.g., high GPA) was highly important to the mothers because they saw it as a necessary precursor to achieving career goals. Hyun, the mother of a college junior, reported that she kept suggesting career information and pushed for her daughter to earn better grades at college.

H: Actually, I'm so worried about her career. I looked up information on medical school entrance requirements. When she comes home, I'm telling her, "[going to medical school] it's not easy. You should study harder, you need a good GPA."

When the young adult children envisioned different career paths than their parents, the vast majority of the participants reported that they had to persuade the children to follow the parent's opinions. For example, Ayoung stated,

A: Last year, my child worked helping refugee settlements during her summer internship. Later, when we were driving around [impoverished areas of] the city, she said that "I have been here, and there as well [when I was working for refugees]." Then, I was so disturbed [with disapproving and concerning feelings] ... ah... she was doing such [hard] things. I suggested that it would be better for her to have a professional [or advanced] degree even if she eventually would want to continue that kind of work [like refugee aid or charitable organizations]. So, I forced her to go to law school.

Also, the mothers practiced similar forms of parental guidance and involvement in other areas of parental concern such as dating and lifestyle of young adult children. With regard to a child's dating preferences, like other Korean mothers, Chayeon was worried to realize that there were differences between her daughter and herself in mate selection criteria. That is, the mother regarded the family background of a prospective partner whereas her child only paid attention to

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the individual's personality. Other mothers also expressed similar concerns to their children, and tried to impact the children's choices. As illustrated by the following statement:

J: I had a certain frame that typical Koreans have.... such as which college is acceptable, whom to date and marry... definitely should be a Korean. But my children always asked why, why not, mom? That made me upset.

The mothers recognized the discrepancy between their children's growing autonomy and their own involvement, and reported that they have to let their children go eventually. As they defined the child's marriage as a marker of the completion of child launching, most of my participants expressed their opinion that parents should not be involved in married adult children's lives as much as they used to do before marriage. Chayeon stated:

C: I'm not sure if I will be able to do it, but for now I'm thinking parents should let the children go as soon as they get married. It is necessary for their healthy family life.

In sum, the Korean immigrant mothers described the child launching period as an extended parenthood requiring continued guidance for their young adult children because they were not independent or mature enough to be an adult. While appreciating the growing autonomy of young adult children, they were still actively involved with the children's life choices. The mothers anticipated the full launching with ambivalent feelings of hope as well as concern.

Conclusion

Korean immigrant mothers perceived the child launching period as a process which broadly encompasses physical separation, financial independence, psychological individuation, and marriage. Thus, they recognized that rather than being a single event, their child launching consists of a build-up of various experiences related to the child's transitions to adulthood.

To recapitulate, a child's home-leaving lead to various negative emotions among parents due to the loss of parental roles. However, most of the study participants reported that they were

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able to process and move past their emotional difficulties. Such adjustment was involved with Korean immigrant mothers' perception of the transition to independence as normative.

In the meantime, since the young adult children were not financially independent or stable, Korean immigrant mothers found their parental roles still included financial support for their child's education and beyond. Most mothers were also engaging in instrumental and practical support for the young adult children. Despite the growing autonomy of children, furthermore, they engaged in the children's decision-making processes, which represented their reluctance to let the children go at least until marriage. In this sense, the mothers felt ambivalence and mixed feelings due to the uncertainty of the child's independence, which triggered the extended active parenting practices.

Evolving Parent-Young Adult Child Relationship

Middle-aged Korean immigrant mothers in child launching transition were found to reset the patterns of interaction with their emerging adult children and to actively manage the quality of the parent-child relationship. This theme emerged from study participants' reports about the patterns and frequency of contact with young adult children as well as their expectation of future relationship management. Relationship quality between parent and emerging adult child was also explored by asking what issues have caused intergenerational conflicts and how they resolved the family issues.

When they were asked about main sources of happiness in their life during the interviews, study participants often addressed their commitment to and satisfaction from interactions with children rather than their interests in pursuing personal life goals. Regarding this, they referred to Korean family values as well as lessons from their own immigration

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experiences. Over time, they also modified their intensive parenting into further culturally adjusted approaches that reflected their negotiation of American culture and social norms.

Through the analysis of their narratives, three sub-themes have been identified: 1) maintaining family ties through close living arrangements and frequent contact, 2) managing intergenerational conflicts through communication, and 3) establishing adult-to-adult relationships through an adjusted parenting approach.

Maintaining Family Ties through Close Living Arrangements and Frequent Contact

To promote quality relationships with their children, most Korean immigrant mothers preferred geographical proximity to their children, which is an important factor in managing family ties. As the Korean immigrant mothers emphasized family ties supported by family values in traditional Korean culture, the majority of the participants reported that they have been making efforts to teach the importance of family solidarity to their children. They believed that a close living arrangement would help both the parents and their adult children stay close even after their launching.

B: I always put lots of effort to instill family values in my children. So, [even now] they support each other. Also, later, after they get married, all of us should live close to see each other more frequently. I don't want to have only a missed heart without seeing them. I like to stay close to them.

Especially, in consideration of their experiences as immigrants who spent many years living far away from their extended family members in their home country, my participants reported that close and frequent in-person interactions and supports among family members were crucial to relieve life stress and to exchange care and love.

J: I don't have any family [but her children] in America, and my husband doesn't either. We should not live far away from each other. Family must stay close, which I like. [I have] no intention to move out to other distant places.

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After sending their children off to college, the mothers, in particular, realized that geographical proximity was important for keeping close interaction with children. For instance, some mothers, including Ayoung, felt relieved to know that their children were geographically close enough to visit whenever they wanted to see them.

A: After graduation, he got a job in Philadelphia where he went to college. He just moved from his dorm to an apartment. No big change [which is good], but I don't know [how I would have felt] if he had moved to California.

As for future living arrangements with adult children, all of the study participants still preferred to live close enough to continue interactions with their children. Geographic proximity was also important to the participants as they valued the relationship with their future grandchildren and considered taking care of grandchildren as the main part of their support for adult children. Inhye expressed her hope to be close to her future grandchildren:

I: I also want to be a good grandma to my own grand children while seeing them often. [I want to be] such a good grandma who is wise and influential... giving a good memory to them. ... I remember it was hard for me to take care of two children, especially when a child was sick, even while I had to go work. I wished my mother could have helped me taking care of the children when I needed babysitting. So, I want to play such a role for my children.

The preference for living close to their adult children and their family was more apparent and stronger when the mothers considered parental support for daughters. Korean immigrant mothers mostly thought that daughters would need more assistance in managing family life because the mothers believed that women are more responsible for housework and childrearing than men. Fajin stated:

F: I'm going to move close to my daughter when she settles down... wherever Georgia or Texas. When she decides to take root in a place [in the future], I will wrap up my business here and move to live there. I know she will have difficulties in managing family life and raising children after marriage. Women understand the situation because I experienced those difficulties. So I want to help her.

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Based on their own life trajectories around immigration, however, these Korean immigrant mothers admitted that life was full of unexpected events. They knew they might not be able to live close to their children, especially if the children get a job in another region or state. While expressing some fear or mixed emotions, they reported that they would try to adapt to any situation where they would not be able to live close to their children.

E: He was talking about the possibility of getting a job in Massachusetts [near his college]. It's hard for me to think about it [distance from him]. I wish we could live close within one hour distance in order to share some pieces of happiness in life together. But, I'm not sure if he will be able to get a job nearby. Although it's heartbreaking, I should be ready for the future [case of distant living arrangement].

Even though they may live far away from each other in the future, these immigrant mothers wanted to keep frequent contact with their adult children. Most of all, some mothers mentioned that a long distance living arrangement would be fine when they considered their current communication pattern with their young adult children. The frequency of current contacts reported by the participants varied from every day to once a week. Using multiple channels (e.g., phone call, text messaging, or video chatting), according to the mothers, young adult children liked to talk with their mothers about their daily routine, work stress, social issues, popular culture, or shopping while the mothers were mostly interested in health care, safety, or career development. My participants usually preferred phone calls over text messaging because they desired to hear their child's voice. A typical pattern of communication was illustrated in Ayoun's description of her contacts with children.

A: We are doing phone calls, and text messaging as well. There is no rule for having phone calls [in terms of when and how often]. In the beginning of their college years, I told them to call once a week and to have a voice talk. But these days I don't set such a rule. We have conversations whenever we want to. It could be once a week or multiple times a week depending on the situations. Anyway, I'm trying to talk to them over the phone at least once a week, and we are texting each other more frequently. My children send some messages about their everyday life. When she goes shopping, for example, my girl in NYC texts to me "do you need this? It's on sale," like that.

Other mothers often liked to talk over video:

D: I set a rule to have a video chat once a week on Saturday. All the family sits down for the chat every Saturday morning. [During the talk] I usually ask him to eat lots of vegetables because he doesn't like to.

Also, study participants noticed changing patterns in the child's visits home over time.

Most mothers found that as their children got older they visited home less often, but they did not express any negative feelings toward their children because they continued constant contact.

Rather, some mothers welcomed the decreased visits, which they considered a sign of the child's adjustment to and satisfaction with their own life. What the mothers paid attention to at this current life stage was just letting the children feel responsible for coming home to see parents, care for family members, and celebrate family events together. Ayoung stated,

A: I'm really happy when they come home, and feel sorry whenever they have to go back. So, I sometimes think I wish I could live with them. However, they should leave us for their own life. I know they have their own social group to live in. They at times enjoy the social life more than coming home. Even though they feel pressure about coming home, I let them visit home to participate in family affairs such as celebrating birthdays [of a family member]. Someday, the roles (of parents and children) will be completely switched. I want to let them know the responsibility.

Overall, study participants strongly preferred living close to maintain a quality relationship with children. Also, technology made it easier for the mothers to maintain closeness with their children who were away from home. Due to the busyness of their own lives, however, at times children could not make regular contact with their parents. In those cases, the mothers encouraged the children to call or visit home in order to maintain important family ties.

Managing Intergenerational Conflicts through Communication

Along the life transitions, Korean immigrant mothers came to realize that communication as an important dimension of parent-child relationship helped improve their relationship quality. In particular, the mothers and their young adult children achieved mutual improvements in

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communication skills. As a result of physical separation and changing patterns of contact, the mothers increasingly came to carefully select conversation topics when they talked with children. According to the mothers, their children also responded with more positive attitudes of listening and understanding their parents rather than simply arguing their own opinions. Such mutual respectful modes of communication were found to be helpful to ease stressful conflicts between parents and children, and eventually the participants described better relationship quality than in the past.

More specifically, mothers in this study reported that they did not want to make any unnecessary conflict with their young adult children because they were physically separated most of the time. As they only meet in person once in a while, the mothers chose to not give their children any negative experiences with parents. Eunji talked about her recent experience:

E: I noticed my son felt pressure when my husband and I asked about his career. His face seemed to be saying "please don't ask me. I'm so stressed out." So, I decided to ask about his career goal only once a year when he comes home for summer break. And, last summer when he said he changed his career goal from a doctor into a neuroscientist, [I was disappointed, but] I didn't tell him to reconsider it because I knew it would be a huge pressure on him.

One of the most sensitive topics for the participants was their child's dating. For example, Chayeon did not express her uncomfortable feeling about her daughter's boyfriend because she did not want to hurt her daughter's feelings. Furthermore, from the conservative perspective of Korean culture, the mothers hesitated to ask about their child's dating life. Dahee stated,

D: I want to know [about his dating] so badly. I really want to ask him directly, but I can't.

In addition to careful selection of their conversation topics, the participants were also concerned with how and when to talk with their young adult children. Hyun found that responding to her child's interests improved communication with her daughter. Thus, she

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decided to share her daughter's interests in Korean culture (e.g., food, popular music) while watching YouTube videos together. In this vein, some mothers also found that traveling with young adult children provided a good opportunity for them to share experiences and have long conversations. For example, last year Fajin and her daughter spent vacations together,

F: Lecturing is not good any longer. For example, like last summer when she came home, we did not stay at home. We went to Massachusetts, and traveled to Connecticut... While traveling, we resolved conflicts through conversation. Of course, misunderstandings could happen while talking, but both of us are getting more mature to manage them. It is a good opportunity to talk [about many things around us]. I cannot discipline or direct her anymore. When we talk over the phone these days, we start with easy topics such as where to go and discuss our plans for the next trip.

Through increased open communication with their children, some mothers reported that they apologized to their children about past parenting practices which had previously caused trouble or conflict. As illustrated in Eunji's experience:

E: [When he was in high school] I said he was lazy. He couldn't get up early in the morning. So, he often missed the school bus. Dad gave him a ride to school twice when he missed the bus. The third time he missed the bus, I was really mad at him, scolded him a lot, and took him to school. But, later I came to think that I shouldn't have to do like that in America. I regretted... (laughing) So... [recently] I had a chance to give him a ride to his college. While I was driving for 5 to 6 hours, I apologized to him [about the past behavior]. Then he let me off with saying "I don't remember that now."

Responding to the mothers' efforts at better communication, the young adult children were also found to respond with openness and understanding of their parents. Chayeon appreciated the increased conversation due to mutual improvement of respect and maturity between parent and child.

C: She talks much more than she did in the past [during teens]. When she was a middle schooler or high schooler, I didn't allow her independent decision-making because I considered her a little kid. So she seemed to have closed her mind toward me then, I guess. Rather, these days she talks about her high school days, about what she felt back then. I think she started to understand a little adults' and parents' views. So now she seems to understand me better. We talk about the past things with laughing. I say to her, "I don't know why I controlled you so much in that way. But, you know... You mostly did what you wanted to do without my permission."

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Based on increased and improved communication, conflicts could be discussed through open conversation which led to greater mutual understanding. Thus, the mothers in this study found that conflicts with their young children weren't necessarily harmful to relationship quality because the conflict revealed the closeness of their relationship. At times, conversation become heated over differences of opinion, but some mothers appreciated the positive impact of frequent talks with their children. Fajin stated:

F: She complains she cannot get along with me. As I say "just stick to your job. It's stable [job position]." She tries to persuade me, but gives up talking to me, saying "oh, no, I cannot talk with you, mom." But, soon after that [talk] she continues talking about the issue again and again. Sometimes I feel annoyed. Whenever such a case [of important decision-making issues] occurs, she calls me a lot [often].

In particular, some mothers found that their children were usually seeking emotional support through conversation. According to Bomin, for example,

B: My child talks to me a lot. Usually about her studying, something hard. She grumbles "mom, I have too many assignments, so I studied overnight," "the work made me sick," or "I'm dying" and so on.

In contrast, other mothers reported that their children avoided discussions about sensitive issues to not cause relationship turbulence with parents. According to the mothers, those children did not actively express their opinion although they did not seem to agree with their parents. This strategy of avoidance could be seen as indicative of a lack of conflict, but the mothers were suspicious about the uneasy peace. The mothers confessed they wanted to know more about their children and their issues, but sometimes they felt frustrated. Jiwon experienced this frustration when she learned that her daughter had hidden her dating throughout the college years.

J: Because I didn't like her dating, my daughter deceived me. Everyone at college knew she was dating but not me. I really didn't know that. I used to tell her not to date during the college years as I regretted getting married too early after dating at college. I just emphasized her career and doctoral degree.

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Inhye also desired to communicate more closely with her son as he was making decisions about his career.

I: I think he is afraid of my objection to his career choice. I wish he would discuss the matter with us openly. When I try to say something, he tends to say "I know, I know. I can do well." Then, I cannot say any more.

Overall, the Korean immigrant mothers increasingly appreciated the importance of communication to improve relationships with their young adult children. Many study participants reported that mutual improvement of communication skills between parents and children contributed to preventing relationship turbulence and resolving stressful conflicts. Thus, they felt that they were finally learning how to manage conflicts with children.

Establishing Adult-to-Adult Relationships through an Adjusted Parenting Approach

One of the important relationship changes experienced by the Korean immigrant mothers was some signs of relational maturity of children such as role shifting between parent and child as a care-giver and a care-taker. While the mothers identified role shifting as a marker of growing maturity of children, they came to further adjust their parenting approach to the perceived role shifting. For example, Hyun stated "I'm asking lots of things from her... I started to rely on her without knowing." Gisun also presented her recent experience in this way:

G: At a moment, he called me and worried about me... "are you okay?" These days he does for me just what I have done for him in the past. Also, when he came to my smoothie shop, in the past, the first thing he was looking for was what to eat for himself. But these days he is trying to find first what would help mom and dad such as filling the ice or moving heavy stuff.

Ayoung also greatly appreciated her daughter's psychological maturity and independent life management which concurred with the relational maturity of care for parents.

A: I realized she could do such a thing (finding housing) by herself without my help. Yeah... I was feeling like [touched] ... And after arranging the housing in D.C., she took me home [in NJ] and returned to D.C. alone next morning by train. She knew what to do. It made me [feel accomplished] ...(emotional)

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As such, my participants noticed that their children started to care for other family members. Often this change occurred with age and maturity, after attending college or having significant work experiences. Being exposed to a more involved and extensive social life outside the family unit, the children came to a deeper understanding of human relations. As a result, study participants realized that their children were more attuned to the feelings of their parents than they used to be in the past. Thus, the mothers reported they felt great satisfaction seeing these changes because they regarded the child's maturity as proof of the successful accomplishment of their parenting job.

As the children displayed more relational maturity, the Korean immigrant mothers' overall parenting strategies were becoming more autonomy-supportive compared to their past parenting approaches. Even though the mothers were still trying to engage in their young adult children's life choices, they found that their attempts were not always successful and often not welcomed. In addition, the participants came to realize that controlling their children was impossible as the children were turning into independent decision-makers. That is, active parental involvement could often cause relationship turbulence between parents and young adult children, especially when major disagreements around life choices occurred. In many cases, the mothers found some disagreements which were mostly due to cultural differences with their American-raised children. According to Bomin, her child maintained individualistic ways of behavior differing from the mother's cultural value.

B: Whenever I experience conflicts with my child, I think "she is a real American." [Conflicts happen due to] cultural differences... because I have a Korean way of thinking. She is only focusing on what she wants to say without listening to me. It's so hard... hard for me.

Ayoung also defined the disagreement with her child as a cultural one.

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A: The conflicts seem to occur due to cultural differences. Once my child had some trouble with her roommate in her dorm, for example, I pushed her to solve the problem in Korean ways. I mean... I pushed my daughter to argue to take advantage of the sunny side in the room. It's natural that I'm on my daughter's side. At that time, she solved the problem in her own way, and told me "Mom, please do not bother us in your ways. We are getting along well. You make us uncomfortable." I found there is a cultural difference [in problem solving].

As a result, the mothers came to increasingly feel the necessity of adjusting their own parenting approach to the young adult children's developmental and cultural expectations. Thus, they focused on helping their children achieve more autonomy as the parents relinquished control. Inhye stated,

I: I further realized there are limitations for me to be involved in their life. I cannot direct everything they do. They have their own social boundaries. Most of all, I try to trust them whatever they do. I'm not saying they are trustworthy. I trust them because I must.

Fajin also described her feeling about letting go of her child:

F: Now everything is up to her. I cannot do anything for her. It is already out of my control. I wish she could live an easy life with a stable career in this American society. [...] I, as a parent, just wanted to help her integrate into mainstream American culture.

Whether intended or not, the mothers found that a more autonomy-supportive parenting style was helpful for closer relationships with their children through better communication quality. According to some mothers, it was apparent when they compared their own relationship with their young adult children to those of their husbands, and they reported significant differences in parenting styles. Some fathers still kept an authoritarian or controlling parenting style, worsening the quality of communication and creating more conflicts with their children. For instance, parental control by fathers usually caused conflicts around parent-child disagreement on the child's lifestyle. As a result, young adult children refused to share their personal lives with fathers. As illustrated in Eunji's statement:

E: I usually let my son do as he wants to. But, my husband always forces the child to get up early, for example, saying "change your morning habit." Also, he used to say "you

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will go to an Ivy league college based on your good GPA.” He is so pushy. So different from me [my style]. So, my son rarely talks to his dad.

Furthermore, the mothers emphasized that they would physically and psychologically stay away from their adult children’s family after marriage to avoid interrupting their autonomy. More specifically, Korean immigrant mothers in this study thought that the future relationship with married adult children would be complicated by the relationship with a daughter-in-law or son-in-law. That is, the mothers kept in mind their future relationship with their child’s spouse, which they saw as important to maintain a good relationship with their own adult child. For instance, some mothers recalled the inconvenience and emotional disturbance when their older in-laws had visited their home too frequently and asserted their parental rights to meddle in their adult child’s life.

E: I’m seriously thinking about what my attitudes toward a future daughter-in-law should be like. I swear I will absolutely not meddle in their life affairs. My mother-in-law looked as if she was still treating my husband as her little kid. Now as my son is reaching the age to get married, I can a little guess how she felt then. But I really hated how she behaved. So, I’m determined not to meddle in their life and not to claim my ownership of my son.

Rather than a traditional Korean family relationship with adult children’s family, individualistic American family culture was more appreciated by the Korean immigrant mothers. Thus, they envisioned an even more acculturated and autonomy-granting approach for a better future relationship with adult children. The point was repeatedly illustrated in Gisun’s statement:

G: From time to time, my parents-in-law have visited our home from New York without notice. I was so embarrassed then to have their sudden visit. Basically, no prepared food to treat them and the house was not cleaned... I was angry. They didn’t recognize that I was working outside so hard. I know they wanted to see us so badly, and they are precious people that we have to take care of. But, I realized that my family has a priority over the older parents. I guess my child will feel in the same way. So I will keep the distance as much as he wants to have.

Overall, the adjustment of parenting approach among Korean immigrant mothers was influenced by such factors as young adult children’s maturity in the relationship with parents,

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acculturation of the mothers, and mothers' consideration of future relationship quality with adult children. The mothers found their choice of parenting approach could affect a close relationship with their children, which is focused on mutual respect. Acknowledging social norms in American society, especially, they understood that parents should make an effort to let go of their high parental expectations and eventually help their children seek their complete independence.

Conclusion

During the current child launching transition, Korean immigrant mothers in this study felt the parent-child relationship quality has improved when compared to the past relationship during the period of children's adolescence. That is, they reported that conflicts with their young adult children have reduced since the children entered young adulthood.

For the better relationship quality, the Korean immigrant mothers put a lot of effort into maintaining family ties for intergenerational solidarity. They emphasized the importance of living close to their children and keeping frequent contacts. Also, the mothers and young adult children were found to develop better communication skills to manage potential intergenerational conflicts. In addition, the mothers were trying to establish adult-to-adult relationships as they further adjusted their parenting approach according to the children's growing maturity and American cultural norms. Such adjustment was also involved with their future expectation of a close relationship with the adult children even after the full launching of children.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

The study findings showed that Korean immigrant mothers have culturally unique experiences during their child launching period. Focusing on past parenting experiences, child launching transition, and relationships with their emerging adult children, the three themes suggested specific Korean American cultural dimensions in the immigration context. Those themes are important for understanding mothers' adjustment to midlife transition and family dynamics within Korean immigrant families.

Parenting Experiences in Immigration Context

Korean immigrant mothers' reflections on their parenting experiences in the U.S. showed how they have negotiated and reconstructed their hybrid parenting approach in an immigration context. In this context, the parenting experiences of the first generation immigrant mothers were shaped by both countries' cultural values and social norms (i.e., parents' country of origin and the host country). Some aspects of their parenting approach -- such as parenting beliefs and goals -- were influenced by Korean cultural values about education, while American culture also affected their parenting practices and strategies.

These findings confirmed the results from the previous studies which emphasized the importance of cultural context in understanding parenting approach (Bornstein et al., 2015; Deater-Deckard et al., 2011). Shaped by the cultural and social environments within which families are embedded, beliefs about parenting goals and strategies were known to affect parenting practices and behaviors (Rubin & Chung, 2006). For Asian families, in particular, many studies attributed collectivistic family values and child-rearing values and practices to the influence of Confucianism, which emphasizes hierarchical interpersonal relationships and social structure (Chung et al., 2007; Ryu, 2007). As shown in this study with immigrant mothers,

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Korean parents, like many other Asian parents, were concerned with their children's social and behavioral aspects such as respecting elders, fulfilling one's obligations, caring for others (Park & Chesla, 2007), interdependence, emotional self-control, and conformity (Kurasaki et al., 2002). In the Korean cultural context, particularly, such emphasis on children's social and behavioral aspects is considered as crucial part of education. That is, in Korean culture, the concept of *education* broadly encompasses academic and behavioral dimensions (i.e., education in school as well as at home), which is missing in Western parenting culture and cannot be translated into any direct equivalent Western concept. As this study showed, thus, Korean parents strongly perceive that it is their responsibility to teach and guide their children (Park et al., 2011; Yang & Shin, 2008). Although Asian (including Korean) parenting approach was known to be strict and sometimes authoritarian, understanding of culturally specific beliefs toward and conceptualization of *education* may be necessary for better explanation of Asian parenting practices.

Furthermore, influenced by Korean culture where parental devotion to children is one of the most important social virtues, the immigrant mothers in this study were found to feel cultural and social pressure to perform well as parents. As Korean cultural values strictly prescribe parents' roles and responsibilities for children, Korean parenting culture emphasizes parental sacrifice and support for children (Han, 2007; Park et al., 2011). As shared within East Asian societies influenced by Confucian ethics, parental sacrifice consists of significant cultural dimension of Asian parenting styles, which cannot be simply categorized as authoritarian (Chao & Kaeochinda, 2010). The parental sacrifice was known to often override their socio-economic status, and young adult children from Asian immigrant families acknowledged their first-generation immigrant parents' sacrifice for them (Kang et al., 2014; Lee & Zhou, 2014). That is,

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regardless their socio-economic class, Asian immigrant parents generally invest as much money and energy as they can into their children's education (Yang & Shin, 2008). For example, Lee and Zhou (2014) found that Chinese and Vietnamese American parents from lower socio-economic status in California actively utilized ethnic resources for their children's academic and career success.

While the Korean immigrant mothers in this study strove to meet Korean cultural expectations of educational attainment, most of the mothers expressed regrets about their past parenting practices. The mothers blamed themselves for their children's unsatisfactory outcomes, and, as a result, they doubted that they fulfilled overall good parenting job. These findings about lack of confidence showed somewhat nuanced differences from previous studies which found that Korean American parents reported more positive parenting cognition than Korean parents as a result of acculturation to American parenting values (Cote et al., 2015; Park et al., 2015). The seemingly weak parenting competence among the Korean immigrant mothers in this study may be explained by the strong cultural impacts from the country of origin as shown in previous research on different parenting cognition and confidence by cultures. For example, significant cultural pressure to perform well as parents among Korean parents was frequently associated with low levels of parenting competence (Han & Hong, 2000). Again, this was contrasted with high levels of confidence in parenting among European American mothers whose parenting culture emphasizes personal competence with respect to self-perception and parenting goals (Bornstein et al., 1998; Tamis-LeMonda & McFadden, 2010).

Furthermore, parenting beliefs and competence among Korean immigrant mothers can be understood from the gender specific perspective shared by Korean mothers in the home country. Although there have been changing trends in Korean society, still many Korean men and women

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regard childbirth and childrearing as gendered tasks which only mothers are responsible for (Kwon, 2015). Thus, many Korean mothers prioritize childrearing over their work and personal career. Whereas Korean fathers feel free to opt out childcare, Korean mothers have to manage double or triple burdens of work and childcare including family related and housekeeping tasks. In addition to psychological aspect of self-humility, influenced by Korean social virtue valuing moderate disposition, those mothering burdens can explain the perceived weak parenting competence among Korean mothers. The participants in this study also showed a similar sense of social and cultural pressure to be a good mother as a primary care-giver to their children. Subsequent self-criticism was found among all of the study participants who applied high standards to themselves and their fulfillment of the mothering role despite their hard work on mothering in immigration context.

In this vein, intersectionality of gender, ethnic minority, and social status of immigrant is noteworthy in further consideration of immigration stressors which intensified weak parental competence and regret about past parenting experiences among immigrant mothers. The current study showed that language barriers and a lack of information and social resources were major parenting stressors among these Korean immigrant mothers. These findings were in accordance with existing literature that demonstrated that immigration stressors had profound impacts on immigrant family life, including parenting competence and intergenerational relationships. Choi, Dancy, and Lee (2013)'s study showed, for example, that parents with adolescents reported frustration that they could not advocate for their children in school or in peer relationships mostly due to insufficient English proficiency and unfamiliar social and educational systems. As a result, the study found that the immigrant parents often felt guilty, incapable, and lacking power. Such feelings of powerlessness among the first-generation immigrant parents could

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influence Korean American parenting practices which may be involved with efforts to get empowered through racial/ethnic socialization for the next generation (Juang, Yoo, & Atkin, 2017).

While experiencing immigration stress, more importantly, most immigrant mothers were found to have difficulties in finding institutional assistance or social supports to appropriately deal with the stressors (Park & Bernstein, 2008). As previous studies demonstrated, for instance, this was because immigrant families are separated from their extended families and familiar social systems in their home country (Oh et al., 2002; Park & Bernstein, 2008). Isolated from familial and social support systems, the Korean immigrant mothers' potential or perceived social disadvantages led to further parental pressures on the younger generation's academic success. The point was supported by many other studies which have attributed high educational expectations among Asian American parents to parental desires for their children to achieve a higher social position through educational attainment in order to avoid social discrimination in the U.S. society (Lee, 2003; Lee & Zhou, 2014; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000).

Overall, it is crucial to understand the social and cultural environments that shape Korean immigrant mothers' parenting experiences. As discussed in the following sections, the hybrid parenting approach that arises in the immigration context also affected their child launching experiences and relationship management with their young adult children.

Perception of Child Launching and Adjustment to the Life Transition

Study findings showed that the Korean immigrant mothers in this study had a culturally modified conceptualization of child launching in immigration context. They perceived the child launching period as a process which encompasses psychological maturity, physical separation (i.e., child's initial home-leaving for college), financial independence, and child's marriage.

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Those dimensions of independence might not occur in a timely linear order, but usually the mothers considered a child's marriage to mark the completion of the child launching. They recognized that rather than being a single event, their child launching consisted of a build-up of various experiences related to the child's transitions to adulthood.

The Korean immigrant mothers' perception of the child launching transition was involved with the culturally constructed normativity of the child's independence in the context of two cultures. Differing from Korean social norms, the child's home-leaving for college or independence during the young adulthood is more common and socially desirable in American society. However, in Korean society, traditionally, marriage has been considered the mark of adulthood regardless of the individual's age or other social status (Kim, Lee, & Park, 2016). Filial piety and obedience to parents are life-long virtues, and still have a powerful influence on young adults' lives until and even after they marry and create their own family. In this context of heritage culture, the Korean immigrant mothers experienced negative emotions such as sadness, emptiness, and anxiety upon a child's initial home-leaving due to the feelings of parental role loss and fears about breaking family ties. The empty nest syndrome may be similar among American mothers as shown in the previous research (Mitchell & Lai, 2014; Sheriff & Weatherall, 2009). However, impacts from the Korean socio-cultural background appeared to be much more salient among Korean American mothers. All study participants, without exception, experienced difficulties in letting their children go especially in the initial stage of separation, which demonstrated the influence of collectivistic Korean culture.

Over time, however, most of the study participants reported that they were able to process and move past their emotional difficulties. By adopting American socio-cultural norms, the Korean immigrant mothers came to perceive their young adult children's independence as

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normative and were better able to adjust to this transition. That is, the ways in which the mothers perceived changing parental roles and the child's independence during the child launching period affected their response to this life transition. In specific, the Korean immigrant mothers viewed the current physical separation with their children as part of the process of transitioning to the full launching. This perspective helped them gradually adjust to life changes during the period. As supported by the current findings, previous research has also demonstrated that parental expectations regarding the normative timing of their children's independence played important roles in coping with the life transition among the parents (Kins et al., 2011; Mitchell & Lovegreen, 2009).

While the Korean immigrant mothers perceived the child's initial home-leaving as a normative transition, they also realized the focus of their parental role has shifted from practical and instrumental daily care to supporting their children financially and emotionally. As previous research (Fingerman, 2017; Kloep & Hendry, 2010) showed, accordingly, Korean immigrant mothers also experienced ambivalent feelings and practiced a mixed parenting approach during the child launching transition. On the one hand, the study participants were satisfied with their children's increasing independence and felt proud of their achievement as a parent. Even though some parents felt difficulties losing their parental role, they were relatively well-prepared to let their children go and try to find their own coping strategies. On the other hand, however, these mothers still exhibited some aspects of a controlling parenting approach. In their minds, they wanted to delay the separation with their children. In fact, many mothers perceived their children as not mature enough to be independent or still needing parental guidance, emotional support, and financial assistance. At times, thus, they tended to disagree with their young adult children's life choices. This lingering intensive parenting approach could cause conflicts with young adult

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children who typically desire and achieve personal growth as independent individuals (Ahn et al., 2008; Park et al., 2010).

Such extended parenting practices among the study participants – especially instrumental support for their young adult children – highlighted gender specific perceptions of mothering role in the current society. From the feminist perspective, Dillaway (2006) found that mothering ideology which shapes women's identities and activities to be a good mother had overarching impact on midlife mothers beyond menopausal period. Influenced by Korean parenting culture where such gendered mothering ideology is prevalent, Korean American mothers may hold strong beliefs that to be considered a good mother one has to provide a life-long support for their children. This point was also apparent in their intention and plan to further support their adult children and grandchildren even after their children's marriage.

In addition to the gendered mothering practice during the child launching period, the study participants' narratives also reflected the recent social phenomena of prolonged education and financial difficulties that affect many young adults (Fingerman, 2017). The delayed departure among young adult children due to prolonged educational and financial instability influenced the Korean immigrant mothers' extension of parenthood, which was perceived as a normative transition by the mothers. Interestingly, the extended parental support triggered by the mothers' perceptions about their child's maturity in the social context has facilitated maintaining parental involvement in young adult children's decision making about various life choices. This aspect of family dynamics is concurred with previous research finding that parental payment of college education was strongly associated with prolonged intensive parenting among the parents (Lowe, Dotterer, & Francisco, 2015).

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As results, during the transitional period of child launching, most mothers in the present study expressed ambivalence between 'letting go of' and 'holding on to' their young adult children. In their study of different parenting styles during the child launching period, Kloep and Hendry (2010) found that most parents employed various parenting strategies to deal with the transition while they experienced difficult time to let go of their young adult children. In this circumstance, the current study findings also suggested cultural negotiation in the perception of child launching and the adjustment to the transition. Based on a Korean cultural foundation, the mothers did not want to lose their parental roles and were initially inclined to hold on to their children. However, as they adopted American social norms, they clearly acknowledged that they should let their children go and become independent, and eventually they welcomed and were well prepared for the departure of young adult children.

Overall, to Korean immigrant mothers, the current child launching period meant extended parenthood because young adult children still needed parental support and involvement. The mothers found that their parental roles still included financial and emotional support – sometimes even practical and instrumental support – for the young adult children. Also, they actively engaged in their children's decision-making process, which represented their reluctance to fully let the children go at least until marriage. In this sense, the mothers felt further ambivalence and mixed feelings due to the uncertainty of the child's independence.

Evolving Parent-Young Adult Child Relationship: Acculturation, Parenting Approach, & Relationship Quality

Study findings highlighted the importance of a complex and dynamic approach to understanding the relationship between mother and emerging adult child during the launching transition, especially with respect to the acculturation of parenting approach. Despite parenting

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challenges, particularly those caused by the acculturative gap with their children, as shown through the reflections on past parenting experiences, Korean immigrant mothers could achieve personal growth through parenting, and their parenting experiences helped them further acculturate to the host society. Especially, continuing and close interactions with their young adult children facilitated acculturation among parents, and subsequently improved parent-child relationship quality. At the same time, their acculturation and understanding of their children's views again led to further adjusted parenting practices and better relationship quality with their children.

Firstly, during the current child launching period, Korean immigrant mothers in this study felt the parent-child relationship quality has improved when compared with the past relationship during the children's adolescence. That is, they reported that conflicts with their children have reduced since the children entered young adulthood. These findings contrast with previous research that emphasized intergenerational conflict in Korean immigrant families. In extant literature, for example, Korean American young adults were found to have relationship difficulties with their first-generation immigrant parents due to high parental control and acculturative gaps between the two generations (Ahn et al., 2008; Kang et al., 2010; Lee & Zhou, 2014; Park et al., 2010).

In this study, however, Korean immigrant mothers were very concerned with the quality of the relationship with their children. As a result, the mothers put a lot of efforts into maintaining family ties and managing relationship quality for the benefit of intergenerational solidarity. Especially, they emphasized the importance of living close to their children and keeping frequent contact, and both mothers and young adult children have developed better communication skills to manage intergenerational conflicts. In addition, maintaining quality

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relationships with children through frequent contact and communication promoted mutual understanding through a further acculturated parenting approach. That being said, an autonomy supportive parenting approach facilitated the improved communication skills which prevented unnecessary conflicts with emerging adult children.

Findings in the present study confirmed the important role of the frequent contact and open communication to manage the relationship between parents and young adult children. According to previous research, the quality of interactions between parents and children had a positive association with frequent contact (Fingerman et al., 2012). Living arrangement is one form of maintaining close contact, which previous research also suggested as an important factor for relationship quality. Physical distance between parents and emerging adult children (e.g., co-residence or proximity from the parental home) was known to have a significant impact on the parent-child relationship (Ward & Spitze, 2007). Likewise, many mothers in this study preferred living close with their emerging adult children, and such proximity of living arrangement was expected to help maintaining close interactions and quality relationship with children (Kins et al., 2009).

Secondly, the Korean immigrant mothers in this study further adjusted their parenting approach as they were trying to establish adult-to-adult relationships in accordance with the children's growing maturity and American cultural norms. Such adjustment was also influenced by their future expectation of a close relationship with adult children even after the full launching. An evolving and flexible parenting approach was found to contribute to better relationship quality with young adult children. Previous research suggested, and the current study reiterates, that different parenting styles explained variability in the quality of the parent-young adult child relationship (Johnson et al., 2010; Kins et al., 2009; Kumar & Mattanah, 2016). For

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example, authoritative/autonomy-supporting parents tended to have closer relationship with their emerging adult children, compared to parents with an authoritarian parenting style (Fingerman et al., 2012). Also, my study findings concurred with the results from an earlier research which found that parental financial and emotional supports of young adult children had positive impacts on the relationship quality (Fingerman et al., 2012).

Overall, this study revealed the dynamic relationship among parenting approach, parent-child relationship quality, and the process of acculturation. Based on the model of acculturation (Berry, 2003), previous studies suggested that more assimilated or integrated Asian immigrant parents practiced relatively authoritative parenting styles similar to European American families (Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000; Patel et al., 1996). However, in other studies of Korean immigrant parents' parenting style, the parents with controlling parenting style showed low levels of assimilation to American culture, and in turn, had significant family conflicts with their young adult children (Ahn et al., 2008; Park et al., 2010). In this vein, previous studies further suggested that a different mode or pace of acculturation between parents and children (i.e., acculturative gap) were important in immigrant family dynamics and intergenerational relationship quality (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). The current study also confirmed that the acculturative gap was one of the major parental stressors for Korean immigrant parents (Yoo & Vonk, 2012), in addition to challenges in the immigration context such as language barriers, perceived social disadvantages, and a lack of social and financial resources.

However, my study participants reported that their parenting experiences and interactions with their children have reduced the acculturative gap over time, thus further facilitating their acculturation to American society. That is, the acculturation modes of how the mothers relate to their culture of origin as well as to the host culture could be affected by the parent-child

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relationship, which, in turn, was shaped by the changing parenting approaches over time. Thus, the study findings suggested that some negotiation and reconstruction of the parenting approach in the immigration context continued along the process of acculturation and longer time spent in the host culture.

Conclusion

Overall, the current study suggested a complex and dynamic approach to understanding the interconnectedness among acculturation, parenting approach, and parent-young adult child relationship over time. In specific, this study highlighted the multifaceted impact of the immigrant context on acculturation and parenting experiences throughout childrearing and child launching periods. Through personal growth and the acculturation process during their parenting and child launching transitions, Korean immigrant mothers' intensive parenting based on the cultural heritage of their home country has been gradually shifting into culturally adjusted forms of a distinctively 'Korean American' parenting approach. Furthermore, in reaction to their children's growing independence and maturity, the mothers have moved to a less controlling parenting approach. Frequent and close interactions with their young adult children, in turn, contributed to better relationship management and further acculturation among the participants.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

Summary: The Modified Theoretical Model

Guided by the integrated theoretical framework of family development and family systems theories from the life course perspective, the present study explored first-generation Korean American immigrant mothers' parenting and child launching experiences, focusing on intergenerational relationships during this life transition. Each theory's different but complimentary perspectives were helpful to systematically examine the dynamic interactions and mechanisms within Korean immigrant families at multiple environmental levels. In addition, a phenomenological approach employed in this study facilitated delving into the lived experiences of Korean immigrant mothers and capturing the essence of those immigrant mothers' child launching experiences. Finally, study findings can be represented by the modified theoretical model (figure 2) which is useful for a better understanding of midlife Korean immigrant mothers' parenting and their relationship with young adult children.

[Insert figure 2 here]

Under the framework of family's developmental life stages, more specifically, this study focused on the developmental task of child launching during the midlife stage. During the child launching period, Korean immigrant mothers reflected on their past parenting experiences and reset their parental roles for present and future relationships with children. In this circumstance, family systems theory provided insights into the detailed mechanisms and patterns of family interactions which motivated life change. Furthermore, life course theory added macro level examinations of culture and society which are missing from the family development theory and family systems theory. Within the broader socio-cultural context, Korean immigrant mothers have been negotiating and reconstructing their parenting approach through interactions with

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children and acculturation processes over time. The subsystem relationships between mothers and children were influenced by the ways in which the mothers responded to a range of personal perceptions, family environments, and socio-cultural norms. Therefore, changes and transitions in family life conceptualized in relational terms over the life span allowed for a fuller picture of family transitions as a result of integrating the life course perspective with bridging micro- and macro-structural level investigations.

Contributions to Midlife Adults and Immigrant Research

While paying attention to increasing cultural diversity in the U.S., the current research contributes to both study fields of midlife adult development and immigrant families. That is, the present study illuminated middle-aged Korean immigrant mothers' culturally unique parenting approach, perception of child's independence and child launching, and their negotiations of socio-cultural norms in an immigration context. The contributions to the extant research can be discussed in terms of the impacts of immigration on parenting experience, the importance of dynamic changes in family relations over time, and the parental perspective on intergenerational relationship within Korean immigrant families.

Firstly, the current study found overarching impacts of immigration on acculturated parenting approach, perception of child launching, and parent-child relationships in the life trajectory of Korean immigrant mothers. Immigration was an important contextual factor which disconnected these mothers from their familiar social structures, caused social isolation in the U.S., and reconstructed parenting and family dynamics in the bi-cultural context. Specifically, all of the study participants were living in a nuclear family environment apart from extended families in their country of origin, which resulted in a lack of familial and social supports. Feelings of loneliness ran throughout the narratives of these Korean immigrant mothers from the

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experience of day-to-day childrearing to the current adjustment to child launching period. Thus, the further interpretation of the interview data identified the underlying feeling of loneliness as a result of prolonged separation from their extended family and familiar social systems, which reified the formation of a strong attachment and full commitment to their own children. Also, relationships with the children were found to be most important to the mothers throughout the life course.

Secondly, the Korean immigrant mothers' life-long stories about reflections on past parenting experiences, current relationship with their young adult children, and future expectations about the intergenerational relationship highlighted the importance of time dimension in understanding their child launching experiences and further dynamic family process. Their narratives provided valuable data to illustrate the ways in which these Korean immigrant mothers negotiate and manage their tasks and the challenges that their families face over the life span.

More specifically, while raising and launching their children in American society, the immigrant mothers have been managing ambivalence of socio-cultural contexts. Even though their intensive parenting styles in the immigration context have often involved costs such as parental sacrifice, distress, and conflicts with their young adult children due to the acculturative gap, the mothers' life journey was found to constantly evolve to adjust to changing parental roles and parenting approaches, and to manage better relationships with their children.

Thirdly, this study contributed to a novel exploration of parental perspective on the intergenerational relationships over the life span. Especially, this parental perspective was important to fill the research gap because previous research has mostly focused on emerging adults' views of their relationship with parents (e.g., Kang & Shih, 2016; Park et al., 2010).

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Especially, Korean immigrant mothers' own accounts of the child launching experience and their relationship with their young adult children could be better heard through a phenomenological approach employed in this study.

Differing from intergenerational relationship turbulence found in the previous studies, the current study showed that the immigrant mothers were actively striving to maintain family ties and to manage potential conflicts with their adult children, which was also part of the ongoing acculturation process among the immigrant mothers. Also, quality communication between mothers and children was found to mitigate some stressful conflicts from the acculturative gap and the subsequent distress in the intergenerational relationship.

Overall, this study could successfully examine the detailed knowledge of parenting stress, parental expectations, and intergenerational relationships from the perspective of midlife immigrant mothers. Through identifying vulnerability and resilience among the mothers who were undergoing major role changes and life adjustment upon children's transition to adulthood, the study findings may have significant implications for providing these Korean families with useful assistance and supports in practical settings.

Limitations

As with all research, this study also has its limitations. Some limitations in the research procedure of recruiting and sampling has methodological implications for future research.

Firstly, the current study could not adequately examine couple dynamics and gender specific family relations during the life transitions. Most of all, this study lacks Korean American fathers' perspective. Despite my initial attempts to recruit both mothers and fathers, only mothers agreed to participate in the interviews. My positionality as a female researcher might have affected the differential in access to mothers and fathers. In general, methodological challenges

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in recruitment of fathers as participants were discussed among the fatherhood researchers (Mitchell et al., 2007; Roy & Kwon, 2007), especially for qualitative interviews. As obtaining immigrant fathers' views about relationships with their children is important to illustrate a fuller picture within the families, various strategies may be attempted to recruit fathers into studies (Mitchell et al., 2007). Among them, considering that initial contacts are usually made with mothers, researchers can conduct couple interviews first to build rapport with fathers, and a separate interview with fathers may be followed if necessary. With respect to gender relations, additionally, study findings did not include themes around mothers' views on their child's gender and differences in mother-daughter and mother-son relationships. In this sense, further data collection and analysis may be suggested as a future research direction.

With respect to socio-economic class, secondly, the participants of this study were found to belong predominantly to the middle class. Although Korean immigrant mothers' parenting practices were known to often override their socio-economic status (Lee & Zhou, 2014), this study might not adequately address parenting experiences among people in the lower socio-economic class. According to Pew Research Center (2017), more than 75% of Korean Americans have college degrees and above, and earn \$60,000 of median income. Also, a majority of them live in major metropolitan areas in the U.S. Thus, my research participants fairly well represent Korean immigrant population in the current American society. However, previous research on Korean immigrant youth in the inner-city area demonstrated that low socio-economic status due to immigration and lack of support systems served as barrier to their successful educational achievement and adjustment in the host country (Lew, 2006). For further examination, it would be preferable to include participants with a wider variety of socio-

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economic status. Due to this limitation, some cautions may be required when the study findings are interpreted and applied to practices.

Thirdly, for more rigorous research on intergenerational relationships, parent-child dyads need to be researched by incorporating young adult children's perspectives in a study design. The child launching period (i.e. child's entering adulthood) can be an important life transition for both parents and children because it involves changes in many aspects of roles and tasks within the family. Parents and children may have different but complimentary perspectives of each other. Thus, recruiting both parents and young adult children within a family and conducting separate interviews with both generations may generate richer and somewhat different findings around their experiences.

Implications of the Findings for Future Research and Practice

This study highlighted culturally specific family dynamics in an immigration context, in particular, with respect to the developmental challenges of middle-aged Korean mothers in the U.S. Their perception of child launching and parenting approach constructed in the context of two cultures appeared to influence their adjustment to the evolving relationship with their young adult children. Therefore, the findings on cultural influences within immigration context may have some implications for future research directions and for practical services.

For Research

First, further research can be conducted with older parents whose adult children have married and created their own families. Korean parents regard a child's marriage as the final destination of child launching, so research on parental perceptions of adult children's independence can be expanded to the later stage of life. After the completion of child launching,

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thus, older Korean parents' psychological adjustment and interactions with adult children may be further complicated by their relationships with in-laws and grandchildren.

Second, replicating this study with midlife parents in other Asian immigrant communities would further the understanding of family dynamics in immigrant families. It would be also interesting to conduct the study with other racial/ethnic populations, which can demonstrate differences and similarities in various immigration contexts. Through the accumulated knowledge, eventually, such future research would contribute to program and policy development to enhance social and community supports for midlife immigrant parents.

Third, in consideration of extended parenthood with parental supports for young adult children during the child launching period, further research on parenting of emerging adults may shed light on the explanation of family dynamics, familial pressure, and individual well-being in the families. That is, an extension of this research vein might examine how a helicopter parenting approach among immigrant parents would influence parent-adult child relationships short-term as well as long-term, and whether the parenting approach facilitate or hinder their psychological and developmental adjustment during the transitional period.

For Practice

The findings of this study can serve to encourage professionals working with Korean immigrant families -- family counselors, therapists, and practitioners -- to recognize the culturally unique relationships among parenting approach, intergenerational relationships and acculturation. Particularly, a culturally sensitive perspective is crucial when working across cultural boundaries. Understanding familial and cultural backgrounds may help professionals in family services while providing more efficient assistance not only for parents but also for their young adult children whose ethnic roots are in Korean culture. For example, as suggested in this

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study, Korean American mothers may be conservative with respect to some sensitive topics (e.g., dating or career choice), but they were found to value healthy conflict resolution through open communication with their young adult children. Based on this understanding of the culturally unique parenting approach, thus, teachers and counselors can help Korean American young adults to find appropriate ways of improving relationship with their mothers. Also, this perspective may be also useful for other Asian immigrant families whose heritage culture of origin shares some characteristics of Confucian culture.

In addition, according to the study findings, maintaining family ties was important to Korean immigrant mothers and helped better parent-child relationship quality, which in turn facilitated the mothers' adjustment during the life transition. Thus, the findings can be useful to develop and implement culturally relevant programs which serve to strengthen the parent-child relationship and to promote help-seeking when the mothers need to cope with midlife developmental and relational challenges. In consideration of extended parenthood during the child launching period, for instance, parenting programs and educational pamphlets for the targeted immigrant mothers can include such components as enhancing communication skills, managing family stress, finding useful community resources, and helping immigrant parents to be familiarized with American culture among the younger generation.

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FIGURES & TABLES

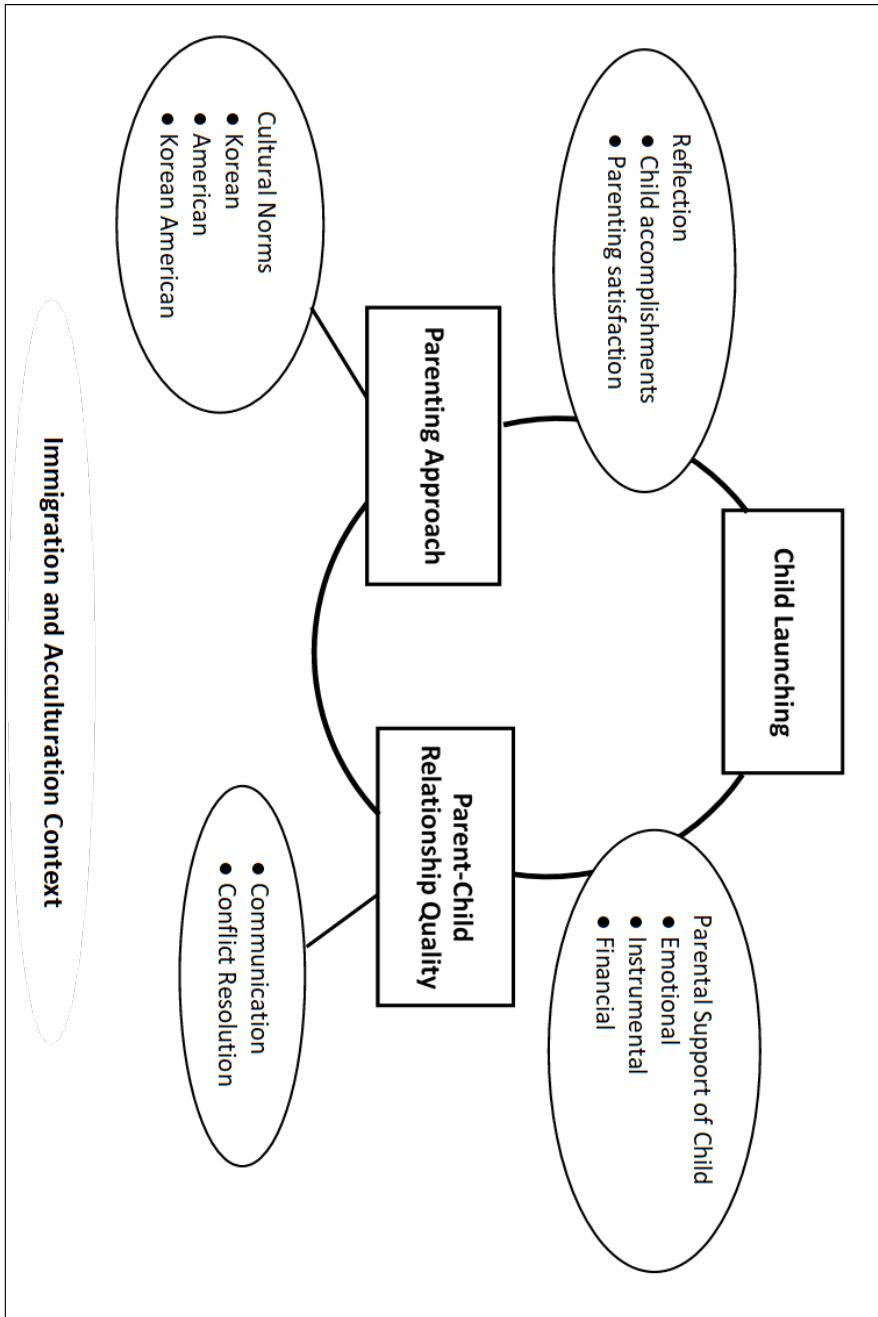
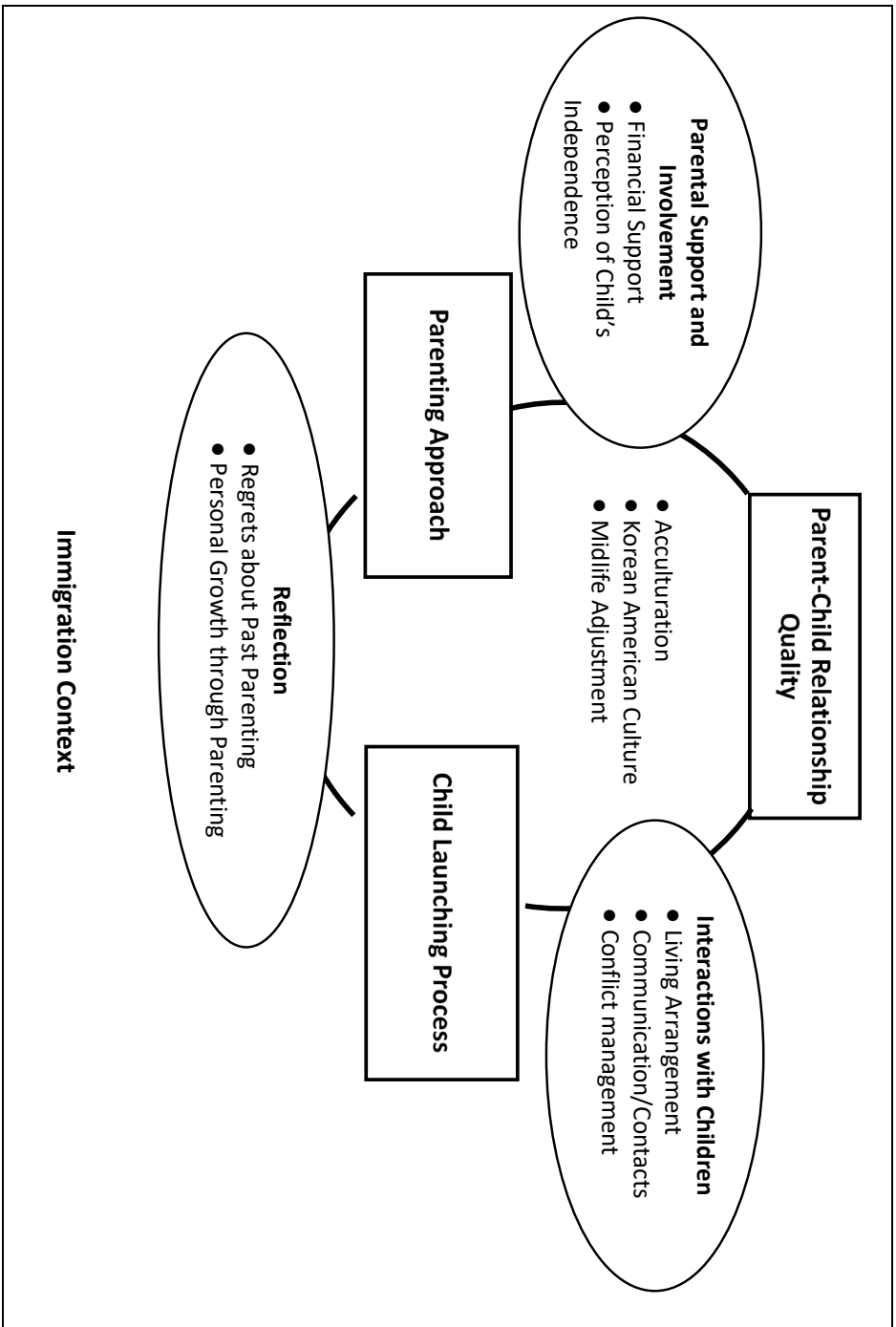


Figure 1.
The conceptual model of midlife adjustment among Korean immigrant parents

Figure 2.
The modified theoretical model of midlife adjustment among Korean immigrant mothers



KOREAN IMMIGRANT MOTHERS' CHILD LAUNCHING

Table 1.
Participants' demographic information (N=10)

Participants (Pseudonym)	Age	Occupation	Marital Status (years)	Immigration	Child 1		Child 2		Child 3	
					Gender	Occupation	Gender	Occupation	Gender	Occupation
Ayoung	55	Pharmacist Master	Married (30)	Years of living in the U.S. FL & NJ	M	Pastor Philadelphia, PA	F	Data analyst NYC	F	Student Durham, NC
Bomin	52	Nail shop (part time) Bachelor	Married (24)	24 Marriage NJ	M	Analyst Tokyo, Japan	F	Student NYC	M	Student NYC
Chayeon	50	Homemaker Master	Married (22)	22 Education (herself) NJ	F	Student Boston, MA				
Dahae	46	Babysitter/cleaner (part time) Bachelor	Married (20)	10 Husband's study & job NJ & PA	M	Student Baltimore, MD	M	Student Amherst, MA		
Eunji	48	Homemaker Bachelor	Married (24)	13 Education (first child) PA	M	Autism Living at parental home	M	Student Amherst, MA		
Fajin	56	Small business owner Bachelor	Divorced, 2 yrs ago (married for 25 yrs)	17 Education (second child) PA, CA, NJ	F	Engineer San Jose, CA	M	Autism Living at parental home		
Gisun	50	Small business owner Bachelor	Married (26)	26 Marriage PA, NY, NJ	M	Student Philadelphia, PA				
Hyun	48	Adult care (part time) Bachelor	Married (23)	23 Marriage PA	F	Student Philadelphia, PA				
Inhye	51	Analyst Bachelor	Married (26)	10 Job re-location NJ	F	Accountant Living at parental home	M	Student Boston, MA		
Jiwon	60	Homemaker Bachelor	Married (35)	35 Marriage (husband's study) NJ & many states	M	Finance NYC	F	Environment (NPO) NYC		

APPENDICES**Appendix A. Request for Site Approval**

Dear Ms./Mr. _____

I'm Soo-Bin You, a PhD candidate in the Department of Family Science and Human Development at Montclair State University. Currently, I'm working on a study of Korean immigrant parents' experience of parenting their children who reached the adulthood. In particular, my study aims to understand Korean parent's feelings and thoughts about relationship with young adult children.

Currently there is no study that explored Korean parents' parenting of the age group of children. Thus, I would like to hear Korean parents' opinion about their parenting experience with young adult children. And, I expect this study will help potential policy and program development in the U.S for the Korean population.

In order to conduct the study, I'm looking for Korean American organizations that would allow us to post a flyer to recruit participants. I will recruit only volunteering parents who are willing to participate.

Please find the flyer attached for your reference. Thank you very much for your consideration.

If you need more information, please contact me.
Soo-Bin You, 732-672-0403, yous2@montclair.edu or the study email
(koreanparentingstudy@gmail.com).

Sincerely,

Soo-Bin You

연구 참여자 모집광고 협조 요청

안녕하십니까

저는 몽클레어 주립대학의 가족 및 인간발달학과 박사과정에 있는 유수빈입니다. 저는 현재 **“청년 자녀를 두신 한국 이민자 부모들의 자녀양육 경험에 대한 연구”** 라는 제목으로 미국에 이민 오셔서 자녀 분들을 키우신 한국인 부모님들의 자녀양육 경험과 이제 성년이 된 그 자녀들과의 관계에 대해 부모님들께서 어떤 생각을 가지고 계신가를 이해하는 데에 중점을 두는 박사학위 논문용 연구를 진행하고 있습니다.

지금까지 미국학계에는 청년 자녀를 두신 한국 이민자 부모님들의 자녀양육 경험을 연구한 사례가 거의 없었습니다. 따라서 제 박사학위 연구에 관심 있으신 부모님들께서 당신들의 자녀양육과 가족 관계에 대한 경험을 들려 주신다면, 본 연구는 앞으로 청년 자녀를 둔 미국내 한국 이민자 가족들을 더욱 잘 이해하고 그 분들을 위한 정책과 프로그램을 개발하는 데에 도움이 될 수 있는 귀한 자료가 될 것입니다.

이와 관련해서, 저는 귀 단체의 게시판이나 홈페이지에 제 연구를 소개하고 관심있는 부모님들의 인터뷰 연구참여를 부탁드립니다. 모집광고를 게재할 수 있도록 허락을 부탁드립니다. 본 연구의 참여는 오직 자발적으로 참여신청을 해오신 분에 한해서만 이뤄질 것입니다.

참고로 제가 사용하고자 하는 연구 참여자 모집 광고문을 첨부합니다.
모쪼록 살펴 보시고 본 광고물의 게시를 허락해 주시면 대단히 감사드리겠습니다.

더 자세한 정보가 필요하시다면, 언제든지 아래 연락처로 문의해 주십시오.

유수빈, Soo-Bin You, 732-672-0403, yous2@montclair.edu
또는 연구 프로젝트 이메일(koreanparentingstudy@gmail.com).

감사합니다.

유수빈 올림

Appendix B. Recruitment Flyer

Recruitment Flyer

A Research on Korean immigrant parents' experience of parenting their young adult children

♣ Have you raised your child in the U.S. and the child has now reached adulthood? ♣

This study is a part of dissertation project in the Department of Family Science and Human Development at Montclair State University.

I would like to talk to Korean immigrant parents about their parenting experience and their feelings and thoughts about relationship with young adult children in the U.S.

Eligibility of research participants:

- You were born in South Korea.
- You immigrated to the U.S. after the age of 18.
- You currently reside in NY/NJ area.
- You have at least one child.
- Your child has attended kindergarten through high school in the U.S., and (s)he is now between 18 and 30 years old.

If you checked all the boxes above, you are invited to participate in an interview at your convenience.

Your privacy and the confidentiality of the interview will be strictly protected.

If you are interested in participating in this study, please contact me for more information.
Soo-Bin You, 732-672-0403, yous2@montclair.edu or the study email
(koreanparentingstudy@gmail.com)

This study has been approved by the Montclair State University Institutional Review Board.
IRB # _____, Approval date _____.

연구 참여자 모집

청년 자녀를 두신 한국 이민자 부모들의 자녀양육 경험에 대한 연구

♣ 미국에서 키우신 자녀가 현재 성인이 되었습니까? ♣

본 연구는 몽클레어 주립대학 가족 및 인간발달학과의 박사 논문 연구 프로젝트로 진행되고 있습니다.

미국에 이민 오셔서 자녀 분들을 키우신 한국인 부모님들의 자녀양육 경험과 이제 성년이 된 자녀들과의 관계에 대해 부모님들께서 어떤 생각을 가지고 계시는지 듣고자 합니다.

연구 참여자 자격 요건

- 한국에서 태어나셨습니까?
- 18 세 이후에 미국으로 오셨습니까?
- 현재 뉴욕/뉴저지 지역에 살고 계십니까?
- 하나 이상의 자녀를 두고 계십니까?
- 그 자녀 분이 미국에서 유치원부터 고등학교까지 다녔습니까?
- 그 자녀 분의 현재 나이가 18 세-30 세입니까?

이상에 대해 모두 '예'라고 대답하신 분들 중에서, 본 연구에 참여를 원하시거나 더 자세한 정보를 원하시는 분께서는 아래 연락처로 연락을 주십시오.

연락 주시는 분들의 편의에 따라 시간과 장소를 정하여, 본 연구자와의 개별 인터뷰에 참여하실 수 있도록 하겠습니다.

참여하시는 분들의 개인적인 정보와 인터뷰 내용에 대한 비밀은 철저히 보장됩니다.

유수빈, Soo-Bin You, 732-672-0403, yous2@montclair.edu

또는 연구 프로젝트 이메일 (koreanparentingstudy@gmail.com)

KOREAN IMMIGRANT MOTHERS' CHILD LAUNCHING

본 연구는 몽클레어 주립대학 Institutional Review Board 가 승인하였습니다.
IRB # _____, Approval date _____.

KOREAN IMMIGRANT MOTHERS' CHILD LAUNCHING

Appendix C. Recruitment Letter

Dear Ms./Mr. _____

I'm Soo-Bin You, a PhD candidate in the Department of Family Science and Human Development at Montclair State University. Currently, I'm working on a study of Korean immigrant parents' experience of parenting their children who reached the adulthood. In particular, my study aims to understand Korean parent's feelings and thoughts about relationship with young adult children.

You will be eligible if...

- You were born in South Korea.
- You immigrated to the U.S. after the age of 18.
- You currently reside in NY/NJ area.
- You have at least one child.
- Your child has attended kindergarten through high school in the U.S., and now (s)he is between 18 and 30 years old.

Eligible parents will be invited to participate in an interview at a time and location of your convenience, and your privacy and the confidentiality of the interview will be strictly protected.

If you are interested in participating, please contact me for more information.
Soo-Bin You, 732-672-0403, yous2@montclair.edu or the study email
(koreanparentingstudy@gmail.com)

Also, you may contact my supervising faculty if you have further questions on this study and participation. Dr. Olena Nesteruk, Associate Professor, 973-655-7984,
nesteruko@mail.montclair.edu

Thank you!

연구 참여자 모집 서한

안녕하십니까

저는 몽클레어 주립대학의 가족 및 인간발달학과 박사과정에 있는 유수빈입니다. 현재 저는 박사학위 논문의 주제로 한국 이민자 분들 중에서 성인이 된 청년 자녀를 두신 부모님들의 자녀양육 경험에 대한 연구를 진행하고 있습니다. 특히 제 연구는 미국에서 자녀들을 키우신 한국 부모님들께서 이제 성인이 된 자녀들과의 관계에 대해 어떤 생각을 가지고 계신가를 이해하는 데에 중점을 두고 있습니다.

지금까지 학계에는 청년 자녀를 두신 한국 이민자 부모님들의 자녀양육 경험을 연구한 사례가 거의 없었습니다. 따라서 관심있으신 부모님들께서 제 연구에 참여하셔서 자녀 양육과 가족 관계에 대한 경험을 들려 주신다면, 그 자료들을 바탕으로 하여 이 연구는 앞으로 청년 자녀를 둔 한국 이민자 가족들을 더욱 잘 이해하고 그 분들을 위한 정책과 프로그램을 개발하는 데에 도움이 될 것으로 기대합니다.

연구 참여자 자격 요건

- 한국에서 태어나셨습니까?
- 18 세 이후에 미국으로 오셨습니까?
- 현재 뉴욕/뉴저지 지역에 살고 계십니까?
- 하나 이상의 자녀를 두고 계십니까?
- 그 자녀 분이 미국에서 유치원부터 고등학교까지 다녔습니까?
- 그 자녀 분의 현재 나이가 18 세-30 세입니까?

이상에 대해 모두 '예'라고 대답하신 분들 중에서, 본 연구에 참여를 원하시거나 더 자세한 정보를 원하시는 분께서는 아래 연락처로 연락을 주십시오.

연락 주시는 분들의 편의에 따라 시간과 장소를 정하여 본 연구자와의 개별 인터뷰에 참여하실 수 있도록 하겠습니다.

참여하시는 분들의 개인적인 정보와 인터뷰 내용에 대한 비밀은 철저히 보장됩니다.

유수빈, Soo-Bin You, 732-672-0403, yous2@montclair.edu
또는 연구 프로젝트 이메일 (koreanparentingstudy@gmail.com)

KOREAN IMMIGRANT MOTHERS' CHILD LAUNCHING

감사합니다.

유수빈 올림

KOREAN IMMIGRANT MOTHERS' CHILD LAUNCHING

Appendix D. Telephone Screening Script

Thank you for your interest in this research. I'm Soo-Bin You, a PhD candidate in the Department of Family Science and Human Development at Montclair State University. As a part of my dissertation project, currently, I'm working on a study of Korean immigrant parents' experience of parenting their children who reached the adulthood. In particular, my study aims to understand Korean parent's feelings and thoughts about relationship with young adult children. Therefore, I'm interested in listening to parents' stories and opinions about parenting experiences in the U.S.

If you are qualified to participate in an interview, you can choose a time and location of your convenience for the individual interview. Your privacy and the confidentiality of the interview will be strictly protected.

Are you still interested in participating in this study? Yes / No

Let me ask some questions to know if you are eligible for the interview of this study.

- Were you born in South Korea?
- Did you immigrate to the U.S. after the age of 18?
- Do you currently reside in NY/NJ area?
- Do you have at least one child?
- Has your child attended kindergarten through high school in the U.S.?
- Is your child between 18 and 30 years old now?

Thank you for answering the questions.

If qualified (all yes): I would like to schedule an interview with you. The interview will take 1-2 hours. Please let me know the best time and meeting place for the individual interview with me.

If not qualified: I am looking for someone who are [explain the criteria]; who is different from you in the criteria. Even though you will not be with me this time, would you allow me to contact you for the future studies? If you like to, please leave your name and contact information for me. Thank you again.

Meeting date/time:

Participant ID:

Thank you!

참가 자격 요건 전화 질문서

안녕하십니까? 저는 몽클레어 주립대학 가족 및 인간발달학과 박사과정의 우수빈입니다. 저의 한국인 이민자 부모님들의 청년 자녀양육에 대한 연구에 관심을 가져 주셔서 감사드립니다.

우선, 인터뷰 참가 자격 요건을 확인하기 위해 몇가지 질문을 드리겠습니다.

- 한국에서 태어나셨습니까?
- 미국으로 이주하실 때 18 세 이상의 나이이셨습니까?
- 현재 뉴욕/뉴저지 지역에 살고 계십니까?
- 자녀 분이 있으십니까?
- 그 자녀 분이 미국에서 유치원부터 고등학교까지 교육을 받았습니까?
- 그 자녀 분의 현재 나이가 18 세 - 30 세 사이에 해당합니까?

답변 감사드립니다.

자격 요건 충족 (모두 예)의 경우: 귀하께서는 본 연구를 위한 인터뷰 참가요건을 모두 갖추셨습니다. 본 연구는 저의 박사학위 논문을 위한 연구로서, 한국인 부모님들께서 미국에서 자녀를 키우신 경험을 들어보고, 또 이제 성인이 된 자녀들과의 관계에 대해 어떤 생각을 가지고 계신가를 알아 보고자 합니다.

본 연구의 참여를 원하시면, 원하시는 날짜/시간과 장소에서 한시간에서 두시간 정도에 걸쳐서 저와 일대일 개별 인터뷰를 가지게 되실 것입니다. 개인적인 정보나 인터뷰 내용에 대한 비밀은 철저히 보장될 것을 약속드립니다.

개별 인터뷰에 참여하실 의향이 있으십니까? 예 / 아니오

'예'라고 답변한 경우: 감사합니다. 개별 인터뷰를 준비하도록 하겠습니다. 원하시는 시간과 장소를 말씀해 주시면 제가 맞춰서 찾아 뵙도록 하겠습니다.

인터뷰 미팅 날짜/시간/장소: _____

참가자 아이디: _____

감사합니다!

자격 요건이 맞지 않을 경우: 제 연구에 관심을 가져 주셔서 감사드립니다. 죄송하게도 제가 찾고 있는 참가자의 요건에 완전히 맞지는 않으시는 것 같습니다 [이유 설명]. 이번에 제 연구에

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참여하지는 못 하시더라도 혹시 다음 기회에 다른 연구로 연락 드려도 되겠습니까?
괜찮으시다면 성함과 연락처를 남겨 주시면 대단히 감사드리겠습니다. 다시한번 감사합니다.

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Appendix E. Informed Consent Form

Study Title: A Research on Korean immigrant parents' experience of parenting their young adult children

Study Investigators:

Soo--Bin You, PhD candidate, Department of Family Science & Human Development, Montclair State University

Supervising faculty member: Dr. Olena Nesteruk, Associate Professor, Department of Family Science & Human Development, Montclair State University

Purpose of the Study:

This study aims to understand Korean immigrant parents' experience of parenting practice and their feelings about relationship with young adult children.

Research procedure:

You will participate in an individual face-to-face interview, and will be asked questions about your parenting experience and relationship with your child(ren). The interview will be held at any time and place of your choice, and may take approximately one to two hours.

Rights as a participant:

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you can stop at any time when you want to. You may skip any question if you prefer not to answer.

Your privacy is protected as all your responses will be kept anonymous and you will be identified only with pseudonyms in any resulting publications or presentations from this study. Confidentiality of the information from you is guaranteed, and all the audio recordings and the interview transcripts will be kept in a locked cabinet which is accessible only by me.

Risks and benefits:

There are no known risks related to participating in this study. However, you may feel emotional discomfort depending on your experiences in family. Again, I let you know that you skip the answer or stop the interview at any time when you want.

Even though there are no direct benefits to you, the valuable information from you will increase understanding of Korean immigrant parents in the U.S., and potentially develop useful community programs and policies.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact Soo-Bin You at 732-672-0403 or email yous2@montclair.edu or my supervising faculty member, Dr. Olena Nesteruk at 973-655-7984, nesteruko@mail.montclair.edu.

If you have concerns or questions about your rights as a research participant, you may e-mail or call the IRB Chair, Dr. Katrina Bulkley, at 973-655-5189 or reviewboard@mail.montclair.edu.

Consent to Audio-taping:

Do you consent to an audio recording of the interview? Yes / No

Participation Assurance:

I have read the above statements, and I understand the research purpose and procedure. Also, my rights as a participant and possible risks have been explained. All of my questions have been answered. My signature indicates that I agree to participate in this study and I have received a copy of this consent form.

Print your name (pseudonym) _____ Signature _____ Date _____

Name of Principal Investigator _____ Signature _____ Date _____

연구 참여 동의서

연구 제목: 청년 자녀들을 두신 한국 이민자 부모들의 자녀양육 경험에 대한 연구

연구자:

유수빈, 몽클레어 주립대학, 가족 및 인간발달학과, 박사과정

지도교수 Dr. Olena Nesteruk, 몽클레어 주립대학, 가족 및 인간발달학과, 교수

연구 목적: 본 연구는 미국에 이민 오셔서 자녀를 키우신 한국인 부모님들의 자녀 양육 경험과 이제 성년이 된 자녀 분들과의 관계에 대해 부모님들께서 어떤 생각을 가지고 계시는지 듣고자 합니다.

연구 과정:

본 연구의 참여를 원하시면, 참여자의 편의에 따라 원하시는 날짜/시간과 장소에서 한시간에서 두시간 정도에 걸쳐서 저와 일대일 개별 인터뷰를 가지게 되실 것입니다. 이 인터뷰를 통해 참여자께서는 미국에서 자녀를 키우신 경험과, 또한 이제 성인이 된 자녀들과의 관계에 대해 어떤 생각을 가지고 계신지에 관련한 몇가지 질문에 답변하시게 될 것입니다.

연구 참가자의 권리:

본 연구에의 참가 여부는 참가자의 자발적 결정에 따릅니다. 또한 참가자는 인터뷰 진행 도중 언제든지 참가를 중단할 수 있으며 대답을 원치 않는 질문에 대해서는 답변을 하지 않으셔도 됩니다.

인터뷰 참가자의 모든 답변에 대해서는 익명성과 비밀유지가 보장됩니다. 차후에 연구 결과가 출판 또는 발표될 시에는 반드시 가명으로 처리될 것입니다.

또한, 정확한 자료 수집과 분석을 위해서 녹음과 녹취를 하게 되는데, 관련된 모든 자료들은 연구자 본인만이 열람할 수 있는 안전한 서고에 보관될 것입니다.

연구 관련 위험성과 혜택:

본 연구와 관련해서 연구 참가자가 겪을 수 있는 위험성은 알려진 바 없습니다. 다만, 자녀양육과 가족의 경험을 회고하시는 중에, 참가자의 개인적인 상황에 따라서, 혹시 감정의 기복을 느끼실 수는 있을 것 같습니다. 이 경우, 원치 않는 질문에 대해서 대답을 하지 않으시거나 언제든지 인터뷰 중단을 요청하실 수 있음을 다시한번 알려 드립니다.

이 연구를 통해서 참가자에게 직접적으로 드릴 수 있는 혜택은 없습니다만, 본 연구를 위해서 주시는 귀중한 경험담과 정보는 앞으로 미국에 사는 한국 이민자 부모님들을 더욱 잘 이해하고 유용한 프로그램과 정책을 개발하는 데에 도움이 될 것입니다.

본 연구에 대해 질문이 있으십니까?:

연구자 유수빈 또는 지도교수 Dr. Nesteruk 에게 연락 주십시오.

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Soo-Bin You, 732-672-0403, yous2@montclair.edu 또는 연구 프로젝트 이메일
(koreanparentingstudy@gmail.com)

Dr. Olena Nesteruk, 973-655-7984, nesteruko@mail.montclair.edu

연구 참여자로서의 권리에 대한 궁금한 점이 있으십니까?:

몽클레어 주립대학 IRB 연구소장, Dr. Katrina Bulkley 에게 연락 주십시오. 973-655-5189 or
reviewboard@mail.montclair.edu.

녹음에 동의:

본 인터뷰를 녹음하고자 합니다. 녹음을 허락하십니까? 예 / 아니오

인터뷰 자료 사용:

본 인터뷰 자료를 차후에 진행될 다른 연구 분석에 사용해도 되겠습니까? 예 / 아니오

차후 다른 연구에의 참여:

제가 진행하게 될 다른 연구에 관심이 있으시다면, 혹시 나중에 참여를 위해서 연락 드려도 되겠습니까?
 예 / 아니오

'예'라고 대답하셨다면, 연락 드릴 이메일이나 전화번호를 남겨 주십시오. _____

참여 동의 확인:

이상의 내용을 모두 읽었으며 본 연구의 목적과 과정을 이해하였습니다. 또한 연구 참가자로서 가질 수
있는 권리와, 연구참여에 따를 수 있는 위험성에 대해서도 숙지하였습니다. 아울러 연구에 대해 궁금했던
점들이 잘 설명되었습니다. 아래에 서명함으로써, 저는 본 연구에 참여할 것에 동의합니다.

성함 (가명) _____ 서명 _____ 날짜 _____

연구자 _____ 서명 _____

KOREAN IMMIGRANT MOTHERS' CHILD LAUNCHING

Appendix F. Interview ProtocolIntroductory statement

Thank you again for agreeing to participate in this study. I am interested in learning about middle aged Korean immigrant parents' experience with children who reached the young adulthood. In this interview, you will be asked questions about your parenting practice and feelings about relationship with your young adult child(ren).

I am the only person who will listen to you and you will not be judged by your answers. There are no right or wrong answers. It is about your experience. Please just tell me your stories. Also, you don't have to answer any questions you feel uncomfortable with, and you can stop at any point if you like to.

Before we start, please read through the informed consent form. Are you still willing to be audiotaped? And, please let me know if you have any questions or concerns.

Family and background information

For my better understanding of your background, first, I would like to ask you to fill out a sheet of demographic information questionnaires. The questionnaires are asking about you and your family background information. Again, you can skip any question that you don't want to answer. Thank you for the information.

Parenting experience: child launching and emerging adulthood

1. You mentioned that your child has moved out and living on their own now.
 - For what reasons is (s)he living outside of the home on her/his own (e.g., college, work, or just independence)? Where does (s)he live (e.g., distant/close)?
 - How often and when does (s)he visit home?
 - What is your feeling like when (s)he is coming home for a visit?
2. You may remember the day when your child moved out for college/independence, for example. Tell me how you felt back then (e.g., feeling empty or stress-relieved).
 - Have the feelings changed over time?
 - [If the interviewee has multiple children] Did you find any difference in feelings between older child's leaving and younger one's?
3. Your child has reached the adulthood. I want to know more about what your child's adulthood means to you.
 - When did you think that your child would be an adult who is really independent from you? (e.g., when the child moved out for college/work, when (s)he got a driving license, or other incidents?)
 - Do you think the child still needs support from you? Are you willing to provide them? In what ways? (e.g., emotional encouragement, instrumental assistance, or financial support)
4. What makes you feel proud of your child most these days?
 - How do you feel about how your child turned out?

Parenting trajectory in the immigration context

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Now let's move on to discuss some of your parenting experiences back in the earlier years when your child(ren) was younger. You have raised your child(ren) in a different social and cultural context than your upbringing in Korea.

1. Please tell me about challenges or difficulties you might have experienced as an immigrant parent in the early years.
 - Did being in the U.S. add more to the challenges or make those challenges easier to handle? In what ways?
2. Tell me about the most rewarding time you had as a parent of a young child?
3. In what ways did you think you were different from American parents in parenting and education of your child? And, in what ways did you think you were different from Korean parents?
4. Do you feel your ways (styles) of treating the child have changed over time as your child grows up? (e.g., controlling, autonomy-supporting, etc.) If so, in what ways? Could you give me some examples?
5. Looking back, are you satisfied with your parenting job? In what ways?
 - If you could change anything about parenting, what would you change?

Relationship with children

Some Korean immigrant parents say that they experience generational or cultural gaps with their children, which could be very stressful. What do you think about it based on your experience?

1. How often and in what ways do you talk or communicate with your child(ren)?
 - What are frequent topics discussed between you and your child(ren)?
2. What concerns do you have about your child these days? (e.g., maturity, education and career, financial independence, dating/marriage, family ties, or else)
 - Do you share these concerns with your child? If so, please give me some examples.
 - Are there any issues which cause disagreement between you and your children?
 - How do you voice your opinion when such issues arise?
 - What do you think your role as a parent would be in managing the issues? Do you think you are doing a good job or it is difficult to you? In what ways?
3. Now let's look towards the future.
 - How do you envision the future relationship with your child (e.g., living close, support from the child, grand-parenthood...)?
4. If you could give advice to other Korean immigrant parents with adult children, what would you say?

Closing script

Thank you for sharing your parenting experience and thoughts about relationship with your child. You gave me lots of insights which are valuable information for helping Korean immigrant parents in their midlife stage.

Please feel free to contact me after the interview if you have any questions or concerns. Before we end the interview, do you have any questions or comments?

인터뷰 프로토콜

들어가는 말

저의 연구에 참여해 주셔서 감사합니다. 이 인터뷰에서는, 부모님께서 미국에 이민 오셔서 자녀를 키우신 자녀양육 경험과, 이제 성인이 된 자녀분들과의 관계에 대해 부모님들께서 현재 가지고 계신 생각들을 여쭙 볼 것입니다.

이 인터뷰 내용을 듣는 사람은 저 한 사람이 될 것이고, 말씀하시는 대답 내용에는 맞고 틀리는 것이 없으므로 오로지 부모님의 경험과 생각 그대로를 말씀해 주시면 됩니다. 또한, 말씀하시는 도중에 답변이 곤란한 질문에 대해서는 대답을 하지 않으셔도 되고, 언제든지 요청하시면 인터뷰를 중단할 수도 있습니다.

인터뷰를 시작하기 전에 우선, 이 연구 참여 동의서를 읽어 보시고 서명해 주시기 바랍니다. 인터뷰를 녹음하는 데에 동의하십니까? 그리고 혹시 궁금하신 점이 있으시면 말씀해 주십시오..

개인 및 가족에 관한 사회인구학적 정보

인터뷰 참가자를 좀더 이해하고 인터뷰 내용을 분석하는 데에 도움이 될 수 있도록, 참가자 개인과 가족의 인적 사항에 관한 간단한 질문지를 우선 작성해 주시면 감사하겠습니다. 대답을 원치 않으시는 문항은 빈칸으로 남겨 두셔도 됩니다.

질문지에 답해 주셔서 감사합니다.

인터뷰 질문지

마무리하는 말

자녀양육 경험과 자녀 분과의 관계에 대한 생각을 나눠 주셔서 정말 감사드립니다. 참가자님과 같은 한국인 이민자 부모님들에게 도움을 드릴 수 있는 매우 귀중한 정보들을 얻게 되었습니다.

혹시 인터뷰 후에라도 궁금한 점이 있으시면 언제든지 저에게 연락 주십시오.

인터뷰를 마치기 전에, 끝으로 제게 묻고 싶은 점이나 말씀하시고 싶은 것이 있으십니까?

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Appendix G. Demographic Information Questionnaire

Participant ID number: _____
 You can choose a pseudonym you want to be called in this interview: _____
 Please fill out the blanks below with your answer. I can help you if you have any questions or concerns.

Personal and Family Background

	Yoursself	Spouse/ Partner	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3
1	Age				
2	Sex	Male / Female	M / F	M / F	M / F
3	What is your/her/his ethnicity?				
4	What is your/her/his marital status?	Married _____ Divorced _____ Committed relationship _____ Never married _____			
4 - 1	How long have(ha)s you/she/he been in the relationship?	_____ years			
5	What is your/her/his highest level of education?	Under high school _____ High school/GED degree _____ Bachelor's degree _____ Master or doctoral degree _____			
6	Are (is) you/she/he currently employed?	Full time _____ Part time _____ Student _____ Temporarily unemployed _____ Retired _____			
6 - 1	Occupation (or past one if retired)				
7	Is she/he living together or living outside of home?	Living together _____ Living outside of home _____			
8	What is your combined family income last year?	Under \$10,000 _____ \$10,000 – 39,999 _____ \$60,000 – 100,000 _____ Over \$100,000 _____	\$40,000 – 59,999 _____		

Immigration background

How long have you been living in the U.S.? _____ years
 What was the main reason for your immigration to the U.S.? _____
 Which cities/states have you lived since you have arrived the U.S.? _____

사회 인구학적 정보 설문지

참가자 아이디: _____ 본인 인터뷰에서 사용할 가명을 정하실 수 있습니다: _____
 아래 빈칸에 해당하는 인적 사항을 적어 주십시오. 설문 작성시 질문이 있으시면 알려 주십시오.

참가자 본인 과 가족 사항		본인	배우자/ 파트너	자녀 1	자녀 2	자녀 3
1	나이					
2	성별	남 / 여	남 / 여	남 / 여	남 / 여	남 / 여
3	출신 국가 또는 ethnicity 현재의 결혼 관계	결혼 --- 이혼/별거/사별 --- 동거 --- 비혼 (결혼한 적 없음) ---				
4						
4-1	위의 관계를 가져온 기간 (비혼 제외) 최종 학력	고졸 이하 --- 고등학교 졸업 --- 학사 (대학) 학위 --- 석박사(대학원) 학위 --- 풀 타임 --- 파트 타임 --- 학생 --- 일시적인 실직/후직 --- 은퇴 ---				
5	현재 일을 하고 계십니까?					
6	해당 가족이 귀하와 같은 집에 거주하고 있습니까? 합계 산다 다른 곳에 산다					
6-1	현재의 직업 (은퇴 전의 직업)					
7	작년도 가구 전체 수입 (세금 전)	\$10,000 이하 --- \$10,000 - 39,999 --- \$40,000 - 59,999 --- \$60,000 - 100,000 --- \$100,000 이상 ---				
8						

이민에 관한 배경 사항
 언제 처음 미국으로 이주하셨습니다? _____ 년도 _____ 월
 미국으로 이주하게 된 가장 중요한 이유는 무엇이었습니다? (1-3가지 정도) _____
 미국에 오신 이래로 어떤 주/도시에 사셨습니까? (여러 곳을 옮겨 다니셨다면 주이름을 모두 말씀해 주십시오) _____

Appendix H. Interview Questions (English/Korean)

Child Launching Experience		
Main questions		Follow-up questions
1	<p>Your child has reached the adulthood. I want to know about what your child's adulthood means to you.</p> <p><i>이제 자녀분이 성인의 나이에 이르렀는데요, 자녀가 성년이 된다는 것이 부모님께서는 어떤 의미인지 듣고 싶습니다.</i></p> <p>When did you think that your child would be an adult who is really independent from you?</p> <p><i>“내 아이가 이제 정말 독립적인 사람, 그러니까 완전 어른이구나” 하고 느끼셨던 때 또는 계기 같은 게 있으셨습니까?</i></p>	<p>For example, when the child moved out for college/work, when (s)he got a driving license, or other incidents?</p> <p><i>예를 들어, 대학으로 떠났을 때, 직장을 구했을 때, 아니면 운전면허를 났을 때나, 또는 다른 계기?</i></p>
1-1	<p>[If a focal child has left the home] [해당 자녀가 독립을 위해 집을 떠난 경우]</p> <p>You mentioned that your child has moved out and is living on their own now. For what reasons is (s)he living outside of the home on her/his own (e.g., college, work, or just independence)?</p> <p><i>자녀분께서 독립해 나가서 살게 된 계기/이유는 무엇입니까? (대학진학, 취업, 또는 독립을 위해서)</i></p>	<p>Where does (s)he live (e.g., distant/close)?</p> <p><i>자녀분께서 살고 있는 곳이 가깝습니까?</i></p> <p>How often and for what occasions does (s)he visit home?</p> <p><i>자녀분은 얼마나 자주, 그리고 어떤 때 집에 오는 편입니까?</i></p> <p>What is your feeling like when (s)he is coming home for a visit?</p> <p><i>자녀분이 집에 오면 어떤 기분이 드십니까?</i></p>
1-2	<p>You may remember the day when your child moved out for college/independence, for example. Tell me how you felt back then (e.g., feeling empty or stress-relieved).</p> <p><i>자녀분이 처음 대학으로 또는 독립을 위해서 이사 나가던 날을 기억하실 텐데요, 그 때 어떤 느낌 또는 생각이 드셨는지 말씀해 주시겠습니까? (예를 들어, 허전하고 서운했다든가, 독립시키게 되어서 홀가분했다든가)</i></p>	<p>Have the feelings changed over time? If so, how?</p> <p><i>말씀하신 그런 느낌이 시간이 지나면서 바뀌었습니까? 어떻게 변했다고 생각하십니까?</i></p> <p>[If the interviewee has multiple children] [한명 이상의 자녀가 해당된다면]</p> <p>Did you find any difference in feelings between older child's leaving and younger one's? If so, how?</p> <p><i>자녀분을 떠나 보낼 때의 느낌이 큰 아이 때와 작은 아이 때가 달랐습니까? 어떻게 달랐습니까?</i></p>
2	<p>Do you think the child still needs support from you?</p>	<p>In what ways? Please give me some examples.</p>

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	<p>Are you willing to provide it? Or Are you currently providing any type of support? (e.g., emotional encouragement, instrumental assistance, or financial support)</p> <p>자녀분이 성년의 나이이지만 아직은 부모님의 지원이 필요하다고 생각하십니까? 그런 지원을 해 주실 생각이신지, 아니면 현재 지원을 해 주고 계신지요? (정서적인 격려, 실용적인 도움, 경제적 지원)</p>	<p>구체적으로 어떤 지원을 하고 계신지 몇가지 예를 들어 주시겠습니까?</p>
3	<p>What makes you feel most proud of your child(ren) these days?</p> <p>자녀들이 성인이 된 지금, 자녀분에 대해 가장 자랑스러운 점이 무엇입니까?</p>	<p>How do you feel about how your child has turned out or what (s)he has achieved?</p> <p>자녀분의 현재까지의 (개인적 또는 사회적) 성과를 보실 때 부모님께서 어떤 점이 만족스러우십니까? 또는 불만스러운 점이 있다면 어떤 것이 있습니까?</p>
		<p>Do those things (e.g., what makes you feel proud of your child) make you feel satisfied with your current parenting job? In what ways?</p> <p>현재 자녀 분을 생각할 때 하고 계신 부모로서의 역할에 만족하십니까? 어떤 면에서 그렇습니까?</p>

Parenting Approach and Experience in Immigration Context	
Main questions	Follow-up questions
<p>1</p> <p>Now let's move on to discuss some of your parenting experiences back in the earlier years when your child(ren) was younger.</p> <p>지금부터는, 자녀분이 좀더 어렸을 때 부모님께서 자녀를 키우시면서 겪으신 경험에 대해 말씀해 주시기 바랍니다.</p> <p>You have raised your child(ren) in a different social and cultural context than your upbringing in Korea. Please tell me about challenges or difficulties you might have experienced as an immigrant parent.</p> <p>부모님들께서 어릴 때 한국에서 자랐던 환경과는 전혀 다른 사회/문화 속에서 자녀분들을 키우셨습니다. 미국에서 자녀를</p>	<p>Did being in the U.S. add more to the challenges or make those challenges easier to handle? In what ways?</p> <p>자녀 양육은 대개 어려운 일입니다만, 미국에 살면서 아이를 키우는 것이 그 어려움을 더 많이 느끼게 했습니까? 아니면 미국이라서 조금은 더 수월한 면이 있었습니까?</p>
	<p>Please tell me about the most rewarding time you had as a parent of a young child?</p>

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		키우면서 힘들거나 어려운 점들이 있으셨다면 말씀해 주십시오.	자녀분을 키우시면서 가장 보람 있었던 때는 언제라고 기억하십니까?
1-1		In what ways did you think you were different from American parents in parenting and education of your child? And, in what ways did you think you were different from Korean parents? 부모님 자신의 자녀양육 방식을 볼 때 다른 미국 부모들과 다른 점이 무엇이라고 생각하십니까? 또한 다른 한국 부모들과는 어떻게 달랐다고 생각하십니까?	Could you give me some examples? 몇가지 예를 들어 주시겠습니까?
1-2		Do you feel your ways (styles) of treating the child have changed over time as your child grows up? (e.g., controlling, autonomy-supporting, etc.) If so, in what ways? 부모님 자신 스스로의 자녀양육 방식이 아이가 커가면서 달라졌다고 생각하십니까? (훈육하고 통제하는 스타일, 또는 자유/자율권을 허락하는 스타일) 그렇다면 어떤 식으로 변해왔다고 보십니까?	Could you give me some examples? 몇가지 예를 들어 주시겠습니까? Changes as having longer residency in the U.S.? 미국에 사는 기간이 길어지면서 자녀 양육 스타일이 변화한 면도 있습니까? Differentials by parenting topics and issues? 특히 어떤 문제에서 자녀에게 더 엄격히 하셨고, 어떤 면에서는 아이에게 좀더 자율권을 주셨습니까?
2		Looking back, are you satisfied with your parenting job? In what ways? 자녀가 성인이 되기 전의 지난 시간을 되돌아 볼 때, 부모님 스스로 자녀를 잘 양육했다는 만족감이 드십니까? 특히 어떤 면에서 그런 생각을 하시게 됩니까?	If you could change anything about parenting, what would you change? 지난 시간을 돌아보실 때, 부모님 자신의 자녀양육 방식이나 스타일을 다르게 했더라면... 하는 아쉬움이 남는 점이 있으십니까?

Relationship with Children

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Main questions		Follow-up questions
1	<p>What concerns do you have about your child these days?</p> <p><i>요즘 자녀분에 대해 가지고 계신 걱정이나 중요한 관심거리는 무엇입니까?</i></p>	<p>For example, maturity, education and career, financial independence, dating/marriage, family ties, or else?</p> <p><i>예를 들어, 나이에 맞는 어른스러움, 학교공부와 진로, 경제적 독립, 이성교제나 결혼, 가족과의 유대관계, 또는 다른 문제들?</i></p>
1-1	<p>Do you share the concerns with your child? If so, please give me some examples.</p> <p><i>부모님의 관심과 걱정에 대해 자녀분과 대화를 나누십니까? 최근 생각나시는 예가 있으면 말씀해 주십시오.</i></p>	<p>How often and in what ways do you talk or communicate with your child(ren)?</p> <p><i>자녀분과의 대화 또는 연락은 어떤 방식으로, 얼마나 자주 하십니까?</i></p>
		<p>What are the frequent topics recently discussed between you and your child(ren)?</p> <p><i>자녀분과 최근 자주 대화 나누는 주제는 무엇입니까?</i></p>
2	<p>Are there any issues which cause disagreement between you and your children? How do you resolve the disagreement/conflict with your children?</p> <p><i>자녀분과 의견이 다르거나 충돌을 일으키는 경우도 있습니까? 그렇게 의견충돌이 생길 경우에 대략 어떻게 해결하십니까?</i></p>	<p>How do you voice your opinion when such issues arise?</p> <p><i>의견이 다른 경우에 부모님께서 어떻게 자녀분에게 의사 표시를 하십니까?</i></p>
		<p>What do you think your role as a parent would be in managing the issues?</p> <p><i>자녀가 부모님 생각과 다르게 행동할 때 부모님은 어떤 역할을 해야한다고 생각하십니까?</i></p>
		<p>Do you think you are doing a good job or it is difficult to you? In what ways?</p> <p><i>자녀의 의견과 행동에 대해 부모님께서 동의하지 않으실 때 생길 수 있는 문제들에 대해서 부모님께서 잘 해결해 나가고 있다고 생각하십니까? 어떤 식으로 하고 계십니까?</i></p>

Future Expectations and Advice for the Other Parents

Main questions		Follow-up questions
1	<p>Now let's look towards the future. How do you envision the future relationship with your child?</p>	<p>For example, do you want to live close to your child?</p>

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	<p>앞으로 부모님과 자녀들이 모두 더욱 나이가 드신 후를 생각해 볼 때, 두 세대간의 관계가 어떠했으면 좋겠다 하고 기대하시는 모습이 있습니까?</p>	<p>What about support from the child or grand- parenthood? 예를 들어, 자녀분들과 함께 또는 가까이 살기를 원하십니까? 자녀분들이 연세 드신 부모님께 어떤 지원을 하기를 기대하십니까? 손주들과의 관계는 어땠으면 좋겠다는 기대가 있으십니까?</p>
2	<p>Finally, if you could give advice to other Korean immigrant parents who are raising their children or have young adult children, what would you say?</p> <p>끝으로, 미국에서 자녀를 키우고 계시거나 청년이 된 자녀를 두신 다른 한국 이민자 부모님들에게 조언을 하신다면, 어떤 말씀을 하고 싶으십니까?</p>	

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Appendix I. IRB Approval Letter



Soo-Bin You <yous2@montclair.edu>

IRB-FY17-18-1020 - Initial: Exempt

cayuseIRB@mail.montclair.edu <cayuseIRB@mail.montclair.edu>
 To: nesteruko@mail.montclair.edu, yous2@montclair.edu
 Cc: reviewboard@montclair.edu, lrbsupport@montclair.edu, reynosod@montclair.edu

Tue, J



Institutional Rev
 School of Nursing & Graduate Sch

Office: 5

Fax: 5

Jul 31, 2018 8:59 AM EDT

Ms. Soo-bin You
 Dr. Olena Nesteruk
 Montclair State University
 Department of Family and Child Studies
 1 Normal Ave.
 Montclair, NJ 07043

Re: IRB Number: IRB-FY17-18-1020
 Project Title: SS A research on Korean immigrants' parenting experience with their young adult children

Dear Ms. You,

After an exempt review:

- Category Category 3.(i)(A). Research involving benign behavioral interventions in conjunction with the collection of information from an adult subject through verbal or (including data entry) or audiovisual recording if the subject prospectively agrees to the intervention and information collection. The information obtained is recorded by the Investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects cannot readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers.

Montclair State University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved this protocol on July 30, 2018. With the implementation of the new 2018 MSU IRB Policy and Procedure will require an Administrative Check In, every two years, updating our office with the status of your research project. Your check in date is July 30, 2020. We will send you a reminder date.

All active study documents, such as consent forms, surveys, case histories, etc., should be generated from the approved Cayuse IRB submission.

When making changes to your research team, you will no longer be required to submit a Modification, unless you are changing the PI. As Principal Investigator, you make sure all of your Research Team members have appropriate Human Subjects Protections training, prior to working on the study. For more clarification on appropriate training IRB office.

If you are changing your study protocol, study sites or data collection instruments, you will need to submit a Modification.

When you complete your research project you must submit a Project Closure through the Cayuse IRB electronic system.

If you have any questions regarding the IRB requirements, please contact me at 973-655-7583, cayuseIRB@montclair.edu, or the Institutional Review Board.

Sincerely yours,

Amy Krenzer
 Senior IRB Coordinator

cc: Ms. Deborah Reynoso, Graduate School, Academic Services Coordinator

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